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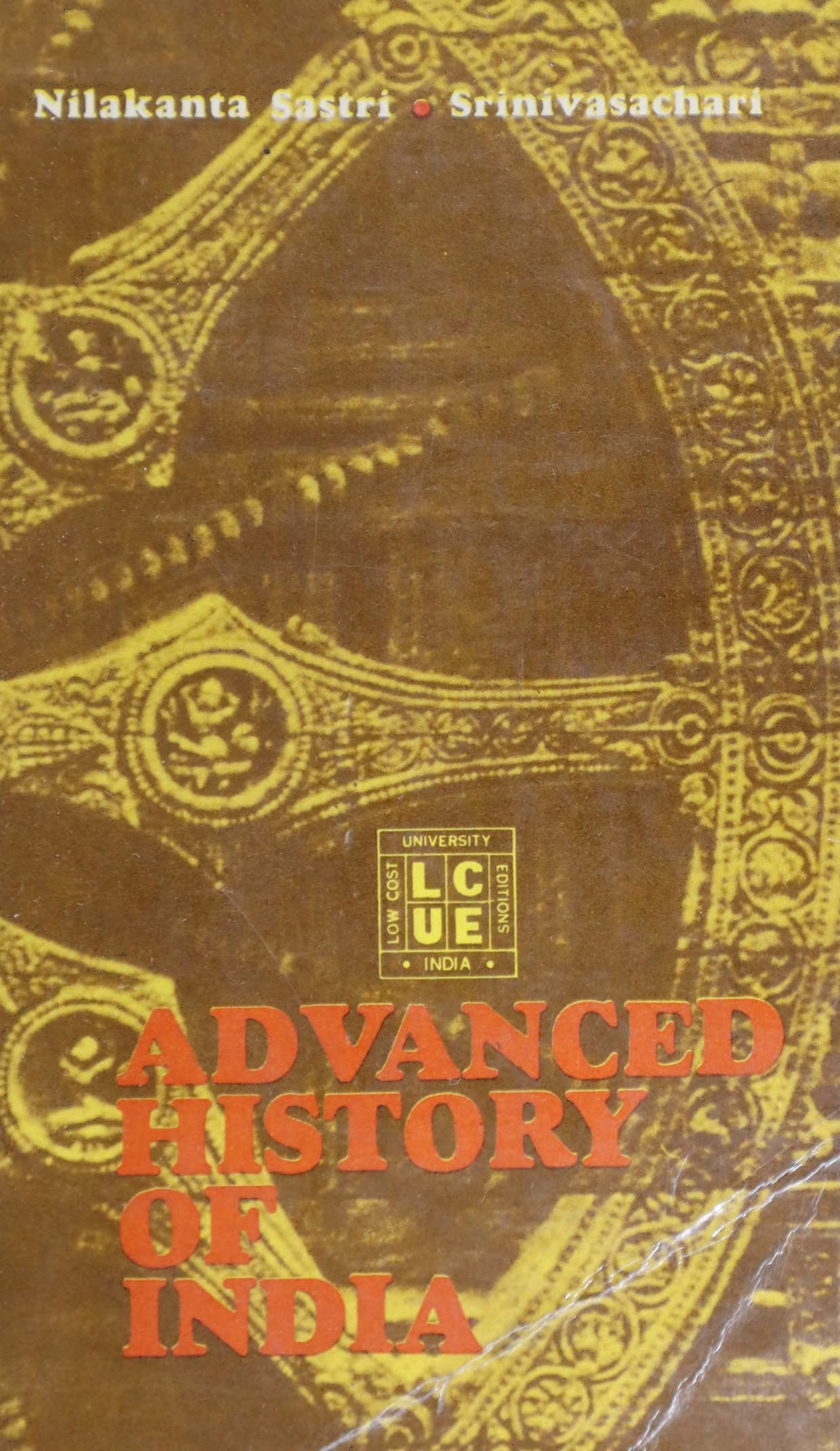

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K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
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PREFACE

We have endeavoured to present in a single volume the story of the different institutions and movements that have influenced the life and character of the people of India from the earliest known times to the present day. The findings of recent researches in Indian archaeology have been incorporated. Political events are presented so as to form a background for the unfolding of Indian Culture. The claims of religion, literature, industry and commerce have been duly balanced.

A work of this kind has necessarily to rest on earlier writings. The bibliography published at the end of the book shows our debt to previous authors.

It will be found that a comprehensive view of the history of North India, the Deccan and South India is given in dealing with the ages that preceded the British supremacy in India.

Suggestions for the improvement of this book will be thankfully received.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
G. Srinivasachari

15 *August* 1970
Madras

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PART ONE

ANCIENT AGE

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INTRODUCTION

Country and People

THE NAME 'INDIA': 'India' comes from the name of the river which the Indians called 'Sindhu', the Persians 'Hindu' and the Greeks 'Indus'. Foreign chroniclers call the country 'India'. Indians themselves called their land 'Bhāratavarsha' which now has been shortened into Bhārat, after the name of one of the most famous legendary kings of India. The Indians regarded Bhārata-varsha as the southern division of Jambudvīpa, one of the seven islands, making up the world. In this book 'India' will be used in its historical sense till the march of events reaches the time of the partition of the country into India and Pakistan in 1947.

THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY ON HISTORY: India occupies the central position among the three great peninsulas which project southward from the continent of Asia. The southern portion of the country lies within the tropic zone, while its northern regions advance into the temperate zone beyond latitude 35^0. Bounded on the north by the highest ranges in the world, the Himalayas, on the east, west and south by broad seas, India forms a geographical unity, virtually cut off from the rest of the world. But this has never meant her isolation, for by virtue of her position in the midst of the Indian Ocean and of her early cultural advancement she has, from the dawn of history, maintained unbroken contact with every civilization—Egyptian, Sumerian, Mediterranean and Chinese. The comparative isolation of modern times became pronounced in the period of British rule.

The importance of the Himalayan range for India consists in the climatic protection it affords against the influence of the waterless tracts of Asia, in the large rainfall which it collects and in the protection it gives against the invasion of the restless inhabitants of the steppes. From a remote period a certain number of Mongol immigrants have trickled into North India through Bhutan, Sikkim

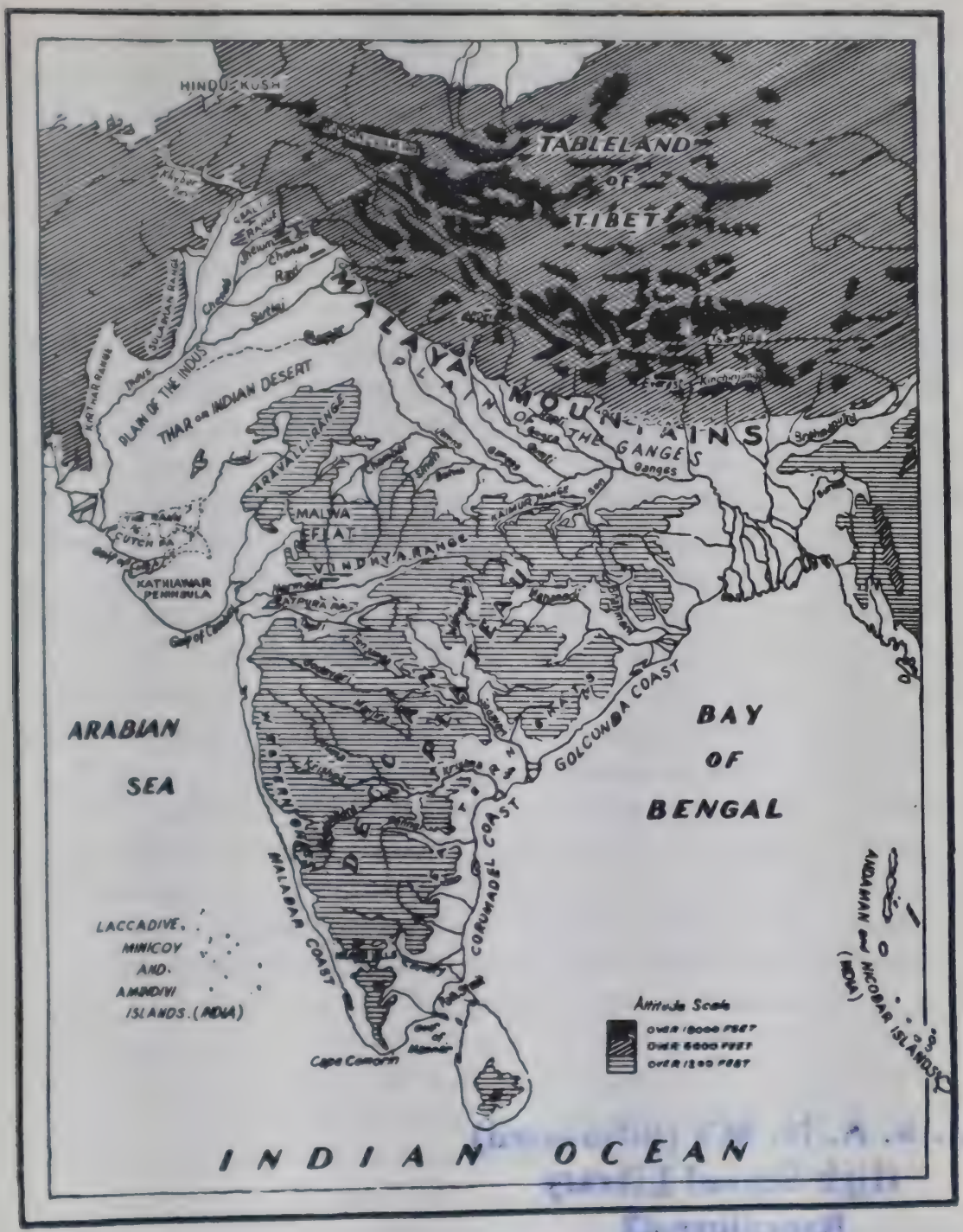
and Nepal. Never has there been an invasion of India from Tibet across the Himalayas by great armies or large bodies of people. But the recent occupation of Tibet by China with her modern means of transport and up-to-date weapons of warfare does not rule out the possibility of an invasion from there.

The configuration of India considered vertically presents three great regions characterized by sharply contrasting features, the Himalayan Region, the Indo-Gangetic plain and the tableland in the south. The crescent shaped Himalayan range in the north has a length of 1500 miles with a uniform breadth of about 130 miles. At each end, other mountain systems join the Himalayas. On the north-west we have the mountains which divide India from Afghanistan and Baluchistan and run from north to south decreasing in height towards the south and broken by such important passes as the Khyber and the Bolan. These passes have provided the route for foreign invaders, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Persians, Mongols who from earliest times have acted as modifying factors upon the historical development of the Indian population and culture.

On the eastern side, North India is shut off by a mountain wall skirting the low lying plains of the lower Brahmaputra, in the shape of a horse shoe. This wall is passable only upon the south and by this route there has been Chinese infiltration into India, from remote times. The recent Chinese incursions on the North-Eastern Frontier show how vulnerable the area is in spite of formidable hills and swamps.

The Indo-Gangetic plain is the most thickly populated region of India, and figures most in the history of the country. The gifts showered by the Indus and its tributaries on the Punjab (the land of the five rivers) have made it, even in the grey dawn of history, the goal of the ambitions of the nomad tribes of Afghanistan and of the steppes of Central Asia.

Lower down the valley of the Indus, the arable land is restricted to a narrow belt along the river. The rapidity of its flow into the sea and its heavy deposits of silt are such that the Indus delta has been continually changing. On the eastern side of the delta stretches the Great Desert, across which communication is almost impossible. This desert prevented the Arabs in Sind from moving eastward and sheltered the Rajputs, in the middle ages, against Muslim attacks. It extends southwards to the sea and northwards almost to within



India: Physical Features

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a hundred miles of the Himalayas, where a narrow strip of land forms the only line of communication between the valley of the Indus and that of the Ganges. It is this strategic isthmus that has repeatedly been the scene of many decisive battles in the history of India.

The whole of the Gangetic plain is alluvial land. The wide waterways of the snow-fed rivers of the north and facilities for irrigation have sustained a teeming population. North India owes everything to the Ganges river system. No wonder that the Ganges has been held by Indians in loving worship as 'Mother Ganges', *Gangā Mātā*, a name which recurs in the Mekong in Indo-China.

The Vindhya and Satpura ranges with the Narmadā and the Tapati running westward parallel to them divide Central India from the Deccan (Dakshināpatha). The Peninsula proper is like a wedge cleaving the Indian Ocean into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Though the coast line is long, natural harbours are few and far between. The Deccan plateau is geologically the oldest part of India; its sides are formed by the Western Ghāts and the Eastern Ghāts which meet at the Nilgiris and then strike southwards into a single subsidiary massiff ending in Cape Comorin.

As the plateau slopes eastward, rivers flow into the Bay of Bengal. These rivers are unimportant as means of navigation and communication on account of the variable water supply depending on the freakish monsoons. Further, they are broken by rapids and waterfalls when they reach the precipitous edge of the Highland.

The line of the Narmadā carried across the peninsula is commonly held to be the boundary between North India and the Deccan. Because of the mountainous nature of the region and the swampy forest, communication between the north and the south was not easy before the railways were opened.

The south-west (June-October) and the north-east (November-May) monsoons are as important to the hydrography of South India as the perennial snows of the Himalayas are to North India. After crossing the Ghāts the air currents from the Arabian sea become drier providing scanty rainfall to the eastern region. Not until they reach the giant wall of the Himalayas do they drop all the moisture they have retained. For this reason the mountains of Assam can boast of the heaviest rainfall upon the earth. Such a downpour washes away the tracks and promotes a dense growth of forest.

The Western Ghāts form an unbroken line along the coast, leaving a narrow strip of fertile and picturesque land to their west from which there is no access to the interior except at the Palghat Gap opposite Coimbatore. The Eastern Ghāts are neither so high nor so continuous as the Western Ghāts. The flat mountain tops of the Deccan volcanic trap furnished excellent sites for Marātha fortifications, which recently fell into disuse. Mountain tops from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin have also served as sites of temples attracting thousands of pilgrims.

The coastal plain on the east is broader and drier than that on the west. The north of this plain is formed by the alluvium of the Godāvarī and the Krishnā. The Carnatic plain watered by the Cauveri contains some of the most fertile lands in India. The Tungabhadrā and the Kṛishṇā are good examples of river frontiers as well as the Narmadā and the Sutlej. Raichur doab enclosed by the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā was a strategic area at which several decisive battles were fought between the powers of the Deccan and South India.

It is now increasingly realized that the seas bounding the peninsula, far from being barriers, served as highways of commerce and colonization to the Indians.

The configuration of the coastline has undergone changes in historic times. Tamluk in Bengal and Kāyal in Tinnevelly were once flourishing ports, but now they are land-locked. The port of Kāveripatnam mentioned in Tamil literature has been partly submerged in the sea. Tamil legends speak of some land and a river in the south being engulfed by the sea.

Climate is no doubt an important factor in the history of any country. But some historians, in their attempt to trace many traits in India's history, philosophy and art to its enervating climate, have overdrawn the picture. The rise of the Marātha power and of the Sikhs and the renascence of modern India should argue against laying undue stress on climate as a factor in Indian History.

The People

A systematic ethnography of the Indian population is admittedly an extremely difficult task. It was perhaps in the New Stone Age that men became divided into racial groups with distinctive characteristics in colour of the skin, shape of the head and nature of the

hair. No one has explained satisfactorily how different ethnic groups came to develop their own civilizations and languages; some of the racial characteristics are of such uncertain stability that we may wonder whether they do not exist more in words than in fact, while others offer extremely marked differences dividing men of the world into the white, yellow and black races. The term 'race' is so bound up with emotions that one would do well to avoid it altogether and speak only of cultures and peoples.

True, the modern European, proud of his science and technology, can be easily distinguished from a native of Asia or Africa by the colour of his skin and facial cut. But the fact remains that 'Europe is a continent of energetic Mongrels'. Nowhere in the world does purity of race exist and India is no exception. But there are in India people like the Todas of the Nilgiris and the Santal and the Ho of Chota Nāgpur who have to this day preserved their purity of blood and culture from a remote period in the New Stone Age. India contains a larger variety of human types than any other land. The physical features of the Indians have traces of admixture of different ethnic groups that came to India as invaders and chose to become settlers. Inter-racial marriages had been common till the caste system was evolved which, while still absorbing fresh elements of the population, sought by marriage and other restrictions to maintain semblance of purity of blood.

Broadly stated, the whites of the Indo-Aryan type are predominant in the north-west from Kāshmīr to Rājaputāna and the blacks of the Dravidian type in the south. In the modern State of Uttar Pradesh is to be found the Aryo-Dravidian type extending through Bihar and to parts of Rajaputana. The two main component elements of the Indian population are the representatives of the white Indo-Aryans supposed to have come some four thousand years ago and the dark Dravidians considered as directly descended from the original population. The Mongolo-Dravidian type prevails in Bengal and Orissa. The Mongoloid type is found in the hills of Assam, in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal and all along the Himalayas as far as little Tibet in Northern Kāshmīr.

New elements that entered the ranks of Indian peoples deserve notice. The Greeks, Sakas, and Pahlavas including the Kushāns were the first to come in after the Indo-Aryan civilization entered upon its settled course. The Huns came in somewhat larger number at the close of the Gupta epoch, and they were quickly Indianized;

probably the Rājput dynasties that came into prominence in the seventh century A.D. had a fair measure of Hunnish blood in their veins.

On the west coast are to be found some Jews who, according to their traditions, left their country after the destruction of their great sanctuary by Titus (A.D. 70). Similarly a large number of Parsis fled from Persia before the zeal of the Muslims and the coast of Bombay is now inhabited by them. Though small in number, they have been big businessmen who have remained true to their religion, Zoroastrianism. The Muslim community of the Moplahs of Malabar are the products of unions between Muslim merchants from Arabia and the women of the west coast. The Muslim immigration into India began even before the Arab invasion of Sind early in the eighth century A.D., and ended with the establishment of the Mughal Empire in the sixteenth century. This was the last movement and in a way important because it produced some perceptible changes in the composition and culture of the population. Among those that migrated were Persian Muslims akin to Indo-Aryans in physical features besides Turks and Afghans. Their total number was never very great. Intermarriages and conversions of the indigenous population tended to assimilate the Muslims to the rest of the population in general appearance, but differences in religious beliefs and habits persisted. The Indo-European community in India has grown from the infusions of Portuguese, Dutch, French and British blood since the fifteenth century A.D.

Languages

The languages of India are as various as the elements of her population. Linguistic surveys show a list of 225 distinct languages in addition to varying dialects. This is no doubt a bafflingly large number for a country which has a political unity. But the position is not really as complicated as some Western authors think. The great majority of the people speak languages which can be reduced to two main families, namely the Aryan and the Dravidian. All the principal languages of Northern and Western India, Hindi, Bengali, Marāṭhi, Gujarāthi, and many others, descended from Prākṛits are closely akin to the Vedic and to the later literary forms of Sanskrit. It may be mentioned that to the Aryan or

Indo-Germanic family of languages belongs the old Persian or Zend language, Greek, Latin, German, English and many other European languages. Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam, Kanarese (Kannada) and a few other South Indian language belong to the Dravidian group. Tamil is the oldest languages of this group and its grammar and structure greatly differ from Sanskrit. Literary evidence shows that all these languages have been influenced by Aryan ideas and diction. Aryan ideas and institutions have shown a marvellous power and vitality in all parts of India.

Munda languages spoken by other three million people called Kolarians are distinctly different from Aryan and Dravidian languages. It is believed that they belong to the Mon-Khmer family of languages found in Indo-China and are distantly related to the Austro-Asiatic language group. Munda languages are perhaps older than Dravidian. Some hold that the changes in the phonetics and vocabulary of the Vedic language can be explained on the basis of Munda influence much better than on that of Dravidian. The fact that Munda languages have ceased to be of any influence on Indian culture, while Dravidian languages have continued to flourish shows that Munda civilization was less seriously organized than Dravidian.

As India after the States Reorganization of 1956 has been divided into linguistic States for administrative purposes the chief areas in which the principal languages of India are spoken can be easily known.

Religions

The bulk of the people belong to Hinduism and its offshoots—Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Representatives of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam are found in varying numbers. The presence of representatives of almost all religions of the world in the country is proof of the traditional tolerance of Hinduism.

Unity in Diversity

Some Westerners interested in the history of India are puzzled at her many contrasting features such as the splendour of her temples, mosques and tombs alongside the squalor of her villages, the intellectual brilliance of the educated men and women at the top

side by side with the ignorance and superstition of the bulk of the village folk. The wonderful way in which India has assimilated strands of the different cultures with which she came in contact at the same time retaining the essentials of her own culture has attracted the attention of several foreign historians. In spite of countless revolutions the people have managed to maintain the spirit of an immemorial past. Indeed as a British historian puts it India is 'a land, vast, unknown, unknowable, where the keenest Western minds, after a lifetime of endeavour, profess that they know no more of the inner being of the people than they did at the beginning.'

The West with her comparatively early advancement in science and technology has no doubt greatly influenced the culture of India in recent times. But it should be recognized that India possesses a separate culture standing on its own ground and worthy of study in its own right. Only then can it be properly realized that the intercourse between the West and India has not been a one-way traffic. India's contributions to the West began in early times and have continued to the present day; to mention a few, cotton textiles to modify its economy, pepper and other spices to please its palate, the taste for baths in the social sphere, the pyjamas for dress, and words like *durbar*, *bazaar* and *pukka* to enrich Britain's spoken language. In the realm of religion and philosophy India's influence on the West is not inconsiderable. In recent times Mahātmā Gandhi gave the West *ahimsā* or non-violence both as a way of life and as an ethical principle. In the intellectual sphere India's 'Arabic' numerals replaced the clumsy Roman notation and her zero helped the decimal system. The 'Laws of Manu' have been hailed by Friedrich Nietzsche, as 'a work which is spirited and superior beyond comparison'. The discovery of the connection between Sanskrit and European languages led to the study of comparative philology as a discipline. Thus it will be seen that India has influenced the outside world not by war and conquest but in the realm of mind and thought.

In India, from early times, there have been attempts to adumbrate the political unity of the country. Bhāratavarsha has always meant entire India, although split up into a number of independent kingdoms, great and small; Aśoka, Harsha, Vikramāditya and Akbar afford examples of attempts at nation building, not to mention the heroes of legend.

In fact India owes her political unity to the British; but it must be said that the division of the country into India and Pakistan is as much due to the communal struggle for power as to the British policy of 'divide and rule'. The readiness and willingness with which most of the 'Native States' merged themselves into India was in no small measure due to the statesmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The way the Indians have adapted themselves to political democracy is proof of the underlying unity in diversity. The fact that the entire nation rose above communal squabbles and party differences to stand up to the Chinese aggression confirms the stability of the unity India has achieved.

The Purpose of This Book

History has to be rewritten from time to time, though past histories may retain some abiding value and content of truth. This applies specially to the history of India in which a whole chain of events acquires new meaning as new links of it emerge from research. A correct understanding of India's past has often been rendered difficult by the historian's application to it of his own notions of politics and government and his own ideas and valuations. 'We can only understand it in terms of the institutions then prevalent, the ideas which animated the people who lived in it and the purposes which were then pursued.'

This book attempts to illustrate and explain, as objectively as possible, the general theme of what our ancestors were like and what their manner of life was in its difference and likeness to our own. That, as Trevelyan says, is the supreme interest in History.

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CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC INDIA

The Indian Stone Age

PREHISTORY, in general, begins from the Old Stone Age and ends with the appearance of the art of writing. In India, there is evidence to show that writing was known and employed in the third and second millenniums B.C. But this script still remains undeciphered and hence the civilization which produced it is regarded as prehistoric. Western Asiatic prehistory generally ends with the appearance of writing in Mesopotamia about 3000 B.C. Although certain phases of ancient Indian culture lie distinctly beyond any possible form of literary record, they cannot be fitted into any chronological order in recorded Indian history. At about the end of the sixth century B.C., North-Western India became a province of the Achemenid Empire and got into unquestioned historical records. It is believed that there was a diffusion of writing in India about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Therefore, 600 B.C. in round number is taken as the dividing line between prehistory and history in India.

The interpretation of Indian prehistory is difficult because field work in archaeology has so far been inadequate. By way of caution, we must point out that prevailing theories about the early home zone of man, the evolution and diffusion of the Palaeolithic man's articrafts and the beginnings of civilization are still matters of dispute among experts themselves. Therefore this survey of India's place in the Palaeolithic should be regarded as only provisional.

The very first appearance of life dates back some hundreds of millions of years and it was preceded by a period of at least equal length during which the surface of the earth was entirely occupied by mineral substances at varying degrees of condensation and hardness. According to modern computation human types have

existed on the earth for something like five hundred thousand years. It is usual to subdivide this period into ages corresponding to the type of culture that predominated in each of them. Broadly stated, the period before 10,000 B.C., belongs to the Palaeolithic (Old Stone Age) when man was no more than a hunter and food-gatherer, and used only rudely shaped stone-tools. The whole of this epoch falls into the geological period called the Pleistocene to the end of the third, Riss, glaciation, of a period of some half a million years. When and where the first *homo sapiens* appeared is still a matter of conjecture. In Northern India, particularly in the valley of the river Sohan or Soan, 'the evidences of four major glaciations have been equated tentatively with the four major glaciations of the European series, with the addition of a fifth advance of ice in post-Pleistocene times'. The early home zone of man which had at first been located somewhere at the foot of the Himalayas has been shifted to North Africa presumably because it was under more favourable climatic conditions. This is no place to enter into the complex problems of anthropology or glacial geology.

SOURCES: Wherever in this world the origin of the species of man may be located, the tool-making traditions in the Palaeolithic indisputably have transcontinental distributions. The most remarkable thing about Palaeolithic cultures is that they have had an enormous duration, at least 300,000 years.

Discarded stone-tools lying in river-gravels, an occasional human fossil, and frequently those of the animals hunted are almost all we have to rely on for our study of Lower Palaeolithic man and his achievements. Indian stone-tools fall into two divisions according to the techniques employed. They are *core* and *flake* tools. The *core-tool* is made by flaking or chipping away from a parent block until the resultant form is satisfactory. This process is somewhat akin to that of sculpture. In *flake-tools* the first process is to detach a large flake from a block of stone and then to work this into a finished tool. There is a third group called the *chopperchopping* tool. This is allied to the flake industry but is grouped separately as it is of particular importance to Asian Palaeolithic culture.

The Soan Industry

The earliest indication of tool-making men in Pleistocene India

is in the last phase of the Second Glaciation. The flakes found in the geological deposits of this age, in the valley of the Soan or Sohan, a river which flows from the foothills of the Himalayas to join the Indus west of Rawalpindi, are said to belong to the Pre-Soan Industry. This culture has been identified at many sites in the Punjab, at a few in Central India and in the upper Narmadā valley. These early flake-tools have no close relation in other Asiatic industries, as far as these are known at present.

In the second inter-glacial period (about 400,000 to 200,000 B.C.) the Soans succeeded in developing their tools more successfully than the other chopping-tool people to their east and south. These improved tools belong to the late Soan industries and persisted into the last inter-glacial period. These choppers were made on large round, oval and flat pebbles. The Soans also struck and used flakes. It is here that their technique improved most markedly with time. 'Both pebble and flake-tools become progressively smaller and more accurately shaped, but the flakes also come to be struck from carefully prepared blocks of quartzite and trap, a mode known as the tortoise-core technique practised by the Levalloisians and other related culture groups in Western Eurasia and Africa'.

Madras Industry

The name Madras industry is given to the making of a tool called the hand-axe. It is essentially oval and flaked on both faces in such a way as to produce a continuous cutting edge. It should be noted that there is a constant interaction between Madras and Soan Industries. But in general the core-tool element dominates in the south and south-east, while the flake or chopper type dominates in the north. Tools of the Madras industry have been found in India as far south as the rivers Cauvery and Vaigai, in the west round Bombay and north of the Narmadā and north-east as far as the upper reaches of the Son, a tributary to the Ganges.

How improvements in the making of tools, in those days, diffused throughout large parts of three continents may be seen from the fact that if collectors went out from London, Jerusalem, Cape Town and Madras all four might find identical hand-axes. They could not be distinguished one from the other unless it was by the material from which they had been made. This does not, however, mean absolute contemporaneity of the different phases of the Abbevillian-Acheulian tradition to which the Madras hand-axe belongs.

In a Thames-side gravel pit in Kent, containing core artifacts, two fragments of the skull, probably of a woman, were found, one in 1935-36 and the other in 1955. This discovery of the so-called Swanscombe man has enabled archaeologists 'to claim with confidence that men at least close to our own species were living in the Thames valley by the end of the second (Mindel-Riss) interglacial, some two hundred and fifty thousand years ago'. Some experts do not recognize this as conclusive evidence that *homo sapiens* lived in the Thames valley as is made out. Be that as it may; does not the presence of core crafts identical with the Indian make in Swanscombe gravel pit argue the probability of the coexistence of *homo sapiens* in some part of India? To assume this probability it is argued that skeletal remains are needed.

THE LIFE OF THE PALAEOLITHIC MAN: The evidence of stone-tools in the Lower Palaeolithic of India helps us only in a very small way to visualize the life of their makers but other areas of the world have contributed practically nothing more. As everywhere else the Lower Palaeolithic man in India was a hunter, a food-gatherer. Whether he was first a vegetarian or a flesh eater is difficult to determine. Perhaps he originally absorbed vegetal growths for the most part, particularly roots and fruit as his ancestor, the ape, had done. Surely he should have early turned to hunting animals to nourish himself upon their flesh. Where he lived near the sea he could have consumed the flesh of marine animals. He had no domesticated animals and was ignorant of agriculture. Lower Palaeolithic communities must have been very small and at least semi-nomadic. They lived either in rock-shelters or in huts with thatched roofs. Besides stone-tools their equipment perhaps included bone, wood and fibre. Their speech was probably of a very primitive character incapable of accumulation and transmission of tradition in any effective manner. For thousands of years their life was characterized by a dull uniformity.

THE MESOLITHIC PERIOD : The chief characteristic feature of the upper Palaeolithic period is that man became physically more uniform but culturally far more diverse. The crystalization of blade culture, which began in South-West Asia and rapidly spread to European countries, is regarded as one of the most important events in human affairs, because it produced a revolution in the

hunting culture. In this phase men began to hunt and fish 'with the aid of implements of bone and flint. The flint implements were of minute size for use as fish-throttles or, set in bone, as composite tools', and have come to be called microliths. At Brahmagiri in Mysore, in the Vindhyas, beside the Narmadā river and in Gujarāt microliths have been found in a context which makes the archaeologist assign them to a relatively late period. But it is conceded that there is 'a likelihood of a distinct Mesolithic period in India'.

The Mesolithic period lies roughly between 10,000 and 6000 B.C. In this period begins the concentration of population along river valleys, marking the start of a transition to a settled form of life in which food-gathering turns into food-producing. 'In India as elsewhere in Europe and Africa Palaeolithic hunters were adjusting to the warmer earth they had to live on sometimes by creating true mesolithic cultures.'

THE NEOLITHIC AGE : The Neolithic Age of the Ancient Orient is approximately dated from 6000 to 4000 B.C. Everywhere in the river-valley civilizations the picture of this period is constantly changing as discoveries progress. The chief characteristics of this period are the exclusive use of non-metal implements, domestication of animals, and a knowledge of agriculture. Corollary to agriculture is the development of village life. Towns too appear. Towards the end of the neolithic pottery begins to appear and metals come into use. This phase is dated roughly from 4000 to 3000 B.C. Because of the use of copper this age is called the Chalcolithic. In India late Neolithic and Chalcolithic phases seem to coalesce.

Agriculture

So far the most ancient village found seems to be Jarmo in Mesopotamia and the most ancient city Jericho in Palestine. Carbon 14 dating has given an age of about 6500 B.C. to Jarmo and about 7800 B.C. to Jericho. This means that village settlements and urban life must certainly have begun in Mesopotamia and Palestine between the seventh and eighth millennium B.C. It is admitted 'that the cradle of the farming economy with more or less settled villages has proved difficult to place exactly in either time or place'. Moreover 'ideas such as the sowing of crops and herding of animals can easily spread; they are far more readily

adopted than changes in tool making and other traits of material culture. Providing the land and climate were suitable, peoples of quite different traditions could accept the Neolithic revolution and gradually adapt their cultures to it'.[1] The view largely accepted is that agriculture had its origin somewhere in South-West Asia and then gradually spread to other parts of Eurasia and Africa.

Some say that agriculture must have had its origin between four waters; in some part of the land overlying the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. But there is every possibility of agriculture having been developed in the river valleys of South India and of North India independently of the regions of the four waters. Unfortunately the prehistory of rice is obscure. Recent research in India has shown that the entire South East of the Indian peninsula seems to have been the home of Neolithic Culture.

Indian Neolithic Culture

The relics of the Neolithic Age are found in great abundance and variety in India. A Neolithic factory containing tools in every stage of manufacture has been found in Bellary District. In this age pottery was made first by the hand and then on the wheel. Animals were tamed and land cultivated. Fire was made by friction. People constructed boats and spun and wove cotton and wool. They buried their dead; deep neolithic graves surrounded by stone circles have been discovered in some parts of the country. Rude drawings in red pigment are found in cave walls in the Bellary and Wynad Districts and other localities. There is evidence of ancient pearl and conch-shell fisheries at the mouth of the Tāmbraparaṇī river and of gold workings, probably of neolithic origin at Maski in Hyderabad. From the evidence it is clear that the Neolithic man in Southern India reached a fairly high degree of civilization. Gradually metal tools in imitation of stone forms came into use side by side with stone implements. In the north copper was employed to make tools and in the south, iron. Although there was no Bronze Age in India as in Europe, bronze was not altogether unknown. Finds of copper implements have been made from time to time. At Gungeria in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) a hoard of over four hundred objects was

[1] UNESCO, *Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization*, p. 220.

discovered, including shouldered axes, harpoons, barbed spears and swords and silver laminae.

Hundreds of Megalithic tombs in the form of dolmens and cists and several cemeteries containing terracotta sarcophagi and burial urns of the same material have been found in the Deccan and South India. These burials usually contain a lot of funerary furniture, pottery, figurines of animals and implements of iron; gold fillets, iron hoes and tridents found at Adichanallur on the banks of the Tāmbraparaṇī and in the Nilgiris show some features which are unique in India and for which we have parallels in distant lands such as Palestine and Cyprus. Bronze bowls from the Nilgiris agree in shape and technique with similar objects from Assyria. Such resemblances are by no means accidental. They only show that there are still several unsolved problems. It has been suggested that Adichanallur graves may be those of foreign colonists who settled there for trading purposes and continued to reside for centuries. This cannot be however the whole story.

The Dravidian Culture

We must make a brief mention of the Dravidian culture of the Neolithic Age, before we proceed to the Indus Valley civilization.

While there have been religious and cultural conflicts in India, there have never been racial conflicts. We must say that various theories propounded about the origin and migration of the Dravidians have been shortlived. Who the Dravidians are is still a matter of conjecture. Indian anthropology presents baffling problems. H. G. Rawlinson in his book *India*, summarizes E. von Eickstedt's theory of Indian anthropology with the observation that 'it will, with due additions as knowledge advances, stand the test of future research'. It is therefore worth mentioning here.

Von Eickstedt holds the view that the terms Dravidian and Aryan refer to languages and should not be confused with ethnic types. Without involving the reader in the complexities of ethnology we may summarize the theory thus:

In the early post-glacial period, there lived in the Indian peninsula dark-skinned people akin to the early Negroid stocks of Africa and Melanesia. These Indo-Negroids were of two major types, one of smaller stature, and more primitive, living in the forest and the other of high stature and more progressive, living in the plains.

Next after them came from the north another primitive stock akin to the Veddas of Ceylon and the Irula of the Nilgiris and gradually intermingled with the Indo-Negroids. These people were short of stature and had long hair and broad noses. They are called the Veddids who fall into two subtypes, Malids and Gondids. The Veddids and the mixed stocks stand in definite ethnic contrast to the other peoples and castes of India in face and physique.

The second ethnic stock termed Melanids have a high degree of variation in physical characteristics which can be seen in the people of northern Ceylon and the Tamils. In von Eickstedt's view Tamil was not the original speech of the Melanids, but was forced upon them from the north. This seems to accord well with the fact that the Brahui in Baluchistan speak a Dravidian dialect. As the physical features of the Brahuis differ utterly from those of the Dravidians, the affinity of language exemplifies the theory that community of language does not show community of blood. The Mundas in the north-eastern portion of the Deccan belong to the Second Melanid group. The Aryan speaking people are called the Indids. When in the post-glacial period the lakes of Iran were slowly drying up, the Indids forced their way into India. They rapidly advanced and took possession of the central Deccan. They broke through the Gondids and Indo-Negroids of the Eastern Ghāts by way of the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā rivers. Indo-Negroids thus came to be separated into a northern wing and a southern wing. The former are called Kolids and the latter Melanids. Despite the many immigrant waves from the north the Indo-Negroid groups in the south have continued to maintain their languages and some important elements of their cultures to this day. Von Eickstedt's Melanids are perhaps the Dravidians of the south. It should here be stated that current opinion tends to the view that Australia received her aboriginal population by migration through Ceylon and Melanesia from Southern India. The Tamils of the Neolithic Age show a fair degree of civilization, as judged by the prehistoric antiquities of South India and the materials brought to light by excavations of graves. Tamil literature of the Sangam Age, though belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, may well contain subject matter showing the cultural continuity of the Tamils from Neolithic times. It is not possible to give an adequate picture of the mode of life of the

Tamils here. It should form a separate study. However, certain outstanding facts deserve mention. It seems possible that long ago these Tamils had the concept that human characteristics are the result of the action of the environment within which people grew, which modern anthropo-geography calls the area of the characterization of race. Notice their horizontal classification of society.

Geographically, the land is divided into five natural regions: sandy desert; the mountainous country; the pastoral region; the lower river valley, fit for agriculture; and the littoral region. The stages of life represented by these regions respectively are the nomadic, the hunting and the pastoral, the agricultural and the fishing and sailing.

There was also a vertical classification of society into kings, noblemen (owners of fields), merchants and the working classes. The first three belonged to the upper classes of society. The early literature of the Tamils gives no help to build up any political history but throws a flood of light on social, religious and economic aspects of life which will be noticed later in this book. A remarkable feature of Tamil literature of the Sangam Age is the expression of delicate feelings and emotions of people of different regions in poems which portray events of war and love, in diction and style which owe little to Sanskrit.

Murugan, the hill god is the chief deity of the Tamils. Their god Indiran of the agricultural region is very different from Indra (Purandara) of the Aryans. Their god Kaṇṇan (Kṛishṇa) of the pastoral region, it is said, is not the Kṛishṇa of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. The view that, when the Aryan ṛishis moulded the Vedic cult, they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts seems to accord well with the theory that Harappan gods were absorbed into the Indo-Aryan pantheon.

The Indus Valley Civilization

MOHENJO-DARO AND HARAPPA : It was a great moment in Indian archaeology when in 1922 two cities of great antiquity were spotted in the Indus Valley. One is Mohenjo-Daro, meaning the Mound of the Dead, on the Indus in Sind, and the other Harappa on the Ravi in the Montgomery district of the Punjab. The civilization revealed by the remains of these cities, though later than the

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river valley civilizations of Mesopotamia was for a considerably long period contemporaneous with them. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are four hundred miles apart, but are identical in their layout, architecture and building techniques. Over forty settlements in an area stretching from the Makran coast to Kathiawar and northwards to the Himalayan foothills show a complete agreement in material culture. This region is an irregular triangle with the sides measuring $950 \times 700 \times 550$ miles.

Dating of the Harappa Culture

At Ur, Kish and other sites in Mesopotamia and Iran some seals of the Harappan type have been found in contexts which suggest the time of Saragon of Agade (Akkad) 2350 B.C. Taking this as a fixed point in chronology, the Harappan culture is provisionally dated 2500—1500 B.C. The radio carbon date[2] of the Harappan culture—Kalibangan in Rājasthān, site KLB 2—as measured at the Tata Institute is 4090 ± 125 years. This gives a range from 3252 B.C. to 3002 B.C. Undoubtedly, Harappan culture in all its maturity was in existence at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.

Twin Capitals

It is postulated that Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro may have been the twin capitals of an empire. While the Punjab is now a great corn-growing area, Sind is a desert region requiring elaborate irrigation works for agriculture. From the types of animals represented on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro and from the city's ancient prosperity as revealed by the ruins, it must be concluded that Mohenjo-Daro, whose annual temperature ranges now between

[2] This method is revolutionizing in archaeology. It is based on the fact that a special radio-active variety of carbon, called from its atomic weight carbon 14, is present in every organic substance in a constant proportion to the ordinary carbon 12. After the death of the tissue, the carbon 14 gradually degenerates, at the rate of 50 per cent in 5500 years approximately, into carbon 12, which remains unaltered. Consequently the proportion of Carbon 14 to carbon 12 furnishes an indication of the antiquity of any substance of organic origin. This method, the invention of Dr. Libby of Chicago, allows datings up to 20,000 or 30,000 years back with a margin of error of 200 years.

Radio carbon dates are measured at the Tata Institute in India. Here the measurement is based on half-value C14 = 5770 years. If the alternative value of 5568 years, as adopted by various laboratories so far, is to be used, given dates should be multiplied by the factor 0.965.

120° F in summer and frost in winter with annual rainfall of less than 6 inches, enjoyed in those far off times a milder climate and plenty of rainfall accounting for the presence of thick forests and arable land. The change to arid conditions was due to post-glacial effects or to the deflection of the monsoon.

Streets and Houses

What do the excavations show? There was a great wall which girdled the city about a square mile in extent. On a platform of earth in the city stood a high solid mass of a citadel. The flat roofs of houses were packed close together for company or protection. The streets were thirty-three feet wide, paved with bricks and with a drain running down the middle. On either side of the street were houses of varying sizes and built of first-rate burnt bricks ($11 \times 5.5 \times 2.5$ inches) whose strength and durability may be seen from the fact that bricks stolen from the Harappan site form the *ballast* of a hundred mile railway line in the Punjab. Unburnt bricks were also used for the foundation. Wedge-shaped bricks were used in lining the wells. Every house had its bathroom very near the street-side of the building and a drain leading water through a wall into a sewer underneath the street. In the streets there were man-holes for the convenience of sewers. At right angles to the straight broad thoroughfares ran lanes. The regularity and uniformity of the town planning and the concern shown for sanitation are worthy of admiration.

The Citadel

Talking of the buildings, we must pay special attention to the citadel. In both the cities the citadel is roughly a parallelogram 400 yards from north to south and 200 yards from east to west. The citadel buildings at Harappa have been ruined beyond recognition but those at Mohenjo-Daro give a clear picture. The most notable buildings of Mohenjo-Daro were found within the citadel, and these included, among others, a well-constructed bath, a collegiate building and a pillared hall. The Great Bath 180×108 feet is an open quadrangle with walls of about eight feet high. In the centre of it was a large bath, 39×23 feet and 8 feet deep. This was filled from a well nearby and the water was taken off by a large drain with a corbelled roof high enough to allow a man to walk erect. Surrounding the bath were rows of little cubicles,

with steps leading to them. The 'collegiate building' measuring some 230×78 feet was a single architectural unit with a 'cloistered court and a private chapel'. The walls over four feet thick, in some places, show a structure of two or more stories. Nearby there were serried lines of barracks of cooly quarters, working platforms and granaries.

Was the citadel a centre of religious life or of administrative life? It is difficult to answer this question categorically in the present state of our knowledge.

The character of the buildings inside the citadel of Mohenjo-Daro 'suggests not so much a dwelling place or a temple as the setting for some sort of elaborate ritual which might be either royal or religious. Of the Harappa religion we know very little; that there was a king we may safely assume but about him we know nothing at all. A close connection of some kind between royalty and religion is in early times almost inevitable; we see it in different forms in Egypt and Mesopotamia and probably it existed in the Indus valley also; but as yet there is nothing to show whether the ruler of Harappa was himself a priest, or a God, or simply a king under the direct protection of the gods'. An author making such an appraisal would naturally wait for further evidence to pass his judgement. 'But', continues Woolley, 'under whatever pretext he (king) held authority, the conditions in which it was exercised were manifestly quite different from those of Mesopotamia or of Egypt. The city is here an artificial creation, not grown out of the soil and the similar layout of the two capitals is evidence for an arbitrary and an absolute power'.[3] Likewise Stuart Piggot passes a sweeping judgment with little tangible evidence in support and says: 'The secrecy of those blank brick-walls, the unadvanced architecture of even the citadel buildings, the monotonous regularity of the streets, the stifling weight of dead tradition, all combine to make the Harappa civilization one of the least attractive phases of Oriental History'.[4] Quite otherwise and far more satisfactory is the estimate of Woolley that the art of the Harappans as seen in half-a-dozen incomplete examples of sculpture was of very high order and of great originality'.[5]

[3] UNESCO, *Prehistory and the Beginnings of Civilization*, p. 357.

[4] *Prehistoric India*, Cassell, London, pp. 202-3.

[5] Op. cit., p. 782.

Government

It is said that the Harappan government was a 'Centralized and disciplined citadel rule' but it was certainly not unlike what obtained among the western neighbours of the Indus Valley. Admittedly, the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization is as puzzling as it is unexpected to Western archaeologists.

Toys

The concern of the Harappans to provide playthings for the amusement of their children is known by the number and variety of toys unearthed. There are tiny figures of cows with heads that move if you pull a string, monkeys that slide up and down a stick, whistles in the shape of birds, rattles made of pottery and terra-cotta models of ox-carts. There are innumerable figurines of animals such as humped bulls, dogs, elephants, goats, rhinos, crocodiles and turtles. There must have a terracotta industry carrying on a flourishing trade.

Pottery

In houses there was a good deal of pottery-ware; most of it was of the plain reddish brown baked clay. The better pieces were ornamented in colours with geometrical designs, a pattern of dots and lines and circles which were perhaps little pictures of flowers and animals and human figures. All this shows that ceramic industry had been highly developed in the Indus Valley in the Harappan period. The Kulli culture of Southern Baluchistan may have greatly influenced Harappan pottery designs.

Sculpture

The Harappan sculpture is of no mean order. There is a model of a man's head and shoulders carved in steatite and only seven inches high. The head is bearded and the upper lip shaved; the hair is bound with a fillet round the head; and the eyes are half-closed. This piece of sculpture perhaps represents a ruler or a yogi sunk in thought. He is wearing a sort of shawl with a clearly marked trefoil pattern. There is a male torso carved in red stone about four inches high, representing a well-developed naked youth. 'As a work of art it is so good that it might well have come from the studio of a greek sculptor in the fourth century B.C., when Greek art was at its best.' The most beautiful of all is a

bronze figure four inches high of a young woman with slim body, lanky legs, big eyes, protruding lips and bunched curly hair. She wears nothing but a necklace and bangles and her provocative posture suggests that the sculptor has represented a dancing girl.

Seals and Script

Most puzzling of the Harappan remains are hundreds of seals that have been found. They are little pieces of steatite, about an inch square, bearing designs in intaglio of animals such as the humped bull, the zebu, the rhinoceros, elephants, scorpions and snakes. Some say that they may have been amulets and others say that they may have been used as a property mark with which to stamp the clay labels attached to bales of merchandise. One of the seals shows a figure of a male god with horns and three faces; he is naked and sitting, cross-legged and heels touching. By his side are animals and it is conjectured that this is Śiva whom people worshipped. Other figures show a woman, the Mother-Goddess, whom people all over the Ancient Orient worshipped in those days.

There cannot be a correct understanding of Harappan culture until we know how these seals were used and are able to interpret the writing on them. The writing is probably pictographic or syllabic. About 270 different signs have been found and it has not so far been possible to relate them to any script in the world. All that has been possible is to deduce that the writing was read by a way called *boustrophedon* (from the Greek words *bous* meaning *ox* and *strephein* meaning *to turn*) for it resembled the way in which the ox-plough goes over a field.

Religion

The representations of animals or scenes in seals already referred to form the main source of our knowledge of the religious belief and practices of the time. No temple or shrine has been identified in the excavations. The religion recognized gods in human form, venerated and possibly worshipped animals like the bull and trees like the *pipal* and the *nim*. Some conical stones large and small and certain large stone rings have been held to denote a phallic cult representing the reproductive powers of nature; but this interpretation is by no means certain. The figure of a male sunk in thought attests to the practice of yoga. Harappa people most probably cremated their dead and threw the ashes into the

river. The few skeletons found in the places that have been taken to be cemeteries do not appear to be instances of proper burial; may be the practices of cremation and burial co-existed. 'The extent to which the cults and practice of the Harappa people have entered Hinduism of historical times is estimated differently by different scholars and if there was a higher and more abstract religion professed by the better-educated section of the people we have at present no means of knowing much about it.'[6]

Art and Industry

There is clear evidence to show that the arts of weaving, carpentry, pottery, stone-cutting, ivory-working and jewellery had reached an advanced stage of perfection. Textiles industry appears to have been well set. Cotton and wool were in use for the manufacture of textiles. Smiths of various kinds had their own workshops. Varieties of ornaments of gold, silver, ivory, copper, and precious and semi-precious stones were worn by men as well as women. The art of the goldsmith was wonderfully well advanced as the graceful design and skilful workmanship of necklaces, girdles, fillets, arm-bands and bangles worn by Harappan women show.

Glazed and painted earthen ware was made; porcelain was also known. Axes, chisels, knives, razors and mirrors were of copper and bronze. Needles and combs were made of shell or ivory. Spindles and spindle whorls were of terracotta, porcelain or shell.

Trade and Contacts

There is clear evidence of a thriving trade by land and sea, not only with the rest of India but with foreign lands, particularly with the West.

The Harappans got copper from Rājaputāna and lead from Ajmere. Steatite, slate, jasper, bloodstone, green chalcedony and other stones for beads were had from neighbouring regions. From the Deccan they got amethyst and amazonite from the Nilgiris. The Himalayan forests provided them with deodar wood and horns of deer. Gold, green amazon stone and electrum found their way from South India to the Indus Valley. Jadeite came to the Harappans from the Pamirs, East Turkestan or even Tibet or Burma. The Harappans' capacity for organizing and distributing surplus wealth is acknowledged by all those who have studied the

[6] K. A. N. Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, p. 13.

ruins of the cities. It is clear that they had trade relations with Mesopotamia. The merchants of the Kulli culture in South Baluchistan and those of Sumeria had contacts as early as 2800 B.C. The former appear to have been carriers of trade between the Indus Valley and Sumeria and from the carbon dating of the Harappa culture it may be deduced that trade connection between Sumeria and Mohenjo-Daro was in all probability well established as early as 2800 B.C.

There is evidence to suggest that Harappa merchants went and lived in Sumerian cities for trade chiefly in cotton goods. That the Harappans had their representatives in Ur and Lagash and other centres of trade is proved by archaeological evidence. There must have been ports at the mouth of the Indus to carry on a seaborne trade.

There were caravan routes to Turkestan from where Harappan merchants brought lapis and perhaps also tales of unrest and trouble around the Caspian shores. This trade with Sumeria appears to have ceased after 2000 B.C. perhaps because the struggles between Hammurabi and Elam closed the frontiers of Sumeria for trade.

Weights and Measures

The weights used in Harappa were according to a system in which the unit was equivalent to 13.64 grammes. This system was binary in the lower weights and decimal in the higher with fractional weights in thirds. At Harappa a bronze rod was found marked off in units indicating a decimal scale of 1.32 inches probably rising to a foot of 13.2 inches.

The Origin and Development of the Harappa Culture: Development of Cultures in the Rest of India

About the origin of the Harappa civilization practically nothing definite is known at present. However, scholars intimately connected with the excavations have given their own findings based apparently more on their own impressions than on revealed facts. The story so built up may be briefly stated thus:

About 3000 B.C. Baluchistan, then less arid than now, was being settled by small groups of people from the Iranian uplands; these migrants brought with them the art of agriculture and the

organization of small self-sufficing village communities; these villages were seldom more than a few acres. Probably, the villagers lived at peace with one another as may be inferred from the fact that the villages had no very considerable defences. They reared sheep, pigs and poultry, and supplemented their food supply by chase and hunting. They built houses of stone or mudbrick and damed streams for irrigation; people in different regions made different kinds of pottery; the style of colouring varied from region to region. In the course of about five hundred years, after they had settled in Baluchistan, they migrated in big or small groups into the Indus Valley. Nothing is known about the original inhabitants of the Indus Valley; they are of little account except perhaps as harmless subjects of the immigrants. All these relate to the diffusion of ideas about agriculture and organization of village communities in the Indus Valley.

Now the crucial problem is how urban civilization was evolved among the people there. Some scholars who have studied the ruins of the cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa affirm that the urban civilization was super-imposed on the people all on a sudden by strangers at some time in the middle of the third millennium B.C. 'It is quite impossible to say where the Harappa civilization grew up; but by the time it took over the river land and the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were built, it had acquired a character of its own, essentially different from that of Sumer and, indeed, essentially Indian'.[7]

The study of the subject is still in progress and there is need for caution in formulating conclusions. There is no reason as yet to rule out the probability of indigenous growth from rural to urban; as yet, no site outside India can be identified as the area of the characterization of the Harappa culture, and evidence is beginning to come in from Kalibangan and other sites of pre-Harappans and Harappans living side by side for a time before the former faded out, and of a rather widespread (in North and Central India) chalcolithic culture with semi-urban features common with those of the Indus Valley site. Even at Harappa the pre-defence pottery reminiscent of some Baluchistan sites suggests an earlier culture. At Lothal also the Harappans are found to have borrowed extensively the pottery types and painted designs from the Micaceous Red Ware using folk who seem to be indigenous

[7] Woolly, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

to Kathiawar, and some of the pottery types in the Micaceous Red Ware of Kathiawar are analogous to those of pre-Harappan Kalibangan.

Conclusion

The Harappa civilization has some characteristics which distinguish it from other river valley civilizations. It was in a mature state perhaps as early as 3000 B.C. It should have taken some centuries to evolve. It may well have been a production of the Indus Valley evolved by the natives of the soil. Foreign settlers may have brought new ideas. The Harappans absorbed them and evolved a culture that does no small credit to the rulers and the ruled. The Harappans had intimate contacts with Mesopotamia and South-West Asia and so did not live in isolation.

The destruction of the cities is certain. Whether it was through flood or desiccation or foreign invasion cannot with certainty be concluded in the present state of our knowledge. That all the features of Harappa culture except some aspects of its religion perished with the Harappans is an exaggerated view. In North India in the epic period there were cities. South Indian literature speaks of cities submerged in the sea whose dating is impossible. The closer study of excavations of the Narmadā valley and elsewhere may add to our present knowledge.

All that is known about the authors of Harappan culture is from the study of skeletal remains. All the elements of the population of India in later times are traceable in them. Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean are dominant; those of the Mongolian and Alpine are too few for consideration. The former agree in many ways with skulls found at Al-ubaid, Kish, Anau, Nal and other sites. There are alternative assumptions that the Harappans employed the Dravidian or Aryan idiom in their writing. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide which it is. However, the new evidences accumulating from the excavations at Lothal and other Harappan sites should be taken into consideration before deciding who the authors of Indus Civilization were. Rectangular and circular fire-altars and altars for animal sacrifice are reported from Lothal. The occurrence of the horse and the knowledge of rice which the Harappans in Gujarat possessed cannot be ignored.

In the Indus Valley itself the story of the destruction of Indus

cities and the arrival of new people is not yet very clear. The cemetery 'H' culture at Harappa cannot be considered a direct successor of the Harappa civilization, as the gap between the two is clear. Whether the Jhukar culture directly succeeded the Harappa culture at Chanhu-daro needs further investigation. All that is certain is that the pottery and seals of the successor culture differed considerably from those of the Harappa culture in that they are cruder. Their houses were rickety and the settlement was ill-planned. On the other hand, a clearer picture has emerged from the excavations at Lothal and Rangpur in Gujarāt where as a sequel to the catastrophic flood in 1900 B.C., the Harappa culture degenerated but survived into later times evolving a new culture known as the 'Lustrous Red Ware Culture'. Thus it is evident that the Harappa culture did not evaporate into thin air at least in Gujarāt, but survived up to 1000 B.C., and in a new form and provided the missing link between the chalcolithic cultures of Central India and the Deccan on the one hand and the Indus Civilization on the other.

It is interesting to note that different groups of chalcolithic folk lived in relative isolation from 2000 B.C., almost up to 1500 B.C., in the Banas, Narmadā, Tapti and Godāvarī Valleys. The excavations at Maheswar Ahar, Daimabad, Nasik-jorwe and Nevasa reveal that these agricultural communities using a black-and-red or black-on-red painted pottery, stone blades and copper celts were much more advanced than the neolithic people using polished stone axes, stone blades and burnished grey ware and living on the hill slopes in the Deccan south of the Godāvarī. The latter were essentially pastoral communities producing food by crude methods. The excavations at Brahmagiri, Sanganakallu, Maski, Utnur, Piklihal and T. Narsipur show that there was a trickling of copper from the north. As the chalcolithic folk of Central and Western India moved down towards the south and the neolithic folk moved northwards greater contacts were established as revealed at Daimabad and Nevasa. Earlier both the groups seem to have had contact with the Harappans indirectly. The racial affinities of the proto-historic people are not yet clear except in the case of the Indus Valley civilization.

The skulls from Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and Lothal include the proto-Australoid and Mediterranean types which again are to be found at Adichchanallur and Brahmagiri. It may be

mentioned in this connection that while Haiemondorf credits the ancestors of the present day hill-tribes of Central India and Andhra with the authorship of the chalcolithic and neolithic cultures, Allchin thinks that the neolithic folk came from Iran. Sankalia has mentioned resemblances between the pottery types of Maheshwar and the Bronze-age sites of Iran. But in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to lay stress either on the supposed race movements from Iran or on the indigenous authorship of the neolithic-chalcolithic culture-complex of Central India and the Deccan.

The iron-using megalithic folk of Peninsular India appear to have suddenly imposed themselves upon the neolithic folk. But when exactly this took place it remains to be ascertained.

Indo-Europeans and Aryans

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were destroyed some time about 1500 B.C. The Aryans may have sacked the cities, but one should like to have more definite evidence than has come in. The movement of peoples who sacked ancient cities is something not confined to India in the centuries immediately after 2000 B.C. The period 2000 B.C.–1500 B.C. witnesses a political upheaval throughout the Ancient Orient and its periphery. This is the time when the people of the desert waste along with those of the mountains enter into competition on equal terms with the river-valley powers. We are here concerned with the three mountainous peoples that emerge into power. They are the Kassites in southern Mesopotamia, the Hurrians in nothern Mesopotamia and the Hittites in Anatolia. The origins of these peoples may be traced back to the third millennium B.C. All the peoples of the mountains include an Indo-European element ethnically varying in extent and purity. The languages they speak belong to the Indo-European group. The word 'Indo-European' has been found to be a convenient term for languages allied to Sanskrit and their presumed original. It is suggested that the area in which that original gave birth to Sanskrit and other languages having close affinities with it, may be somewhere on the outer boundaries of the kingdom of Sumer and Akkad, between South Russia and Turkistan. Philologists have shown that verbal equations can be made through Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Irish, Germanic, Tocharian and Armenian languages,

representing ideas or objects which are fundamental to a society and do not ordinarily change with environment. Based on a comparative study of languages, scholars have constructed broad outlines of the structure of the Indo-European society, which have stood the test of the archaeological knowledge of the second mellennium B.C., in Western Asia and Eastern Europe. The patriarchal family was the unit of society. They believed in luminous gods (*devas*), Jupiter being the most important, who were immortal and givers of the good things of life. The animals best known to them were the ox and cow, the sheep, the horse, the dog, the pig and probably also some kind of deer. The wolf and the bear were known to them but not the lion or tiger. Among the birds known to them were the goose, the duck and the eagle.

They were familar with corn and must have led a settled life. Probably those that lived by the riverside had acquired the knowledge and practice of regular irrigation. Cattle-breeding provided their chief sustenance of milk and flesh as also their clothing of wool and skins. Of the metals, copper and bronze were known to them, while iron is rarely mentioned. Besides bow and arrow their offensive weapons included the club, the axe, the sword, and the spear.

The close connection of Sanskrit with most of the ancient and modern languages of Europe made scholars in the early half of the nineteenth century believe that peoples connected by the tie of language might easily be conceived as connected by the tie of blood. Soon the supposition that the primitive tribe from whom the Indo-Europeans descended lived on the Asiatic steppes became an article of faith, which continued to maintain its ground for some time. In more recent times philological and anthropological evidence has led investigators to place the common origin of all these peoples in one or another part of Europe. That these peoples descended from a common tribe has been discredited on the ground that community of language is no proof of community of blood. There is as yet no real consensus on the place of the common origin of the Indo-Europeans. The latest edition of *The Oxford History of India* has 'purposely' omitted discussion concerning the original home of the Aryans, 'because no hypothesis on the subject seems to be finally established'.

In Europe nationalistic feelings have sometimes vitiated the quest; for example, the German school headed by Kossina placed

the original home of the Indo-Europeans in the North European plain people with blond Nordics. In India Tilak argued that the Aryans came from the North Pole in about 6000 B.C., but he took care to caution against relying on astronomical references in the *Rigveda*. 'But responsible linguists and archaeologists have agreed in regarding the possible region of origin as relatively limited, and lying somewhere between the Danube and the Oxus.'

There is good archaeological evidence for the arrival in North-West India of invaders from the West in the centuries following 2000 B.C.; whether they were Indo-Europeans or not cannot be said with any certainty. About the same time there seems to have been a loose confederacy of tribes, stretching from South Russia to Turkistan, who shared certain elements of culture. Inscriptions and documents of the Hittite empire relating to the beginning of the second millennium B.C., support this view. The connection of the Indo-Aryans with that confederacy has not so far been established. From the point of view of political history 1500 B.C. may be taken as the beginning of a new era in the Ancient Orient. About this time the Kassites take over power in Babylonia, remaining there for nearly four hundred years and assimilating the language and culture of the local civilization so completely that they come to form part of it. Further to the north in the Hurri region arose the great state of Mitanni, which expands almost to the Mediterranean, only to collapse abruptly after less than 150 years. The Hittites from Anatolia enter the field of international politics with a raid that reaches as far as Babylon and remain in power for three hundred years. Thus the three centuries from 1500–1200 B.C. delimit the period to which the peoples of the mountains give their character and name.

The Aryan invasion of India seems to synchronize with the destruction of Harappa about 1500 B.C. There are some experts who hold the view that the penetration of the Aryans into India may well have been about 2500 B.C. but the internal evidence of the *Rigveda* relating to destruction of fortified cities is brought in to reject the view. This is one of those problems which future research alone can settle.

The Aryans brought with them their patrilineal tribal organization; their worship of sky-gods and their horses and chariots, important elements of the culture of the Indo-Europeans. It should be noted that the Aryan invasion of India was not a single

concerted action, but one covering a long period and involving many tribes.

There is clear evidence to show that Aryan tribes held a great influence over a wide area, stretching from northern Asia Minor over north-western Babylonia to Media about the fifteenth century B.C. The Tellel Amarna letters provide extensive information concerning the rulers of Mitanni who are on good political terms with Egypt. King Tushratta, the author of a long letter written to Amenophis III, has to wage war against a certain Artatama, king of Hurrians who had friendly relations with the Hittites (about 1365 B.C.). Tushratta and Artatama are decidedly Aryan names. The Hurrian pantheon includes Aryan gods such as Indra, Varuṇa and Mithras. Inscriptions discovered at Hattusas (the present day Boghazkoy), capital of the Hittite empire, contain the words *aika* (one), *panza* (five), and *na* (nine-nava). Among the Kassites occur Aryan names of princes and gods. 'The numbers and the names of deities appear in forms earlier than those which they assumed later in Persia and India and nearer to those found in the *Ṛigveda*. In particular the change of the Aryan *s* into the Iranian *h* had not yet occurred.'

That the Aryans separated themselves from the Iranians is proved not only by the close similarity of the old Iranian language, Zend, to the language of the earliest hymns in *Ṛigveda*, but also by the wide similarities existing in manners and customs especially those concerned with religion, language, mythology and worship. Both called themselves *Ārya* the noble or lofty. 'The organization of society in four classes (*varṇas*) the religious rites of initiation of youth (*upanayana*), the pantheon of thirty-three gods, the religion of sacrifice, and most of the technical terms employed in it like *yajna*, *mantra*, *soma*, *hotar* and so on are instances of close resemblances between the early Iranian and Vedic Cultures.'

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CHAPTER II

THE VEDIC PERIOD

The Aryans and the Ṛigveda

SOURCE : The Vedic period in India can, in a way, be regarded as a continuation of the Indo-Iranian phase of the Aryan civilization. There is no book in any Indo-European or Aryan language as old as the *Ṛigveda*, the sacred book of the Aryans. It 'stands quite by itself, high up on an isolated peak of remote antiquity'. Beyond this literary source there is no material evidence for the period 1500–600 B.C. except some copper tools and weapons. The *Zend Avesta*, the scripture of the Iranians, though later than the Veda, contains illustrative matter of value.

THE DATE OF THE RIGVEDA : Many diverse opinions have been expressed about the date of the *Ṛigveda*. After the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro the consensus of opinion among scholars gives the Vedic period—that is, the period during which the hymns of the *Ṛigveda* were composed—1500–1400 B.C. But there are some authorities who date it much later. The discovery of the Mitannian document of about 1380 B.C. with the names of the *Ṛigveda* gods has influenced scholars to date the *Ṛigveda* somewhere between 1500–1400 B.C. Some of the earlier hymns may have been composed outside India before 1500 B.C. and so some date round about 2000 B.C. for those hymns appears to be not improbable.

THE VEDA : According to the orthodox view the *Śruti*, consisting of the Four Vedas (the *Ṛig-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sāma-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*) is the final authority in the Indo-Aryan Religion, and they form in their entirety THE VEDA, *the perfect knowledge*, revealed by Brahmā, seen by the ṛishis and clothed in words by them for the benefit of the Aryan peoples.

In this section we are concerned with the historical materials contained in the *Ṛigveda*, which has come down to us in the *samhitā* (collection) of 1017 (or 1028) hymns arranged in ten books of unequal size. The hymns for the most part are prayers to and invocations of the *devas*. The *Ṛigveda* is the book of *hotā*, the priest who pours offerings into the fire and is the knowledge of the laudatory verses, to be recited aloud at the time of the sacrifice.

Books II-VII, each attributed to a different priestly family, form the nucleus. Book X differs much from the rest in its metrical form and linguistic details; it shows a more developed religious and philosophical outlook as it was the latest addition. The bulk of the collection was composed in the region of the Punjab south of the modern Ambālā and along the upper course of the river Sarasvatī, which at that time flowed broad and strong to join the Indus below the confluence of the Sutlej, but now is a small stream losing its way in the desert sand of Rājasthān. The general collection of all these hymns, doubtless with some changes in the language of the older hymns, was made at a considerably later period, but long before the age of the grammarian Pānini (600–500 B.C.).

THE ARYAN INVASION : When the Aryans reached the Kabul district of Northern Afghanistan, the last links between them and the Iranians may have been severed. Through the natural passes of the mountains the main branch of the Aryans reached the Punjab. Tribe followed tribe in detachments at fairly long intervals. The Land of the Five Rivers did not fall into the hands of the immigrants without a deadly struggle. The dark-skinned dasyus or dāsas who lived in fortified cities put up a tough fight but in the end were defeated and enslaved, some of their settlements being destroyed by fire.

Occasionally, serious frictions occurred between different tribes of the Aryans that competed for territorial possession. The advance of the Aryan masses from the heights of the Afghan frontier to the Jumna can be traced. The later Vedas often mention the Jumna, the most western tributary of the Ganges, while the Ganges itself is mentioned only once or twice. This shows that in the Vedic period, the Aryans had not expanded to the east far beyond the Jumna. The Vedic poets knew the Himalayas but not the lands south of the Jumna and they did not mention the Vindhyas.

THE BATTLE OF THE TEN KINGS : The one outstanding historical event of the period is the contest named the 'Battle of the Ten Kings'. Sudās, king of the Bharatas, the tribe that dwelt on the upper reaches of the Sarasvatī river, belonged to the Tritsu family. This family had Viśvāmitra for its *purohita;* but Sudās appointed Vasishṭha to that office. Viśvāmitra, thus superseded, took his revenge by leading against the Bharatas ten allied tribes. Five of these tribes known as the *pañchajanas* are Anus, Dhruhyus, Turvasus, Yadus and Purus; the rest were dwellers of regions in the north-west. The battle was fought on the bank of the Parushṇī, the modern Rāvī. The Bharatas routed their enemies. But Sudās' victory seems to have led to no territorial conquests. Soon after this battle Sudās had to meet other enemies to the east of his kingdom, which extended over the country later known as Brahmāvarta. Among the enemies from the east were Ajas (goats), and Śigrus (horse-radishes); probably, the tribes bearing such names were totemistic non-Aryans.

In the next generation after Sudās, Trāsadasyu (Terror to the Dasyus) of the Purus was another notable king of the Rigvedic age. In the succeeding age both Bharatas and Purus seem to disappear and the Kurus emerge as the rulers of the old land of the Bharatas and much of the northern Ganges-Jumna Doab. All this shows that after the battle of the Parushṇī the Bharatas and the Purus merged, and this process of fusion, whereby tribes become people or nations must have gone on all through the Vedic period. There were also alliances between the Aryan tribes and the native chieftains. In course of time there should have been a number of inter-marriages at least among ruling families.

THE ARYANS AND THE DASYUS : The word *ārya* is properly applied only to the Indo-Iranians who migrated into India. *Aryan* is the anglicized form of Ārya. The names, *dasyus* or *dāsas* may refer to their eventual fate in Aryan eyes, and be related to the root of *das* to lay waste; the dwellers in the waste land after conquest. Before the discovery of Harappa, Indra's destruction of fortified cities was regarded as legendary. Now the tendency among European scholars is to extol the dasyus as highly civilized city-dwellers and speak disparagingly of the Aryans as 'barbarians'. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Aryans were well within the fringe of civilization at the time they came to India, though

they were not city-dwellers. The dasyus or dāsas differed from the Aryans in their colour (*varṇa*), speech and religious practices. Most of them must have been reduced to slavery. There is evidence in the *Ṛigveda* to show that slaves were regarded as a form of wealth. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that there was perpetual war between the native dasyus and the invading Aryans. There was a good deal of give and take. The combination of influences of these peoples soon shaped itself into a unity of national style that has been handed down from generation to generation to the present day. The process by which such a unity of national style was evolved is called the Aryanization (some modern anthropologists prefer the term Sanskritization) of India, details of which will be given later. The Aryan language, Sanskrit, their hymn book, the *Ṛigveda*, and their religion, Sanātana Dharma have proved themselves to be of immense importance in the development of human history. The hymns of the *Ṛigveda* are among the earliest literary works in any language that is known in the world today.

Social and Political Organization

The social and political organization of the Aryan tribes rested on the patriarchal monogamic family, though polygamy was not unknown, particularly among the princes. There were few restrictions on marriage; only brother and sister or father and daughter could not marry. Child marriage was unknown and there was much freedom in the choice of the partner. Dowries and bride prices were both common. Marriage was apparently an indissoluble sacrament, for no reference to divorce or the remarriage of widows occurs in the *Ṛigveda*. Parental control over children was mild and affectionate. It was usual for an aged father to hand over the control of the family into the hands of the eldest son.

There was plenty of land and population at that time was scanty. The vedic Aryans knew how to measure fields. But the *Ṛigveda* throws no clear light on the tenure by which land was held. Above the family there was the *grāma* which literally means 'horde' or 'group'. The *grāma* was at first perhaps composed of related families. The *viś* (canton) and *jana* (people) were terms applied to groups higher than *grāma*. There was a similar

organization in Iran, Greece, Italy, Germany and Russia. It is said that *grāma* in the *Ṛigveda* first meant a sept and later a village. *Gotra* is regarded as a name of an exogamous sept, especially of brāhmaṇas. The exact meaning of *viś* and its relation to *grāma* and *gotra* are however disputed; the word often occurs in the plural (*viśaḥ*) in the sense of subjects.

The distinction between holy power (*brahma*), kingly power (*kshatra*), and commonalty (*viś*) is well known from the hymns of the *Ṛigveda*. To this list the *Hymn of Purusha* in the tenth book of the *Ṛigveda* adds the *śudra* embodying labour. Opinion is divided on how far these distinctions were strictly hereditary in the beginning. These four aspects of the functions of groups composing a society are fundamental to the social polity of any age, in any country. All ancient Indian sources make a sharp distinction between the two terms *varṇa* and *jāti*. The former is much referred to but the latter very little and where it appears in literature it does not always imply the comparatively rigid and exclusive social groups of later times. The word *caste* which is so strongly connected with the Hindu social order was first used by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century A.D. It is derived from the Portuguese *castas* meaning tribes, clans or families and has become the usual word for the Hindu social group; but it is a false terminology for Hindu social groups. Castes rise or sink in the social scale and old castes die out and new ones are formed; but the four great classes (*chatur varṇa*) are stable. The *jāti* distinction or caste system is certainly peculiar to India. No historian can conclusively trace its origin; for early literature paid scant attention to it. To say that the caste originated from the four classes is certainly not correct. All that can be said that it is developed later. 'Fear of miscegenation and of impure contacts, hierarchical feeling and the growth of professional specialization with the increasing complexity of social life, had their share in promoting its growth in the succeeding epoch. All the same, restrictions regarding worship, marriage and eating of food which bound the clans (*gentes*) into more or less distinct entities form part of the oldest Indo-European tradition. Their adaptation to Indian conditions, and the admission of the totemic pre-Aryan groups into the social structure must be taken to account for the complexity of Indian castes. Many factors, ethnic, geographical, professional, economic, sectarian or even merely accidental, contributed to its growth through the

centuries[1] There is no evidence of caste in early Tamil literature. But Southern India has through the centuries produced a system in some ways more complex than that of the north. For the past fifty years the caste system has been showing real signs of breaking down. But the historian should take note of the fact that the organization of the castes 'independent of the Government, and with social ostracism as its most severe sanction was a powerful factor in the survival of Hinduism'.

GOVERNMENT : Rule was exercised by chiefs who bore the title of *rājan*, a word with which the Latin *rex* (king) is connected. Occasionally the *rājan* is called *viśpati*, a name which stresses his patriarchal relation to the tribe. There was a relic of the primitive Aryan democracy in the shape of a tribal council composed of elders or wise men. But the requirements of war tended to increase the power of the king and make monarchy hereditary. The king's revenue consisted chiefly of the gifts of the people, tributes from conquered tribes and booty taken in war. The king dwelt in fine building. He had a rudimentary court and was attended by *sabhāsad* (courtiers) and *grāmani* (chief of septs). The two chief officers of the State were the *senāni*, leader of the army and the *purohita*, chief of priests, who by his sacrifices ensured the prosperity of the tribe in peace and its victory in war. The people looked on the king primarily as a leader in war, responsible for the defence of the tribe. He was in no sense the priest-king of some of the early cultures. He had no religious functions except to order sacrifices for the good of the tribe and to support the priest who performed them. Popular assemblies are mentioned under the names of *samiti* and *sabhā* but their functions are not clear. There is very little information in the *Rigveda* about the administration of justice. Crime was probably punished by a system of wergild as may be inferred from the term *vairadeya* which means payment for enmity, and from a man being called *śatadayā*, that is, worth a hundred cows. There seems to have been no city-life. Villages had earth-work defences.

Rarely was land an object of sale or gift. Exchange was often by barter. An image of Indra is said to have cost ten cows; *Nishkas*, found often mentioned, are probably necklaces of gold. Later the word came to mean coins of gold. The chief amusements of the

[1] K. A. N. Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, Ancient India, 1963, p. 24.

people were gambling and chariot race. Debts were often incurred in gambling and failure involved slavery. There is nothing to show how civil disputes were decided. Perhaps it was by arbitration as the word *madhyamāśi* suggests.

The Aryans were among the first people to introduce the idea of quick transport by means of ox-drawn four-wheeled carts and horse-drawn two-wheeled chariots. The Aryan Chariot is described in such great detail that the modern coach-builder could turn out a good replica of Indra's vehicle. It was a light chariot with two-spoked wheels, drawn by two horses yoked abreast and carrying two warriors. In war the well-to-do rode on such chariots. The common soldiers fought on foot. The bow, lance, spear, sword, axe, and sling-stones were the chief weapons of defence. Those used for protection were coats-of-mail, helmets and shields. The arrow was tipped with horn or metal, sometimes smeared with poison.

Economy

The Aryan economy of the Rigvedic age was essentially agrarian and pastoral. It included the growing of a grain crop; only one word is used for corn—*Yava*, which means barley but it may be taken to imply several species of cultivated grain. There are references to ploughing, reaping and winnowing. A few other references may be interpreted as showing that the Aryans of this time knew something of irrigation. Stock-breeding receives more attention from the poets than agriculture. Perhaps they looked upon agriculture as rather plebeian. Herds were differentiated by nicks cut in the ears, a custom which survived in Wales to the last century.

Milk evidently formed an important item of diet, either fresh or as curds or butter. Beef seems to have been freely eaten. In respect of food the Rigvedic Aryans had few of the taboos of later India. They were much addicted to two kinds of drink, *soma* and *surā*. Soma was drunk at sacrifices and its use was sanctified by religion. Surā is a secular drink disapproved by the priestly poets.

The Aryans loved music, and played the flute, lute and harp to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums. They used the heptatonic scale, which is thought by some to have originated in Sumeria. In the hymns there are references to singing and dancing

and to dancing girls. Besides religious music Aryans had war music each with features of its own.

The dress was of two or three garments of wool, skins being also used sometimes. Ornaments of gold were worn by both men and women. The hair was carefully combed and oiled; it was plaited by women and worn in coils by men and women. Shaving was known but beards were common.

There is practically nothing in the hymns to help us have an idea of the lay-out of an Aryan settlement, or of the houses. Their farm-steads and villages were perhaps too mundane to be immortalized in hymns to the war-gods.

Though the Aryans had not developed a city civilization they were technically well equipped. We find mention of *purs*. Some of them may have been of considerable size and were sometimes at least in legend thought of as made of stone (*aśmamayi*) or of metal. These were places of protection from bad weather or enemies. Bronze-smiths and carpenters are referred to with much respect in the hymns. Tools and weapons made by the Aryan bronze-smiths are regarded as much superior to those of the Harappa culture. *Ayas* is one of the terms used for metal in the *Rigveda*. There are those who assert that it could mean only copper or bronze, not iron. The absence of any trace of iron in the upper levels of the remains of the Indus culture, the rarity of iron implements even in the advanced civilization of Mesopotamia, and the secrecy in which the process of smelting iron was kept by the Hittites till about the end of the second millennium B.C., have all made some scholars conclude that the use of iron could not have reached India in the Rigvedic age. Further it is argued that the smelting of iron demands higher skill than the Aryans had developed. But admittedly iron ore is common enough. The Dravidians in South India passed from copper culture to iron culture without the intervening bronze age. There was cultural contact between the Aryans and the Hittites. Viewed from this context, it seems not impossible that the skilful Aryan bronze-smiths might have developed the process of smelting iron independently of the Hittites. But on the sites excavated in North India iron has not occurred in strata earlier than the seventh or eighth century B.C.

As at this time the Aryans were a people without cities they did not have an advanced economic system. They were not, however, indifferent to trade and industry. Whether there was a

regular class of merchants is doubtful. Commerce was probably in the hands of a people styled *paṇis* whose identity is not clear. The *paṇis*, though generally unfriendly to the Aryans and niggardly by nature, appear to have commanded greater respect than the Dasyus.

There is a controversy over the question whether the Rigvedic Aryans knew the sea and engaged in maritime activity. Some say that their knowledge of an expanse of water was limited to the lower Indus which they called the sea. There are however references and allusions which serve as indirect evidence of maritime activity. Among them may be mentioned one (1.116.3) in which there is a definite reference to a naval expedition on which Turga the rishi-king sent his son Bhujyu against some of his enemies in the distant islands. Bhujyu, however, is shipwrecked by a storm, with all his followers on the ocean, 'where there is no support, no rest for the foot or the hand', from which he is rescued by the twin brethren, the aśvins, in their *hundred-oared galley*.

Religion, Literature, Arts and Sciences

RELIGION: Briefly stated, the early Aryan religion was a kind of Nature worship. The Aryans supposed that the forces of Nature were being directed by personalities not very different—except that they were far more powerful—from themselves. Here and there are instances of animal forms conceived as supernatural powers. The personified forces of Nature were given the name *devas*, from the Sanskrit root *div*, meaning 'to shine'.

Dyauspitar was the sky-father and his consort *Pṛithivī* personified the earth. Dyaus, it may be noted, was worshipped by other members of the Aryan or Indo-European family. For Dyauspitar is the *Zeuspater* of the ancient Greeks, the *Jupiter* of the Romans, and the *Tiw* of the forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons, whose name is preserved in Tuesday. Closely connected with Dyaus was goddess Aditi (the infinite expanse) who was supposed to control the misty realm beyond the earth, beyond the sky; she was frequently implored for blessings on children and cattle, for protection and forgiveness, and came to be regarded as the mother of all the gods.

The 'big three' of the Vedic Pantheon are Agni, the god of fire, Indra, the war-god and god of the atmosphere and the weather, the Varuṇa, 'the universal encompasser, the all embracer' who

was looked upon as the expression of the spirit of *order* in the universe. The sun was supposed to be a separate divinity, under the name of Surya, but even he was not so important as Agni who was Light itself. Hundreds of hymns are addressed to Agni, more indeed than to any other god. In the popular estimation Indra was perhaps the most important for as the captain of the invading host he overthrew the cities of the enemies. Almost as important was Varuṇa for he knows everything and sees everything. Varuna was the highest approach made by the Vedic poets to the conception of a god of Righteousness.

Ushas, the goddess of the dawn, the counter-part of the Greek Eros and the Latin Aurora, is indeed the nicest. Some twenty hymns are addressed to her, which in vivid phrases show how she hurries along, rousing the world from sleep. Yama was the first man to die and the god of the dead and the mysterious underworld in which dwell the spirit of the departed. Of the rest of the thirty-three, we need not mention more than Vāyu, the god of the Wind; the Maruts, or Storm-gods who were allies of Indra, and the Asvins, the twin sons of Surya, who also rode across in the sky in a golden car drawn by birds or horses, preparing the way for Ushas.

There is no mention of temples or statues of gods in the *Rigveda*. The chief opponents of the gods are the *asuras* and on a lower plane the *rākshasas* (demons). The term *asura* was originally of good report as it was applied to Varuṇa, 'the Vedic sacrifice was in one aspect an offering to win divine favour and in another a magic rite to establish control over gods and nature'. There were no human sacrifices. Milk, grain, ghee, flesh and *soma* were the usual offerings to the gods. In this period the sacrifice had not become so elaborate as it did in the next. But the *soma* sacrifice had really become more complex than the rest demanding the simultaneous services of a number of priests.

On the whole the bulk of the *Rigveda* is an aristocratic collection which gives little of popular religion. There are some hymns in the tenth book that mark the dawn of philosophic thought, the chief characteristics of which are a trend towards monotheism and speculations on creation and related questions. The idea of one only, without a second is expressed thus in one of the hymns in the tenth book.

'Then was not nonexistence nor existence. . . . That only breathed

by its own nature: apart from that was nought.' (*Ṛigveda*, x, 129-1-2).

The dead were cremated or buried. Widow burning was unknown in this period. Life in the next world was looked upon as a replica of life in this. The dead man's soul is said to depart to the waters of the plants. Transmigration of soul had not yet presented itself to the seers of this age.

Arts and Sciences : The hymns of the *Ṛigveda* clearly show the high development of the art of poetry. There are fine specimens of lyric poetry, notably in those addressed to Ushas. A few poems of a secular character are also found such as the lament of the gambler. The language of the *Ṛigveda* is clearly that of the priesthood, not that of common speech. The priesthood maintained tradition of transmitting the Veda by word of mouth from one generation to another and defending it against neologisms. But contacts with pre-Aryan inhabitants were inevitable and to this should be attributed the presence in the Vedic language of several words and sounds, particularly cerebrals, unknown to other Indo-European languages.

From the fall of Harappa to the middle of the third century B.C., no Indian-written material has survived. There is no reference to writing in the Vedas. This negative evidence, however, is not wholly conclusive; it is not unlikely that some form of script may have been used by merchants. The script of Harappa could not have died when so much of its culture survived. The script of Aśokan inscriptions could not have sprung up suddenly without a development through some centuries.

References to mansions supported by a thousand columns and provided with a thousand doors may indicate the advance of architecture in Ṛigvedic India. Allusions to images of Indra probably show the beginnings of sculpture. Quite a number of diseases and ways of healing them are found mentioned as also the use of metal legs as a substitute for natural ones. (*R.V.*i. 116.15). This is all the evidence we have for the Rigvedic Aryans' knowledge of medicine and surgery.

It is clear that when the Aryans came to India its rich valleys were filled with a teeming population speaking dialects of the Dravidian and Munda languages. The people were comparatively civilized. They lived in cities, tilled the ground and raised crops

of various kinds. Their artificers made ornaments of gold, pearls and probably of precious stones for their kings and princes. They traded with foreign countries, the chief articles of export being teak, peacocks, pearls and woven cloth. The story of Aryan settlement shows that there could not have been any appreciable racial disturbance, although the dasyus and Panis were enemies of the Aryan fire cult. It is impossible to describe the conditions of the pre-Aryan peoples of India during and immediately after the Aryan settlement, for lack of evidence. Though life in Rigvedic times was simple, the Aryans were already highly civilized. They had settled government, though not yet regular law courts. They were organized for war; they knew the necessary arts of peace. They respected family ties and their neighbour's right to life and property.

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CHAPTER III

LATER VEDIC PERIOD

Later Vedic Literature

ALONG with the *Ṛigveda* there came up the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* and perhaps some time later the *Atharvaveda*. Each Veda has generally three recognized divisions: (1) The *samhitā* consisting of *sūktas*, hymns used at sacrifices and offerings, the *mantras* on which the efficacy of the rite depends. (2) The *brāhmaṇas*, described by Āpastamba as containing precepts for sacrifice, reproof, praise, stories and traditions. They explain the connection between the sūktas and the ceremonies. At the end of the *brāhmaṇas* are given treatises named *Āraṇyakas* or 'books of the forest', specially for study by recluses. (3) The *upanishads*, philosophical treatises of a profound character, embodying the *brahma-vidyā*, on which the six *darśanas*, or the great systems of philosophy are built up. They are many in number, reckoned as 108. Of these 10 or 12 of the earliest are called Major and the rest Minor.

The *samhitā* of the *Ṛigveda* has already been mentioned. About half of the hymns in the *Yajurveda* are also found in the *Ṛigveda*. There are two main versions of the *Yajurveda*, (the Black; Kṛishṇa) or *Taittirīya*, in which the *samhitā* and the *brāhmaṇa* are mixed up; and the White (the *Śukla*) or *Vājasaneya*, in which the *samhitā* is separate from the *brāhmaṇa*. Besides this there are other minor differences. The *samhitā* consists of invocations and prayers offered in the preparation of the materials, the altar, the bricks, the stakes and so on. The prose of the *Yajurveda samhitās* is the earliest Sanskrit prose. Details of the sacrifices often mentioned in histories—the rājasūya, the aśvamedha, etc., may here be found as well as domestic and other ceremonies. The *Yajurveda* contains the formulae and prayers of the chief priest, *adhvaryu* (conductor) in a sacrifice.

Most of the hymns in the *Sāmaveda* are also found in the *Ṛigveda-mantras*, only 75 being different. The *Sāmaveda* is the knowledge of

songs and its hymns were chanted by the *udgātā*, at sacrifices in which *soma* was offered.

The *samhitā* of the *Atharvaveda* is sometimes called *Brahmaveda*, probably because it was the special veda used by the *Brahmā*, the chief priest at a sacrifice, who supervised the whole and set right any errors committed by the *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu* and the *udgātā*. In the *Atharvaveda* is also expounded the knowledge of Brahman which bestows *mokhsa* or liberation from rebirth. Many of the more famous *upanishads* form part of it. It is of a special historical and sociological interest as it throws much light on the daily life of the ancient middle-class Aryan, the merchant and the agriculturist as well as on that of the women of the same class. It attained full rank as a veda relatively late. A considerable part of the *Atharvaveda* is made up of spells and charms of popular vogue which in part at least are of pre-Aryan origin. The *upanishads* are comparatively important and they are so called because they used to be imparted in secret sessions in which teacher and pupil sat close together. They contain the philosophy in an intellectual form. The *sūtras* briefly indicate directions for the performance of various sacrifices (*Śrauta*). These sacrifices are many in number, some of which are offered daily and the others are of occasional obligation. The *gṛihyasūtras* relate to domestic and ritual duties and the *dharmasutras* to customary law and practice. Though rather late compositions, they often preserve far older verses and facts of historical value.

Aryan Expansion : We have noticed that in the *Ṛigvedic* period the Aryan tribes had spread over northern India from the Kābul to the upper Ganges. In this period large and compact kingdoms ruled by powerful kings sprang up. Later vedic texts mention stately cities. Indian archaeologists have excavated the ancient city of Hastinapura (Āsandīvat) and they have fixed the date of its lowest level, at 1000–700 B.C., that is, the time of the later vedic literature. This was the capital of the kingdom of the Kurus on the upper course of the Jumna and the Ganges.

During the most part of the later Vedic period the Kurus and their neighbours, the Pañchālas were the greatest of Indian peoples and afforded models of good form. The *Atharvaveda* mentions Parīkshit as a great king in whose reign the kingdom of the Kurus flourished exceedingly. The horse-sacrifice of his descendant

Janamejaya is celebrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*. It may be of interest to note here 'that elements of the curious and complicated ritual of the ancient Indian horse-sacrifice are found again among the Altai Turks of modern times and survived until the twelfth century A.D., in Ireland'.

Early in this period the Aryans pressed further eastward and set up kingdoms in Kosala, to the east of the Doab, and in Kāśī, the region of Benaras; on the southern bank the native tribe of the Nishāda formed a defence against the Aryan tribes in the north. Another important Kingdom was Videha, to the east of the river Gandak and north of the Ganges. This kingdom probably takes its name after *Videha Mādhava* whom god Agni instructed to carry him over there so that he might clear the jungle and waste by burning and Aryanize the land. Janaka of Videha was a great patron of the seers of the *upanishads* and among his contemporaries were Yājnavalkya and Śvetaketu. This king was the father of Sītā, the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Mithilā, the capital of of Videha disappeared a little before the time of the Buddha. South of Videha on the right bank of the Ganges was Magadha, then of little account. To the east of Magadha, on the borders of modern Bengal there was the small kingdom of Anga, while beyond it lay Bengal and Assam which were still outside the pale of the Aryans. The Vedic literature of the period concerns itself mainly with the region from the Jumna eastwards to the borders of Bengal. The area south of the Ganges receives little attention, perhaps because the Aryan penetration was mainly along the Himalayan foothills and not down the river, the banks of which were thick with swampy jungle. On the Jumna the tribe of the Yādavas had settled in the region of Mathurā. Further down the river was the small kingdom of Vatsa which with its capital Kauśāmbī rose to prominence later. By the end of this period the Aryans had advanced down the Chambal river, had settled in Mālwa, and had reached the Narmadā. Probably parts of North Western Deccan were also under the Aryan influence. Later Vedic literature mentions the Punjab and the North-West only rarely and usually with contempt as an impure land where vedic sacrifices are not performed. During this period Aryan India included the whole of the north-western plains extending in a south-westerly direction as far as Gujarāt and eastward as far as the Ganges delta, its extreme south-easterly point being the delta of Orissa. The highlands of Central India

formed a sharp line of demarcation between the Aryan India and the South; Magadha and Anga were but imperfectly Aryanized and serve in the *Atharvaveda* as symbols of a distant land. It is believed that they were probably the home of at least some of the Vrātyas who were admitted into the Aryan fold after the performance of purificatory ceremonies.

Social and Political Development

The phrase 'Ārya and Śūdra' appearing in the Vedic literature perhaps meant only to distinguish those who were theoretically qualified for the fire-cult from those who were not. In the period under review the Aryans came to live a settled life. The problem that faced them was how to bring into their social structure tribes that refused to accept the fire-cult. The process of Aryanization naturally involved many social changes.

Professions were still not restricted to particular castes as a *mantra* referring to the diversity of men's tastes says : 'I am a poet, my father is a doctor, my mother a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking after gain, we run, as after cattle' (R.V. ix. 112.3). However, the influence of the *Brāhmaṇas* steadily increased and their claim to social predominence insistently urged. The brāhman while claiming his privileges was fully conscious of the obligations of his social eminence; he craved for attaining the power of speaking 'brilliant words among the people' (A.V. vi. 69.2). He prayed for keenness of perception, for high thoughts, for the desire that stimulated intellectual greatness (A.V. xix. 4.24), increase of wisdom (A.V. xix. 141) and for the unbroken continuance in him of that knowledge and power (*brahmā*) which would enable him always to remain an ideal brāhmin (A.V. xix. 42). There was a difference between the rishi and the priest. The former composed hymns and elaborated various forms of the fire-rite, while the latter had definite functions in the rites. The ṛishi was the inspired seer and came from various classes of society (and both *sexes*) and his authority was due to his poetic inspiration and his knowledge of the secret names of the gods by which alone they could be coerced (R.V. x. 45.2, x. 55.1). The priest came from the priestly classes and was an important factor of society. Without him fire-rites could not be performed. The profession of the brāhmin was quite well recognized as any other profession. The

word *brāhmaṇa* besides indicating a man of the priestly class had also the specific signification of a head priest in a *yajna*. Some Rājanyas were ṛishis and hence acted as priests as when Devāji celebrated a rite to secure rain-fall.

The profession of war was carried on by the fighting classes; but rishis and brāhmans followed the army to the battlefield and encouraged the soldier in the fight. The king continued to lead the army. In this age every incident in the private life of the upper-classes from before birth to after death was hedged round with ceremonial and recitation of *mantras*. The influence of *mantras* on men's lives greatly increased the importance of the brāhmans. They claimed that Soma was their king and that they were above the imperium of the king. The simple distinction between vaiśya and śūdra began to grow into an increasing number of endogamous group—seeds of the 'caste system'. Social distinctions became more pronounced and artisans were losing status and forming separate 'castes' of their own. The śūdras, on the other hand, were no longer slaves but gained in status approximating to that of the humbler vaiśyas.

Rituals increased in number and variety. The first important rite in the life of girls was marriage, the rules of which became more complicated than those in the early Vedic age. *Atharvaveda* xiv deals with the subject in elaborate detail; and these rules are observed even now by a large majority of Hindus. However, there seems to have been no unnatural rigidity in the social order as may be inferred from the story of Satyakāmajābāla, the son of a slave girl, who was accepted as a pupil by a distinguished priest because he spoke the truth and showed promise. There is evidence to show that various tribes arranged marriages in different ways.

Kings and Nobles : Monarchy tended to be hereditary. The royal consecration became an elaborate ceremony in which nobles of the State took part. Kings were elected by the people (*Viś*. A.V. iii. 4.2), that is, the man chosen from the royal family by the 'king-makers' was acclaimed *rājā* by the assembled clansmen. He was then consecrated. Standing on a tiger-skin, a 'tiger on a tiger-skin' (A.V. iv. 8.4), the priest sprinkled (*abhisheka*) on him, water consecrated with *mantras* (A.V. iv. 8.5) and recited prayers for the king's long life and prosperity. The King levied tribute (*bali*) which must have been heavy because the heaven-world is

described as a place where no tribute (*śulka*) is paid by the weak to the mighty (A.V. iii 29.3). Kings of various grades are mentioned in the hymns, the *rājaka* being inferior to a *rājā* and *svarāt* (independent king) and *samrat*, paramount king being superior to him. Public affairs, religious and political, were managed by local assemblies (*sabhā*, *samiti*) and speakers in these assemblies sought the help of spells and magic herbs to stimulate their eloquence in debate (*prāś*) and overcome their rival debaters (*pratiprāśita*) (A.V. ii. 27) and secure unanimous support from the assembled tribesmen (A.V. vii. 12).

The nobles were wealthy and possessed chariots and horses. They drove in lightly rolling chariots, 'drawn by four trained horses decked with pearls' (R.V. i. 183.3). Priests flocked round liberal lords, chanting prayers for prosperity and performing magical rites for killing their human and demon foes and received rewards constantly.

The bulk of the people were poor and borrowed at usurious rates of interest (R.V. viii. 55.10) and repaid their debts in eight or sixteen instalments (A.V. vi. 46.3). Famine prevailed not infrequently and people died of starvation (A.V. iv. 17.6) during famines.

We often hear of expelled kings and may conclude that oppressive rule was not tolerated. There was no royal ownership of land in the State, but by virtue of his sovereignty the king regulated rights in land according to custom. As *daṇḍa-dhāra* the king was the ultimate court of justice. Cattle-lifting and other kinds of thieving were the chief forms of crime. There is a reference to prison (*ūrva*) in R.V. iv. 12.5 and to fetters of iron (A.V. vi. 63.2); *padbiśā*, the ordeals of fire, water, and single combat, seem to be referred to in R.V. i. 158.4, 5. The ordeal of the red-hot axe is mentioned only once in the *Chhāndogya unpanishad* as part of criminal procedure. The *sūtras* fix the scale of the wergeld according to caste and sex.

Women had no inheritance or property of their own. The śūdra could also own no property in law. Though the birth of daughters was *deprecated*, women occupied an honourable position in the household. The wife took part in religious ceremonies. Many *professions* were open to women such as weaving, embroidery, cane-splitting, dyeing, etc. They were not shut up in houses but went about freely.

Economy

AGRICULTURE AND PASTURE : Agriculture and pastoral pursuits made progress. The chief occupation of the people was agriculture. They ploughed the ground, the plough being drawn by two oxen fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces. Heavy ploughs drawn by as many as twentyfour oxen came into use. The iron ploughshare supplanted the older wooden ploughshare. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals; water was also raised from wells. Agriculture was followed, not merely for providing one's own family with food but as a means of acquiring wealth. Cattle-rearing was followed as subsidiary to agriculture. They reared also goat and sheep.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS : Weaving in cotton and wool was done by men and women; numerous poetical metaphors were drawn from this industry. Carpenters made chariots and carts; wood-work included wood-carving. The physician (*bhishak*) employed spells and medicaments to cure ills. With advancement in industrial life many new classes of workers such as boatmen, helmsmen and oarsmen appear. The astrologer becomes an important person in village life. *Śreshṭhin* is mentioned and probably merchants were already organized into guilds.

COINAGE : *Kṛishṇala* berry was a unit of weight and this probably led to the use of coinage. The *nishka* superseded the cow as a unit of value. The *śatamāna* of the *Brāhmaṇas* was a piece of gold weighing a hundred *kṛishṇalas*.

HOUSES, FOOD ETC. : The people continued to live in wooden houses. The houses of the rich had four walls and the poor lived as now, in circular huts of wattle, daubed with clay and 'clad with straw'. The better houses had a store-room (*havirdhānam*), ladies' bower, a men's general living room and an Agni's hall (*Agniśālam*, A.V. ix. 3.7), the very rich owned besides, a treasurer-room paved with rock. In royal houses the harem was called *māhisha*. Besides benches and cots the household furniture consisted of chairs, boxes, leather bags, and domestic utensils of skin, wood and metals. Among metals iron, tin, lead and silver came into use. Food and drink remained the same as before; only meat-eating

along with drinking *surā* was censured. Besides woollen clothes silk and dyed garments came into use. Amulets were worn to avert the evil eye and to ward off illness. A most powerful amulet which ensured long life and general prosperity was the *trivṛita*, made of three strands of gold, three of silver and three of iron.

Astronomical Knowledge of the Ṛishis : There was a distinct advance in astronomical knowledge. The professions of the star-gazer (*nakshatra-darśa*) and calculator (*gaṇaka*) are mentioned. The year of twelve months (360 days) was arranged in six seasons; the *nakshatras* (lunar mansions) are known and reckoned as twenty-seven or twenty-eight, Abhijit being omitted in the smaller enumeration, twelve of these being chosen to represent the months. An intercalary month was introduced in every cycle of five years.

> 'The knowledge of the *nakshatras*, the art of making bricks, the Brāhmī alphabet, the legend of the flood and the saving of man by a great fish, and the system of weights (*māna* with epithet golden occurs once in the *Ṛigveda*) have all been treated as instances of borrowing from Babylon; but there is little tangible evidence in favour of the hypothesis.'

Religion

Sacrifices became so elaborate that numerous classes of priests were required. They extended from a few days to a whole year. Sacrificial sessions (*sattra*) are referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and numerous details of long and complicated sacrifices are given. The chief public rite was the *soma* sacrifice. King Soma, as the plant was called, was brought into the sacrificial shed and numerous songs in its praise were sung. Animal sacrifices came into vogue by the side of the older offerings of vegetable food, milk and *soma*. The horse sacrifice of the earlier part of the age was a much simpler affair than the gorgeous but revolting aśvamedha of later days.

Besides anthropomorphic gods, the pre-Aryan peoples had many animistic and totemistic gods. Tribal mingling led also to the mingling of gods. Thus, much popular religion of pre-Aryan origin got mixed up in the elaborate Aryan rituals as well as in their domestic rituals. This line of development paved the way to

the growth of popular Hinduism. Rudra (Śiva) and Vishṇu (Kṛishṇa) become prominent in the Aryan pantheon. In spite of his divine omniscience, it was not Varuṇa that led to the conception of one deity so much as Viśvakarmā, Prajāpati and above all Brahmā who is 'the greatest, who presides over the past, the future, the Universe and whose alone is the sky' (A.V. x. 8.1). The higher thinkers of the Vedic age had developed a strong sense of cosmic law and moral law. The cosmic order was called *ritam* or *vratam* and was under the guardianship of the higher gods. The same words designated moral order, truth in the moral world and rite in the religious world. (R.V. 184.4, viii, 25.2).

In this period also the minds of some men rose above the interests of war, the acquisition of wealth and happiness by sacrifice or by spells, by war or by trade and carnal enjoyments of this world or the next. Their keen vision pierced through the phenomena of the world to what is beyond. As theology developed the sacrifice and the fire-altar gained a cosmic significance in the religious thought of the period. People came to believe that the reward of sacrifice is everlasting bliss in heaven.

Deep thinkers were fed up with ritualism. They desired to get at the ultimate truth regarding man and his relation to the universe. The *upanishads* reveal the nature of guesses at Truth, from different standpoints; these guesses ultimately led to the evolution of systems of philosophy. Among the most valued treasures not only of India but of the world are the prose and poetry of the early Upanishads. 'They glow with the passion of the seekers after the highest truth, their efforts to reach Reality behind the apparent world, to attain the road to Eternal Happiness transcending the ephemeral joys and sorrows of mundane life.' Among the new elements in the *upanishads* are the doctrine of rebirth (transmigration of soul) and *karma*. Transmigration appears to have been a part of almost all ancient religions. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (vi. 2.16) the first form of this doctrine is given. In recognition of the continued existence of the *jīvātmā* from life to life, Huxley, a great scientific thinker says in his *Evolution of Ethics*: 'Like the doctrine of evolution itself that of transmigration has its roots in the world of reality; and it may claim such support as the argument from analogy is capable of supplying'. Closely allied to transmigration is the doctrine that the *karma* (action) of a man determines the nature of his life in the next birth, and this soon became fundamental to most

Indian thought. It may have justified the social inequalities of the Aryan community, but it was not designed to be such. In any case, it provided a satisfactory explanation of the mystery of suffering which is still troubling many thoughtful souls all over the world. The view that *karma* paralyzes human efforts is, according to the orthodox Hindu, a crude mistake. To him it is a guide, not a paralyzer of action; human endeavour may well counteract the effect of *karma* in part. To escape from the wheel of births and deaths one must realize the nature of Brahman (the Absolute Reality). 'When all the desires in the heart are loosed, then the mortal becomes immortal, then he here enjoys Brahman' (*Kaṭhop* ii. vi. 14). But the teachings of most of the founders of ascetic orders were so pessimistic that they often robbed people of their joy of life.

The age of the genuine Upanishads may be taken to have closed about 600 B.C. The earliest *sūtras* may be placed about the same time. *Sūtra* is the name of a very pithy form of composition in short sentences. They are meant to satisfy the needs of oral instruction and aid the memory in following step by step the different heads of a subject or stages of a rite. The early *sūtras* were composed before the Sanskrit language was fixed in its classical form by the grammarians. The beginnings of the epics, law books and *purāṇas* must also be traced to this period, though they have often been revised in later times.

We cannot say precisely when Aryan influences began to spread in the land to the south of the Vindhyas. Before the beginning of the age of the *sūtras*, the process of Aryanization was complete in Western Deccan (Mahārāshṭra). Not until 800 B.C., did Southern India become Aryanized, if we allow some centuries for the process before the fourth century B.C., when Megasthenes records some facts and legends relating to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the extreme south. Probably, the legends that have grown round Agastya and Paraśurāma contain clues to the different periods in the process of Aryanization in South India.

SŪTRAS : The *Śrautasūtras* are manuals explaining the ritual of sacrifices in the three fires; their supplement, the *Śulbasūtras* deal with measurements needed for laying out the sacrificial are, of subject that entailed a good knowledge of geometry. The *Gṛihya-sūtras* relate to domestic life. The *Dharmasūtras* treat of customs and

laws, etc. All the three comprise the *kapla*, method of life. The general student's interest lies in the *gṛihya* and *dharma sūtras*. The complete *kalpa* of only a few schools of thought is now available; and that of Āpasthamba, who probably lived in the Andhra region, is the best known. The *gṛihya sūtras* give full details of all the rites at all stages of a man's life from birth to death. Rules regarding valid marriages, defilement by eating and touching what is unclean, the types of food permitted, etc. appear for the first time in the *gṛihyasūtras*. These rules are found in a form more liberal and rational than the parctice and prescription of a later time. It is the observance of these rules, certainly with minor modifications, that has produced a remarkable uniformity of social ceremonies and forms over the whole of India. Rural life is regarded as superior to urban life.

The beginnings of civil and criminal law are found in the discussions of royal duties in the *dharma śāstras*. They refer mostly to the duties of a local *rājā*, rather than to a king of a large State. The established practices of families, localities and corporations were duly respected. Doubts regarding the application of a proper rule were settled by *sabhās* of *śishṭas* (elite). The chief duty of the king was to maintain peace, protect the State, and punish criminals. If stolen property was not recovered, the king had to make good the loss sustained by the subjects. The king had to guard his subjects from want and arrange for the care of the sick. The revenue he got by way of taxes on land, trade, etc. was looked upon as wages for his services to the community.

The *sūtras* contain a fairly complete list of duties of classes (*varṇa*) and stages of life (*āśramas*). The house-holder (*gṛihastha*) was the pivot of the society, for on the faithful discharge of his duties depended the student (*brahmachārī*) the forest dweller (*vānaprastha*) and the ascetic (*sanyāsī*).

The *kalpa* is one of the six auxiliaries (*vedāngas*) to the Veda. The other five are *Śikshā* (Phonetics), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Chhandas* (Prosody), and *Jyotisha* (Astronomy, including astrology). Secular studies were organized as *upavedas* (Subsidiary vedas), and they included *Āyurveda* (medicine), *Dhanurveda* (archery), *Gāndharvaveda* (music) and *Arthaśāstra* (technical arts), which in later days came to mean the science of polity.

On the whole in the *sūtra* literature every department of thought and action is crystallized and codified into cut-and-dried form.

Its scientific formalism seems to have forged fresh shackles of slavery. A reaction from this is to be found in the succeeding philosophy of Kapila and his disciples which must have been promulgated a century or so before the birth of Gautama Buddha.

The Two Great Epics

According to *smṛitis* the Vedas should be expounded to the common folk with the help of the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are the *Itihāsas*. There are conflicting views about the dates of the composition of these two epics. As a product of literary art the *Rāmāyaṇa* is held by some modern scholars to be later than the *Mahābhārata*. Indian tradition regards the former epic as the *adi-kāvya*. The original work of Vālmīki, that is to say, books II–VI of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is believed by Professor MacDonell to have been completed before the epic kernel of the *Mahābhārata* had assumed definite shape. The *Mahābhārata* is reputed to be the work of the sage Vyāsa.

Professors Jacobi and Macdonell regard the *Rāmāyaṇa* as being neither historical nor allegorical but a poetic creation based on mythology. Some historians confess their inability to extract anything deserving the name of political history from the epic tales of either the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*. To the student of Indian history, however, these epics have a value quite irrespective of the history or the allegory they may or may not contain. For centuries their stories have been believed as wholly and literally true by the mass of the Indian people, and have supplied to successive generations of Indian men and women their ideals of life. They represent the noblest efforts of creative poetic genius on Indian soil. What deserves the attention of the historian is that the Hindu myth is more than a myth. It is a living religion.

In the Vedic literature we find tales and legends about the heroic deeds of princes. These hero-lauds (*gāthās*) and narrative stories (*ākhyāna*) formed an important feature of sacrifices like the *rājasūya* and the *aśvamedha*. It is believed that the epics must have grown out of such hero-lauds. But the stories of the epics centre round heroes not explicitly mentioned in the extant Vedic texts. Daśaratha and his son, Rāma of the Ikshvāku family are alluded to in the *Jātaka gāthās* and illustrated in bas-reliefs of the second century B.C. The tale of the Pāndus is also known to the *Jātaka*

gāthās and 'is hinted at by Greek writers of the fourth century B.C., in the confused legends about the Indian Herakles and Pandis'. Pānini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, all grammarians, allude to it. Patañjali shows some acquaintance with the Kishkindhā episode of the Rāma story. It is futile to attempt to fix exactly when each of the stories took shape as a *kāvya*. Kātyāyana belongs to the third century B.C. and so it is reasonable to assume that both the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa must have been completed between 500 B.C. and A.D. 200, the former in the first half of this period and the latter in the second half.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA : This is a long narrative poem composed by one author and is devoted to the celebration of the deeds of Rāma, the hero. So it is truly epical. It is in seven books containing 24,000 *ślokas* or 48,000 lines. Critics regard the first and last books as later additions. The main theme is the story of Prince Rāma of Ayodhyā, the son of Daśaratha and Kausalyā. When everything is ready for the installation of Rāma as Yuvarāja, the jealousy of Kaikeyī, the second Queen, drove Rāma into exile to secure the possession of the throne for her son Bharata. Rāma with his wife Sīta went into exile for fourteen years and Lakshmana, the third prince voluntarily shared their exile. The adventures of Rāma, the abduction of Sīta by Rāvaṇa, the *rākshasa* ruler of Lankā (Ceylon), Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva, the monkey king and his sage minister, Hanumān, the recovery of Sīta after killing Rāvana, Rāma's return to Ayodhyā to the great joy of Bharata who had so long held the kingdom in trust for his elder brother and the coronation of Rāma as King of Ayodhyā and very many other incidents are all beautifully described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma is pictured as an *Avatār* of Vishṇu and Sīta of Lakshmī. The story provides a model of fraternal affection and mutual service and of kingship for all rulers. Sīta is regarded as the most perfect example of womanly fidelity, chastity and sweetness. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has been translated by the most eminent poets in every important Indian language. Its incidents have furnished themes for poerty and drama and have been portrayed in sculpture and painting all over India and in the colonies in Indo-China, Indonesia and Malaya. The influence of the Rāma saga on the life and character of the people of India can hardly be exaggerated.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA : The *Mahābhārata* consists of eighteen *parvas* (sections) containing about 100,000 verses. It has a supplement called *Harivaṁśa* containing another 16,000 *ślokas*. The whole forms an encyclopaedia of history, morals and religion, not surpassed or even rivalled by any other epic in the world. The main thread of the story is constantly broken by interludes such as the story of Nala and Damayantī, of Śakuntalā and of Sāvitrī each of which may form a book by its own right. Besides these stories, there is a condensed version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which differs from Vālmīki's version in some material respects.

The kernel of the *Mahābhārata* comprises about 24,000 *ślokas*. In its original form there were probably only 8,800 *ślokas*. The main thread presents itself as a prolonged war between Kauravas, and their first cousins, the Pāṇḍavas—in other words between the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra, the blind king, and the five sons of his brother Pāṇḍu. Duryodhana was the eldest of the Kauravas and Yudhishṭhira of the Pāṇḍavas. In the fierce battle that aged for eighteen days on the plain of Kurukshetra to the north of ancient Indraprastha, very near modern Delhi, it is said that all the kings and peoples including those from the extreme south took part. At the end of the fight nearly all the combatants on both sides perished. Among the few survivors were Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Pāṇḍavas. A reconciliation was brought about and Yudhishṭhira was recognized as king. Finally, the Pāṇḍavas together with their wife Draupadī gave up the Royal state and were admitted into Indra's heaven, after a journey to Mount Meru.

Among the principal characters of the *Mahābhārata* two stand out prominently, Bhīshma on the side of the Kauravas and Śrī Kṛishṇa, the charioteer of Arjuna, the third of the Pāṇḍava brothers. Bhīshma 'lying on his bed on arrows', surrounded by all the princes proceeds to discourse for long days ('until the sun, entering to the nothern declension, permitted him to resign his life breath'), on the whole duty of mankind and especially on the duties of kingship. These discourses are marvellously illuminating even to the present day statesmen and politicians. When on the eve of battle Arjuna is unnerved by a wave of pacifism that sweeps over him, Śrī Kṛishṇa discourses to him on philosophy and social duty and induces him to fight with the thought of the Lord ever present in his mind. This discourse is the *Bhagavadgītā* (*The Song Celestial*), the most

precious jewel of Sanskrit literature. This is perhaps the nearest approach so far known to a universal scripture.

The *Mahābhārata* with its interpolations is indeed the outcome of many masterminds. *Purāṇic* chronology avers that the battle of Kurukshetra was fought in 3102 B.C. at the commencement of the Kaliyuga. However unbelievable it may be, the story seems to fit well with the opening of the Kaliyuga when good and evil with almost equal force and the complicated working of *karma* baffle and bewilder the mind. The lists of kings given in the *purāṇas* from the time of Parīkshit, who became king thirty-six years after the battle, do not take us beyond about 1000 B.C., for the date of the war. Western scholars have attempted to reconstruct the original story of the *Mahābhārata* as a war between the Kurus and Pañchālas, but the Pāṇḍavas had really no part in it. Some scholars attempt to depict the Pāṇḍavas as non-Aryan hill men 'a new people from without the pale'. Such attempts will not bear criticism and do not commend themselves to the Indian student.

Law-Books and Purāṇas

As we have already mentioned the *Mahābhārata* is not only an epic, but also a law-book and a *purāṇa*. The *Nārada-smṛiti* says that Manu is the original law-giver who composed a *Dharmaśāstra* in 100,000 *ślokas*. This was reduced by Nārada to 12,000 *ślokas*, by Mārkaṇḍeya to 8000 and by Sumati, Bhṛigu's son, to 4000. The laws now exist in 12 books, containing only 2685 *ślokas*. This law-book expounds in detail the duties of the student (chap. IV), the house-holder (chap. III) and of one who is a *snātaka* (chap. IV), food, impurity, purification and women (chap. V), and the life of the forest dweller and the *sanyāsī* (chap. VI). The duties of a king are then laid down (chap. VII), and the administration of civil and criminal law (chap. VIII). This is followed by the 'eternal laws for a husband and wife', the laws of inheritance, the punishment for some crimes and some additional precepts regarding royal duties (Chap. IX). The rules of the four great classes, chiefly in times of distress, follow (Chap. X), and then laws on penances (Chap. XI). The twelfth chapter deals with transmigration and declares that supreme bliss is to be gained by the knowledge of *Ātman*, on whom 'the Universe rests'. The Full name of the book is *Mānavadharma-śāstra* and it is the earliest of the metrical

law-books. It is considered to be later than the epic and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and is generally assigned to a date between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. The work is, in great part, non-sectarian. It has formed the basis not only of several later law-books of old but of the Hindu Law administered under British rule in India.

In the later Vedic literature there are phrases to show that the life of the gods was modelled on that of mortal Kings; as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* naively puts it, 'the course pursued among the gods is in accordance with that pursued among men' (I. iii. 1.1). There were speculations on the relation between *brahma* (sacerdotum) and *kshatra* (imperium). A pre-political golden age when *dharma* kept everything in its proper place is postulated. In such a golden age there was righteousness and bliss and so there was no need for State and punishment (*daṇḍa*). But wtith the passage of time human character degenerated, the strong began to oppress the weak and the *mātsya-nyāya* (the law of the fishes) gained the upper hand. This situation necessitated *daṇḍa* and the king became the *daṇḍadhāra*. Manu says, that *daṇḍa* is *dharma* incarnate for the protection of the universe and humanity. This conception is only an extension of the vedic *rita*, cosmic order which assists righteous kings in the discharge of their duties according to *rājanīti*, but burns up a tyrant with his entire family. Certain circumstances justified the subjects in deposing and killing the king. The story of Veṇa is an instance in point. Veṇa took the law into his own hands, forbade all sacrifices except to himself and confused society by enforcing interclass marriages, in spite of the remonstrations of divine sages. The exasperated sages let fly blades of sacred grass which miraculously turned into spears and killed Veṇa. The moral justification of revolt must have always acted as a check on the king's autocracy. The sources of law are the Veda, the *smṛiti*, ancient custom and the conduct and opinion of the elite in each generation. Each village or community was free to have its own law and custom, not inconsistent with *dharma* and the king was bound to respect them.

Though monarchy was usual in ancient India, there were several tribal republics as attested by Buddhist literature and Greek writers. The use of the term, 'republic' in this context is criticized by some authorities. There may have not been universal suffrage in the modern sense. For the matter of that, the Roman republic was not a democracy at all, nevertheless it is called a republic.

There is clear evidence to show that in the ancient Indian republican communities a large number of persons had some decisive say in the government. In this period a theory of inter-state relations begins to emerge. The epic mentions the names of several thinkers on political subjects.

THE PURĀṆAS : The *purāṇas* (old-world legends), are connected with the epics and the law-books in form and substance. Eighteen *purāṇas* are reckoned as the chief and there are another eighteen styled as *upa-purāṇas* of which not much is known. The chief *purānas* contain the history of remote times when the conditions of existence were quite different from those which prevail in our days; they also describe regions of the universe not visible to the ordinary physical eye. Those *paurāṇikas* had developed such marvellous occult powers that they were able to describe nearly as well, in some cases, the past history of the universe as modern scientists have been able to do with the aid of delicate and costly apparatus.

The *purāṇas* contain in theory five topics—*sarga* (creation); *pratisarga* (re-creation) after each aeon (*kalpa*); *vamśa* (genealogies of gods and ṛishis); *manvantara* or the group of *mahāyugas* (great ages) in a *kapla* in each of which mankind has produced a new from a Manu, first father; and *Vamśānucharita*, history of royal families during the four *Yugas* making up a *mahāyuga*. Not all the *purāṇas* contain all the sections mentioned above. Of the eighteen only seven include the last historical section.

The view is held, not without reason, that all the eighteen versions have a common original. In the process of re-editing they have become heavily loaded with much didactic and sectarian matter. Their chronology and geography are, no doubt, fantastic and confusing and their genealogical tables inaccurate in not a few cases. But Vincent Smith's observation is worthy of note: 'Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of Purāṇic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition'. The *purāṇas* stand in the same relation to later Hinduism as the Vedas and *Brāhmanas* to its early phase.

CHAPTER IV

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM: PRE-MAURYAN INDIA

On the Threshold of Actual History

We now stand on the threshold of actual history, leaving behind us the period of the Upanishads and the Sūtras which was 'at once an age of keen speculation and rapid crystallization almost unequalled in the history of any nation'. Most European writers in their attempt to characterize Oriental Culture in the face of the Greek culture conclude that Oriental thought is 'mythopoeic', that is, myth-making, and that it is not until the age of the Greeks that reason establishes its independence. But the contrast is misleading and as Whewell admits, the Hindus, like the Greeks, 'felt the importunate curiosity with regard to the definite application of the idea of cause and effect to visible phenomena', 'drew a strong line between a fabulous legend and a reason rendered' and 'attempted to ascend to a natural cause by classing together phenomena of the same kind'.[1]

Sources: Buddhist and Jaina books form the primary source of our knowledge of the internal history of India from the seventh century B.C. to 322 B.C., the probable date of the Maurya Chandragupta's accession. Like the Vedic literature, these books also devote themselves more to religious ideas and movements than to historical events. But they contain references to States and their mutual relations which, if shifted, give us a fairly clear picture of the politics of the time. Besides these, the notice of India by Hekataios of Miletus (about 520 B.C.) and some inscriptions of the Persian King Darius (about 486 B.C.) contain references to historical events in India.

[1] *The History of the Inductive Sciences*, New York, 1898.

But the chronology of this period is still on shifting sands. For example, the date of the Buddha's death is differently fixed some time between the years 486 and 475 B.C. However, scholars generally accept 563 B.C. for his birth, and 483 B.C. for his death. But according to Sinhalese Buddhists the Buddha was born in 624 B.C. Again there is much disagreement among competent authorities on some important political events of the period. According to current Jaina tradition Mahāvīra's death occurred 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era, that is in 527 B.C. This is in contradiction to the assertion of Pāli books that Mahāvīra survived the Buddha. Hemachandra, a reputed Jaina author of the twelfth century (A.D. 1172), places Chandragupta Maurya 255 years before the Vikrama era, in 312 B.C., and says that this was 155 years after Mahāvīra's death, which would thus fall in 467 B.C. 'This agrees well with the general trend of Buddhist evidence and may be accepted.' But it should be noted that Hemachandra's date for Chandragupta's accession is some nine to twelve years later than the date generally accepted.

The Buddhist and Jaina scriptures, in spite of their being inadequate as historical documents, provide ample evidence to show 'that in political organization India produced her own system distinctive in its strength and weakness'. The view that Indian civilization was interested almost solely in the things of the spirit is not altogether correct.

Political and Social Conditions

By about 600 B.C., the focus of civilization begins to shift eastwards in the Gangetic plain. At this time there were a number of republican States side by side with more or less stable monarchies. In an early Buddhist text there is a list[2] of sixteen mahājanapadas,

[2]The list is as follows (Their modern names are given in brackets) :
1. Anga (East Bihar) 2. Magadha (South Bihar) 3. Kāśī (Benares) 4. Kosala (Oudh) 5. Vajji (North Bihar) 6. Malla (Gorakhpur District) 7. Chedi (Between the Jumnā and the Narmadā.) 8. Vatsa (Allahabad Region) 9. Kuru (Thaneshar, Delhi and Meerut Districts) 10. Pañchāla (Barieu Buduān and Farrukhābād Districts) 11. Maccha (Jaipur) 12. Śūrasena (Mathurā) 13. Assaka (On the Godāvarī) 14. Avanti (In Mālwa—the valley of the Charmaṇavati, Chambāl—a tributary of the Jumnā) 15. Gandhāra (Peshāwār and Rāwalpiṇḍi Districts) 16. Kāmboja (South-west Kashmir and parts of Kāfristān).

Great Nations, which occupied the territory from the Kabul valley to the banks of the Godāvarī. These States may be taken to give an idea of the political map of Northern India in the seventh century B.C. Important among them were Avanti, Kosala and Magadha.

AVANTI : Its capital was Ujjayinī, the modern Ujjain. In those days it was an important stage on the route from the Gangetic valley to Bharukaccha (Broach) and this contributed largely to the wealth and power of Avanti, which appears to have had close relations with the State of Assaka (Aśmaka) on the Godāvarī. The ruler of Avanti in the Buddha's lifetime was Chaṇḍa Pajjota (Pradyota, the fierce). His daughter was Vāsavadattā, and Udena (Udayana) of Kauśāmbī (capital of Vatsa) on the right bank of the Jumnā became celebrated as her lover and the hero of three Sanskrit dramas, *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa, *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Shortly after the Buddha's death, Ajātaśatru of Magadha is said to have fortified his capital Rājagṛiha, fearing an attack from Pradyota. Avanti soon became an important centre of the Buddha's teachings. Pāli, the language of the early Buddhist scripture, is believed to have been nearest to the spoken language of Avanti and not of Magadha as was commonly held till recently.

KOSALA : Kosala was a powerful State in the Buddha's time and it seems to have extended its power over the Śākyas of Kapilāvastu. This State extended from the Himalayas to the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. Its administration was as little centralized as that of the Śākyan territory. Its cantons were autonomous in all essentials. Grants of royal rights (*rājabhogga*) over specified tracts were common. There are no clear indications of the early rise of Kosala into prominence. For several generations it was in constant conflict with Kāśī. This began in the reign of Brahmadatta of Kāśī, about 150 years before the birth of the Buddha, when Kosala was a poor and feeble State ruled by King Dighiti and ended in the victory of Kosala in the reign of Kaṁsa. Pasenadi (Prasenajit) of Kosala, a contemporary of the Buddha and a rival of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, finds prominent mention in Buddhist literature. In one of the wars between the rivals the Kosalan king was defeated, but in a subsequent war the king of Magadha was taken prisoner and soon after restored to kingdom.

Though Pasenadi did not become a convert to Buddhism, he was a great admirer of the Buddha and was also on friendly terms with the Brāhmaṇas and the Jainas. The story goes that Viḍuḍabha with the help of a minister displaced Pasenadi, his father, from the throne. The latter went to Rājagṛiha to seek the aid of Ajātaśatru but died outside the gates of the city and was given a State funeral. Viḍuḍabha made war on the Śākyas with great cruelty. The story ends with this so that we hear nothing more of the kingdom of Kosala except that, later it was incorporated in that of Magadha.

MAGADHA : Magadha included the modern district of Patna and part of Gaya, and was then less than a sixth of Kosala in size. It was just entering the lists against that still more ancient Aryan Kingdom of Kosala. The first breath of life comes with Bimbisāra or Śrenika as the Jains called him. He was five years younger than the Buddha and came to the throne at the age of 15, about 543 B.C. He was the ruler of Magadha during the Buddha's lifetime, except for the last eight years of it.

The Purāṇic lists fix Bimbisāra's reign as of only 28 years and place four other monarchs before him beginning with Śiśunāga, and covering a period of 136 years. For this reason the dynasty of Bimbisāra is generally called by the name Śiśunāga (Ses- or Sheshnāga?). But the poet Aśvaghosha says that he belonged to the Haryaṇka-Kūla. The Ceylonese list of Magadhan kings, generally accepted as more reliable than the Purāṇic list, places Śiśunāga as the sixth ruler of the dynasty and gives Bimbisāra a reign of 52 years.

Bimbisāra followed a steady policy of expansion. He conquered and annexed the principality of Anga on the east. Giribbaja (hill fort) was the old capital and at the base of the hill below the old fort he built the city of Rājagaha (Rājagṛiha). Bimbisāra's chief queen was Kosaladevī, a sister of Pasenadi; Chellaṇa of the Licchavis and Khemā, daughter of the King of Madda in the Punjab, were his other queens. His marriage alliances clearly indicate the growing importance of Magadha. More important than either Bimbisāra's conquests or buildings is the fact that both Mahāvīra and the Buddha were born in his time. Certain it is that he must have heard the first teachings of Jainism and Buddhism preached at his palace doors. After he had ruled for 52 years, he

was killed by his son, Ajātaśatru. In one of the earliest Buddhist manuscripts extant there is an account of the guilty son's confession to the Buddha in these words : 'Sin overcame me, Lord, weak and foolish and wrong that I am, in that for the sake of sovereignty I put to death my father, that righteous man, that righteous king.'

Apart from this parricidal act, the motive for which he gives out with such calm brutality, Ajātaśatru seems to have been a strong and capable king. The murdered man's wife, Kosaladevī died for her grief and Ajātaśatru had instantly to face war with Kosala, an account of which has been given earlier in this section. When peace came Kosala had given one of its princesses in marriage to the king of Magadha and had become absorbed in that empire.

But this was not enough for ambitious Ajātaśatru. He now turned his attention to the rich lands north of the Ganges, and carried his victorious arms to the very foot of the holy Himalayas. In the course of this war he built a watch-fort at a village called Patali (Sanskrit for the bignonia or trumpet-flower) on the banks of the Ganges, wherein after years, he founded a city which, under the name of Pāṭaliputra (the Palibothra of Greek writers) became eventually the capital not only of Magadha but of India, as it was known in these early days.

The tribal confederation of the Vajjians often caused trouble by raiding Magadhan territory. The strategy Ajātaśatru employed to occupy their chief city Vesāli is as follows: Vassakara, the builder of the fort of Pāṭali, pretended to desert to the Vajjians. After three years' residence amongst them he sent word to his master that he had sown enough dissension among the confederates for his undertaking a successful expedition against them. There followed the occupation of Vesāli and the destruction of the independence of the confederates. This happened some time after the death of the Buddha. But the chief element of the confederation, the tribe of the Licchavis succeeded in preserving its identity and survived till about the fourth century A.D., and later.

Oligarchies and Republics : That the non-monarchical constitution was common in the political system of the country is fully borne out of the political condition of North India at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The *Avadānaśataka* of the Buddhists gives a story of a few north-Indian merchants who visited the Deccan:

when they were asked about the form of government in their country they replied : 'Some States are under kings while others are ruled by *gaṇas*'.

Republican clans occupied the whole country, east of Kosala (Oudh), between the Himalayas and the Ganges. Naturally we hear most of the Śākyas of Kapilāvastu, the clan which gave the Buddha to India and the world. They were 80,000 families, making up a population of about half a million in all. They lived mostly in villages or small towns scattered over the northern border of Hindustān in the Nepalese Terai and regarded themselves as inhabitants of Kosala. 'The affairs of each of these groups were looked after by an assembly of the young and old meeting in the open air under a tree, or in a motehall, which was just a roof supported by pillars without walls and called *Sānthāgāra*. Decisions were generally unanimous, doubtful questions being turned over to a committee of referees. There were also *Gaṇapūrakas* "whips" of the assembly and Śalākāgrāhakas, gatherers of "voting papers". The executive power was in the hands of a rājā who was elected, for how long is not known.' Their chief source of subsistence was the produce of agriculture and pasturage. Entire villages were often occupied by artisans of one particular craft or trade, carpenters, potters, metal workers and such others. Hunters, butchers, tanners and fishermen were looked upon as inferiors and their crafts were considered *hīnāsippani* (low crafts). The Śākyas appear to have been constantly quarrelling with their neighbours, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, over the sharing of the waters of the Rohiṇī.

The most powerful republican State at this time was the Vajjian confederacy. The tribe of the Licchavis which long resisted the great Ajātaśatru and that of the Videhas of Mithilā were the chief elements of the confederacy. Other republican clans that deserve mention are the Mallas of Pāvā and of Kuśinārā and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. In the period under review the republican tribes were standing up with difficulty to the internal pressure of changing social and economic conditions and the external pressure of the monarchies of Eastern India. We have seen that both the Śākyas and the Vajjians were conquered about the time of the Buddha's death. There were also a few republican tribes in western India. As they were comparatively free from the force of imperialism they survived much longer. Perhaps the most important western republic was that of the Yaudheyas in northern Rājasthān,

which issued numerous coins. All this shows that government by discussion is one of the legacies of India's ancient civilization.

Social and Economic Life : Early Buddhist literature, particularly the collection of Jātaka tales, contains much concrete information on the social and economic life of the times. This also serves as a valuable supplement and corrective to impressions derived from the other classes of works. Here is a quotation from a Jātaka story which gives a clear picture of the vigorous corporate life of the villagers.

> 'One day they stood in the middle of the village to transact village business, and they...(decided to) do good works; so they would get up betimes, and go out with knives, axes and crowbars. With their crowbars they rolled away the stones on the four high ways; they cut down the trees which caught the axles of their carts; they levelled the irregularities (of the roads); they built an embankment and dug tanks; they made a village hall; they showed charity and kept the (Buddhist) Commandments.'

Most of the villagers were free peasants; they owned the land they tilled, though the king claimed its ultimate ownership. The Jātaka stories show us groups of hardy peasants from over-populated villages cutting new settlements from the jungle, and even tell of whole villages emigrating *en masse* to the wilds to escape the attentions of extortionate tax collectors.

Society had not yet become cut up into rigid castes. Customs relating to marriage and occupation were still rather fluid. There were Brāhmins practising agriculture, trade, carpentry and metal work, or guarding cattle and guiding caravans. There were Kshatriyas engaged in cultivation. Mixed marriages were not uncommon and wealth enabled a man to find a bride above his station.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. Besides rice seven other sorts of grain were grown as also sugarcane and pulses. Occupations were becoming more and more specialized and we hear of eighteen corporations the heads of which were friends with princes. Trades and industries formed guilds of their own. The guild fixed rules of work and wages, and standards and prices

of commodities in which its members dealt and its regulations had the force of law and were upheld by the king and government. These guilds played an important part in the evolution of the trade castes.

Slavery was not unknown, but it was comparatively mild in its incidence. A man might become a slave for debt or by being captured in war, or by voluntary degradation to meet an emergency but he could practise a profession and purchase his freedom.

Merchants in town enjoyed much consideration. Their chief articles of trade were muslins, brocades, silks, carpets, drugs and perfumes, jewellery, arms and cutlery. They often travelled in caravans to ports on the west and to towns in the extreme north-west of India braving brigands and wild beasts. In crossing deserts they were guided by stars. The route to Taxila appears to have been safe, for young men of quality could undertake the journey unarmed. In this period there was thorough familiarity with money, credit and interest.

Religious Unrest

The sixth century B.C. was a time when men's minds in several widely separated parts of the world were deeply stirred by the problems of religions and salvation. Mahāvīra and the Buddha in India, Isaiah in Babylon, Heraclitus and Confucius in China, all unknown to one another, were displaying a new boldness and stirring men's minds. Everywhere men were waking up out of the traditions of kingships and priests and blood sacrifices and asking the most penetrating questions.

Kapila's doctrine (Sāṁkhya system), promulgated a century or so before the birth of the Buddha, was frankly agnostic in many of its conclusions and never really overset those of the Upanishads. But what indeed, can or could overset the doctrine laid down in the Upanishads; of a Universal Soul, a Universal Self, which is —to use the very words of the text:

> 'Myself within the heart smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than the kernel of a canary seed; myself within the heart greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven. Lo! He who beholds all beings in this self, and self in all beings, he never turns away from it.

> When to a man who understands, the self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who has once beheld that unity? He, the self, encircles all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, pure, untouched by evil; a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years. He therefore who knows this, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient and collected, sees self in self, sees all in self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Free from evil, free from stain, free from doubt, he becomes True Brahman. The wise– who meditating on this self, recognizes the Ancient, who dwells for ever in the abyss as God—indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind; having reached the subtle being, he rejoices because he has obtained the cause of rejoicing.'

As Flora Annie Steel observes 'such words as these live for ever, a veritable Light in the Darkness of many philosophies'. Yet even the Vedānta teaching failed to satisfy the masses; its atmosphere was too rarefied for them. 'About the middle of the sixth century B.C., the dominant tendency among many schools of ascetics was to escape from the formalism of the vedic religion, and to call in question the sanctity of the vedic lore, the utility of rituals and the claims of Brāhmins to spiritual superiority. The eastern lands of Magadha and Videha were not yet sufficiently Aryanized as the Madhyadesa had been and hence conditions there were particularly favourable for a new orientation of religious thought and practice.' It was in the fitness of things that the two great religious reformers Mahāvīra and the Buddha both belonged to that region. The movement heralded by them sprang mainly from the intellectual and spiritual tension caused by the 'mechanistic character of the Brāhmin ascendancy'. It is easy to exaggerate the differences between Brāhmanism and the new creeds. But the fact remains that early Buddhism arose within Brāhmanism minus its 'externals in rituals and its relative want of attention to the religious importance of conduct'. There was indeed no absolute or violent breach of thought between the old order and the new and the differences among the rival creeds were fought out peacefully in public debates without any resort to force or arms. With Mrs. Rhys Davids we hold 'that the exile from its parent stem should come more into account than it does when the causes of the decay of Buddhism in its native land are sought'.

Jainism and Buddhism had so much in common and developed along such closely parallel lines that even the biographies of their founders tended to be assimilated and modern scholars experienced no small difficulty in recognizing their separate personalities and doctrines. For some time, it was even believed that Jainism was a sect of Buddhism.

Jainism

PĀRŚVA AND MAHĀVĪRA : According to Jaina tradition there were twenty-four *Tīrthankaras* or 'ford-makers across the stream of existence', each of whom preached the doctrine to his own age. Each of these prophets enjoyed a shorter life than his predecessor in keeping with the steady worsening of the world's condition. Of these the first twenty-two are of doubtful historicity. In the case of the last two, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, Buddhist canon supplies us with incontrovertible proof of their historicity. Pārśva is reputed to have lived a hundred years and died only 250 years before his more celebrated successor, Mahāvīra.

Pārśva is said to have been a son of Aśvasena, king of Benares and his wife Vāmā. Aśvasena is the name of the Nāga king in epic literature and a snake is the invariable emblem of Pārsva in Jaina iconography. Pārśva lived for 30 years as a householder, then became an ascetic and, after a penance of 84 days, received enlightenment. He lived for a full hundred years and died on Mount Sammeta in Bengal. We are told that Pārśva believed in the eternity of matter as did Mahāvīra after him. Pārśva enjoined four great vows on his followers—to avoid injury to life, to be truthful, not to steal, and to possess no property. To these Mahāvīra added a fifth—chastity. It is clear that some kind of Jain faith existed before Mahāvīra and his teachings were based on it. Thus he was more a reformer of an existing religion, and possibly of a church, than the founder of a new faith.

Mahāvīra's original name was Vardhamāna. He was born in a suburb of Vaiśālī (Vesali of the Pāli books), called Kuṇḍagrāma, now known as Basukunda. He belonged to the Naya clan known as Nāta (or Nata) in Pāli and Jnātṛi in Sanskrit. His parents were Siddhārtha, a wealthy nobleman, and Triśalā, sister of Cheṭaka, an eminent Licchavi prince of Vaiśālī. Chellanā, queen of Bimbisāra of Magadha was Cheṭaka's daughter. Vardhamāna married

Yasodā and had a daughter by her, whose husband Jamāli became the leader of the first schism in the Jaina church. In order not to grieve his parents Mahāvīra became a monk at the age of 30, after the death of his parents, with the permission of his elder brother. Thirteen months after, in winter, he gave up his clothing and began to wander abroad as a naked monk. Probably, this was the first important step in the reformation of the church of Pārśva which allowed two garments. It appears possible that Pārśva's followers became the *śvetāmbaras* (those who wear white robes), and Mahāvīra's *digambaras* (nudes). Vardhamāna attained supreme knowledge (*kevala jnāna*) in the thirteenth year of his life as a wandering ascetic. The canon gives him a number of suggestive epithets like *Nāyaputta* 'a scion of the Naya clan', Kāsava on account of his *gotra*, Vesālīya after his place of birth, and Vedehadinna after his native country. He is most frequently referred to as 'the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra'. He is also known as Arhat and Jina.

One most important event in Mahāvīra's life was his meeting with Gosāli Mamkhaliputta at Nālandā. Gosāli remained with him for six years. Then came a breach between the two on the point of rejuvenation and perhaps also on other points and Gosāli went his own way. He claimed to have become a *tīrthankara* two years before Mahāvīra and became the founder of the sect of *Ājivakas*. This sect was certainly atheistic, and its main feature was a strict determinism. Gosāli is said to have died a week after a disputation with Mahāvīra at Śrāvastī in which he sustained a crushing defeat. Mahāvīra survived him for sixteen years.

For nearly thirty years after his enlightenment Mahāvīra travelled and taught in the valley of the middle Ganges. He wandered for eight months of the year and spent four months of the rainy season in some famous town of eastern India. The Jaina tradition gives the names of such places as Champā, Mithilā, Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛiha and other places. He often met Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were equally on friendly terms with the Buddha.

The Jaina books make no mention of Buddhism, but the Pāli books refute the teachings of Mahāvīra and record instances of disputations of the Buddha with the Jainas in which the latter are invariably worsted. At the age of 72 Mahāvīra died at Pāvā near Rājagṛiha. The place is said to be Pāvāpurī in the Patna district. It is said that on the night of his death the kings of the two clans,

the Mallas and the Licchavis, celebrated the lamp festival in his honour.

Mahāvīra held that inanimate objects are endowed with consciousness or soul and to some degree can feel hurt by bad treatment. The great moral is *ahimsā*, non-injury carried to an extreme degree. According to Jainism there is no God or Creator and man's emancipation from suffering does not depend upon the mercy of any such Being. By living an austere life of purity and virtue, man can escape the ills of life. The best life was the life of renunciation and it was the shortest way to salvation. Jainism is thus more a moral code than a religion. God as understood by other religions is not needed by Jainism because it denies both intermediation and forgiveness. However, if the necessity arose it was not unwilling to admit a god of popular Hinduism to its galaxy. Being much less hostile and more accommodating to Hinduism than the other hetorodox systems Jainism has survived in India till today.

Our knowledge of Jainism after Mahāvīra is meagre. There were eleven *gaṇadharas*, heads of the schools, but only one of them, Sudharman, survived the master and became the first pontiff. He died twenty years after Mahāvīra. In the reign of Chandragupta Maurya a dreadful famine lasted for twelve years. This led to the migration to Karnāṭaka of Bhadrabāhu and his disciples. When they returned at the end of the famine they found that those who had stayed behind had lapsed from the strict code. This was the beginning of the great schism between *digambaras* and *śvetāmbaras*. According to *digambaras* the original canon perished with Bhadrabāhu, who was the last to possess a knowledge of it in its entirety. He imparted it to Sthūlabhadra but forbade him to teach more than the first ten of the fourteen *pūrvas* to others. The centre of Jainism shifted to the west in later times; Mathurā, Ujjain and Gujarāt became prominent in Jaina tradition. Jainism has continued to live for over 2000 years because of the excellence of its organization and the steady support it has commanded from the laity.

Buddhism

The true life-story of the Buddha is hidden behind many layers of legend which have provided themes for literary works like

Sutta Nipāta and for painting and sculpture. The future Buddha (*Gautama*, alias Siddhārtha) was born of a Kshatriya father, Śuddhodana, the Sākiya (Śākya) rājā of Kapilāvastu. The exact place of birth was Lumbinivana near the city; it is marked by an inscribed pillar erected by Aśoka when he visited the spot in the course of his pilgrimage.

In the carlier sources there is no mention of Siddhārtha's early education or training. However, the *Lalitavistara* gives a legendary account of his schooling and of his extraordinary proficiency in archery and other princely attainments. He married and settled down as a householder and had a son named Rāhula.

But Siddhārtha soon realized that home life was full of hindrances to the quest for a lasting solution to the sorrows of life. At the age of twenty-nine he left the palace secretly at night, cast off his princely robes and embraced the life of a wandering hermit.

He became the disciple of Ārāda Kālāma but was not satisfied with his teaching of the Sāṁkhya system. So he left the hermitage of Ārāda and sought instruction under Rudraka. Finding that mere meditation would not lead to final liberation, Siddhārtha subjected himself to many physical mortifications along with five other brāhmin ascetics. One day when he was almost on the point of death, he decided to take food just enough to sustain his body. On account of this he was deserted by his five brāhmin companions. After some time he sat cross-legged in meditation under a pipal tree near Gayā, with the resolve not to rise until he had attained enlightenment (Bodhi). Here the true law was revealed to him and he became the Buddha, the awakened or illuminated. For seven weeks, it is said, he remained in blissful contemplation of his newly-acquired knowledge. Among the titles applied to the Buddha were Śākyamuni (the sage of the Śākyas), Tathāgata (who had reached the truth) and Jīna (the victorious).

Fired with a passionate longing to spread the truth among men, he went to Sāranāth, delivered his first sermon to the five Brāhmins who had deserted him and converted them to his creed. About the tenth century A.D., fully one-half of the world's inhabitants followed the teaching of the Buddha. In these following few words lies the whole teaching of Buddhism:

'Hear ! O Bhikkhus ! the Noble Truth of Suffering. Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering.

'Hear ! O Bhikkhus ! the Noble Truth of the cause of suffering. Thirst for pleasure, thirst for life, thirst for prosperity, thirst that leads to new birth.

'Hear ! O Bhikkhus ! the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering. It is the destruction of desire, the extinction of thirst.

'Hear ! O Bhikkhus ! the Noble Truth of the Pathway which leads to the cessation of suffering. Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Exertion, Right-mindedness, Right Meditation.'

We may not be sure that the Pāli books, except in rare instances, preserve the very words of the Buddha's preachings; but almost all books are in agreement in the text of the first sermon at Sāranāth. To king and beggar alike, the world is evil; there is but one road to freedom, and that must be trodden alike by all. In that road none is before or after others. Now to the poor, to the oppressed, there is a balm in this thought. Before all lies forgetfulness, peace and personal annihilation. This, then, was the teaching which the Buddha gave as a gift to the world. The Buddha enjoined on his followers the observance of the ten commandments which were 'not to kill, steal or commit adultery, not to lie, speak ill of other people, indulge in fault-finding or profane language, to abstain from covetousness and hatred, and to avoid ignorance'. The Right Path of the Buddha was called the middle path because it avoided the extremes of vain asceticism and gross sensuality. God, Veda and sacrificial ritual have no place in the Buddhist system and the emphasis is all on ethical conduct.

Recent research tends to the view that early Buddhism stood closer to the thought of the Upanishads and was a gospel of hope and not of despair. It laid particular stress on individual effort and shifted the emphasis from the practice of *yoga* to that of *dharma* as the means of attaining the ultimate aim of life. The Pāli books probably represent a somewhat later stage in the growth of the doctrine of the Buddha.

THE BUDDHA'S MISSIONARY LIFE : The Buddha visited Benares, Sāranāth, Gayā, Uruvila, Nālandā and Pāṭaliputra refuting the doctrines of other sects and pointing out the excellence of his teaching. He succeeded in making a large number of converts, including a few distinguished householders as lay-devotees

(upāsakas). Among the converts were the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika of fabulous wealth; kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru and a few other princes. The members of his family embraced Buddhism. Ambapāli, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, became a convert and offered her mango grove to the *Sangha*.

THE SANGHA : Bound individually to poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Buddhist monks organized themselves in course of time into influential *sanghas* in different places. These *sanghas* commanded much material support from their lay followers whose moral and spiritual life they guided by teaching and persuasion.

At first the Buddha himself admitted members into the order. Later, he permitted the *arhats* sent abroad to ordain people. This greatly facilitated the expansion of the *Sangha*. The rules governing these *sanghas* were carefully codified. 'They relate to ordination, monastery, dress, food and medicine, the fortnightly assembly, the rainy season retreat and its closing ceremonies and the ecclesiastical constitution.' Monastic institutions were the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture. In time they developed into academic centres for producing the right type of men well-grounded in religion and philosophy to propagate the teachings of Buddhism. This type of organization proved a good instrument for the wide diffusion of Buddhism in Asia; and though Buddhism is almost extinct in India now, it is followed in various forms in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, China, Mongolia and Japan.

Tradition affirms that a Buddhist council assembled at Rājagṛiha in the year of the Buddha's death and settled the canon of Three *piṭakas* (baskets). Another council met a hundred years later at Vaiśālī, and in that meeting many differences were revealed between the practices of the *Sthaviras* (traditionalists) and the *Mahāsānghikas* (the dissenting majority).

The dimunition in the numbers of Jainas and the disappearance of Buddhism from India in the course of history were the result of the pacific triumphs of Hinduism over its rivals in dialectic argument and in popular appeal. Above all it should be noted that Brāhmanism had no organized church and no recognized hierarchy among its priests whose influence was due to their knowledge, character and capacity to serve the State and society.

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in Buddhism. With the advent of Mahātmā Gāndhi and his non-violent methods

for securing freedom for India and the abiding interest which the late Jawaharlal Nehru (the first Prime Minister of Free India) took in the neighbouring Asiatic countries and his reverential attitude to this great religion and the propaganda in favour of a casteless and classless society, it seems as if the true Buddhist ideals would have a bright future in the country.

Magadha after the Buddha

The political history of Magadha after the time of the Buddha is not easy to follow. We have earlier stated that the probable date of Bimbisāra's accession to the throne is 543 B.C., and that of his parricide-son, Ajātaśatru is 491 B.C. If tradition is to be believed, Ajātaśatru handed down the curse of his great crime to his son, his grandson and his great-grandson and the Ceylon chronicle too asserts that all these in turn were parricides. The Ceylonese list is regarded by some reputed authorities as more reliable than the Purānic. Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Udayabhadra who seems to have been the same as Udayan of the *Purāṇic* genealogy. Jain tradition does not, like the Buddhist, regard Ajātaśatru or Udayabhadra as a parricide. The latter was called to the throne by the assembly of chiefs and nobles. From Champā, which he was ruling as Viceroy, he went to Pāṭaliputra where, according to *Vāyu Purāṇa*, he built a new town called Kusumapura and a Jain shrine (*Chaitya gṛiha*) at its centre. The next two kings were Anuruddha and Muṇḍa. After them came Nāgadāsaka who may be identified with king Darśaka of the Purāṇas. Darsaka figures as a contemporary of Udayana in the Sanskrit drama, *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. This agrees with the Purāṇic list but not with the Sinhalese genealogy adopted here.

Śiśunāga : The story in the Ceylon chronicle is that at the end of Nāgadāsaka's reign people woke up to the fact that they were living under a dynasty of parricides; so they supplanted it by electing the Minister, Śiśunāga as King. By this time Magadha had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics in eastern India and gained enough strength to face Avanti, its rival. Śiśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti and added it to the growing kingdom of Magadha. The Śiśunāga kings are expressly called Kshatriyas in the Purāṇas, but the last of these, Mahānandin,

married a Śūdra wife. This dynasty lasted for two generations—Mahāpadma and his eight sons, the Nine Nandas of literature.

THE NANDAS : The Purāṇas assign 100 years to the rule of the Nine Nandas.[3] Some say that Mahāpadma Nanda became king at twenty in 403 B.C., and that the Nine Nandas should have ruled for eighty years, i.e. up to 323 B.C., 'which is curiously enough the very date arrived at for the sovereignty of their successor, Chandragupta Maurya, on the basis of quite different sets of data'.

The Jainas represent Mahāpadma Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber, and the Greek writer Curtius repeats the story. Barring the first Nanda, the Jainas have nothing to say against the other Nandas. The caste of the Nandas perhaps explains their leanings towards Jainism. The Nanda kings had Jain ministers. In the later Sanskrit drama *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, Chāṇakya significantly selects a Jain as one of the chief agents of the Nandas. The first Nanda King is described in the Purāṇas as 'a second Paraśurāma or Bhārgava, as the exterminator of all Kshatriyas and as the whole sovereign (*Eka-cchatra*)'. Kosala was part of his dominions, as there is mention of a camp of king Nanda there in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela confirms Nanda's sovereignty of Kalinga. There is a passage to the effect that King Nanda carried away as trophies to Magadha the relics of the first Jaina and the heir-looms of its rulers. But Kalinga became independent afterwards and Aśoka had to reconquer it. The name Nander (Nava Nand Dehra) in the Hyderabad country is one of the mementos of the extension of Nanda dominions into the Deccan, even as far as Kuntala. Some relatively late inscriptions in the Karṇāṭaka country recall traditions of Nanda rule in that area. The conquest of Anga (Monghyr and Bhāgalpur districts) by Bimbisāra (c. 500 B.C.), hthe establishment of supremacy over Kāśī, Kosala and Videha, and possibly also Avanti by Ajātaśatru in the first half of the fifth century, and the conquest of Kalinga (Orissa) and perhaps considerable portions of the Deccan by Mahāpadma Nanda may well be taken to mark

[3] The Nine Nandas are named in the *Mahābodhivamśa* as :
1. Ugrasena, 2. Paṇḍuka, 3. Paṇḍugati, 4. Bhūtapāla, 5. Rāshṭrapāla, 6. Govishānka, 7. Daśasiddhaka, 8. Kaivarta, 9. Dhana. The Purāṇas name the father and only one of his eight sons, viz., Sumālya or Sumātya. The father is named Mahāpadma Nanda.

the principal stages, in the rise and expansion of Magadha before the Maurya Chandragupta seized the throne of that Kingdom. Evidently, there was no break of continuity between the Śaiśunāgas and the Nandas.

The first and the last of the Nandas are found mentioned in the chronicles. Perhaps the rest of the nine were non-entities. The last of them is nicknamed Dhana Nanda, the worshipper of Mammon. The *Kathāsarit-sāgara* preserves the tradition of his wealth computed at 900 millions of gold pieces. The vast treasure he accumulated in the city of Pāṭali and kept hidden in the waters of the Ganges is mentioned in a Tamil poem of the first or second century A.D. Evidently, Dhana Nanda must have maintained intact his imperial inheritance of territory and army. He was ruling at the time of Alexander's invasion of 327–325 B.C. The Greek writers record some facts of his power and position. They call him Agrammes or Xandrames, a name not easy to explain. They describe him as the ruler of two great peoples, the Prasii (Prāchyas, easterns) and the Gangaridae who, according to Megasthenes, were the people occupying the delta of Gangā. His empire seems to have extended up to the frontiers of the Punjab, 'for it is stated that king Porus the younger escaped from Alexander into the adjoining territory of the Nanda King'.

Curtius credits Agrammes with an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3000 elephants. According to other Greek writers the number of elephants was 4,000 or even 6,000. He was unpopular due to his miserliness, avarice and accumulation of wealth by means of excessive taxation and exactions. Chandragupta is reported to have told Alexander's followers that he could easily conquer the Nanda empire because its king was so much 'hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and meanness of his origin'. Greek writers too have recorded that he was 'a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber .

The sixth and fifth centuries B.C. present the strange phenomena of Kshatriya chiefs founding popular religious sects which menaced the Vedic religion and of Śūdra leaders establishing a big empire in Āryāvarta on the ruins of Kshatriya Kingdoms. Dhana Nanda's unpopularity set the stage for a political revolution which will be noticed later.

India and Iran—The Achaemenids

The presence of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur and the use of the word *sindhu* (for fine cloth) in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing take us practically to pre-historic times for the beginnings of trade by sea between India and the west. The art of writing, according to some authorities, was first introduced in India by merchants on the south-western coast of India as early as the eighth century B.C., or even before that time though others are inclined to treat it as an indigenous growth from the pictorial script of Harappan culture. Since the dawn of history, Persia and India have had close relations reflected in their sacred books, the *Avesta* and the *Ṛigveda*, as already related.

Pre-historic maritime contacts continued into historical times and were stimulated by the political connections established by land by the Achaemenid emperors of Persia and after them by Alexander the Great.

At about the middle of the sixth century B.C., the ancient empires were rudely shaken. The Hittite empire had fallen; the Assyrian had fallen; the Egyptian was confined within the bounds of Egypt itself and the Babylonian was undermined by internal discord. Now there arose the greatest of the ancient oriental empires, the Persian under Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty. Cyrus is the greatest conqueror in the history of the ancient orient. In eleven years (550–539 B.C.) he thrusts on one side into the heart of India and on the other occupies Anatolia and Babylonia with all its territories as far as the frontier of Egypt. Such great achievement is due to Cyrus's policy. 'Everywhere he respects local traditions and adapts himself to them. Moreover, with his distinct view of history he presents himself as the legitimate successor to the local dynasties, which have been found wanting because of the faults of their representatives; he takes over existing institutions without modification, he honours the gods of other peoples and makes them his own. Doubtless some of this can be attributed to propaganda and expediency, but the assertion of the moral principle, the elevation of tolerance to a system, the aim at coexistence beyond the point of political necessity, all bear witness to an indubitably high ethical level and a concrete liberality, and determine the advance of

practical action along the lines indicated by the theoretical premises'.[4]

Arrian states that all the Indian tribes to the west of the Indus right up to the Kabul region submitted to Cyrus and paid tribute to him as ruler of the land. Pliny states that Cyrus destroyed the city of Capisa (Kāpiśa) in Capisene, somewhat north of Kabul. Cyrus's son Cambyses (528–522 B.C.) extended the conquest farther westwards but does not appear to have continued his father's enlightened policy. It was Darius I (522–486 B.C.), the grandson of Cyrus, that definitely conquered the Indus valley and carried the Persian dominion into India proper. In his Bahistan Rock inscription (520–518 B.C.) India does not figure in the list given of his twenty-three provinces but in his two later inscriptions at Persepolis (518–515 B.C.) and at Naksh-i-Rustam (515 B.C.) *Hi(n)du* or Punjab does figure as a part of his dominion. It is clear, therefore, that the conquest of Darius must have taken place about 518 B.C.

Herodotus states that India was the twentieth satrapy of Darius and says: 'The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest—(the sum of) three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust', equivalent to over a million pounds sterling.

Herodotus also mentions a naval expedition despatched by Darius under Skylax (about 517 B.C.) to explore the Indus. This was only possible after Darius had established his hold on the Indus region. Herodotus states that the Persian conquest was the result of Skylax's expedition; but this seems very unlikely in the light of Alexander's experience in the same region.

The exact limits of Darius's Indian satrapy are not known. It was distinct from Aria (Herat), Archosia (Kandahar), and Gandaria (W. Punjab). As Herodotus says that its eastern boundary was a sandy desert (perhaps the sandy wastes of Sind and Rājaputānā) we may suppose that the satrapy comprised the course of the Indus from the limit of Gandaria (Kalabagh) to the Sea, including the whole of Sind and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab to the east of the Indus. This territory continued to form part of the Persian empire under Xerxes (456–465 B.C.).

[4] Sabatino Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient*, pp. 273-74.

Xerxes utilized his Indian provinces to secure an Indian contingent to fight his battles in Greece. There were 'Gandhārians' as well as 'Indians' in this contingent. The former bore bows of reed and short spears for fight at close quarters, while the latter, clad in cotton, also bore similar bows and arrows tipped with iron. These Indian troops were the first Indians to fight in Europe. According to Herodotus, besides infantry India also supplied Xerxes with cavalry and chariots, riding horses, as also horses, and wild asses, to draw the chariots, together with a very large number of dogs. The Iranian rule endured a century longer in India, though the decay of the Achaemenid empire may be taken to have begun with the defeat of Persian arms in Greece. The *Indica* of Ctesias, the resident physicians of the Persian court, is proof of visits of Persian officials to the Indian satrapy on administrative affairs and of contacts of the merchants of the two countries.

Indian troops were present at the battle of Arbela (331 B.C.) at which Alexander finally defeated Darius III. These troops comprised two sections—one ranged with the Bactrians, Sogdians and others under the satrap of Bactria, and the other called 'mountainous Indians' following the satrap of Arachosia. The latter had with them a small force of elephants 'belonging to the Indians who lived this side of the Indus' (Arrian). Probably, after this the Indian provinces slipped out of Persian control.

Results of Persian Contact : The Persian rule in north-west India lasted nearly two centuries. During this period there must have been exchanges between Iran and India along various lines. The expedition of Skylax must have stimulated trade as may be inferred from the few *Darics* of gold and the silver *Sigloi* or Shekels found in large numbers on Indian soil. The *Sigloi* were one-twentieth of the *Daric* in value; they bear counter-marks made on them by Indian merchants or money-changers through whose hands they passed.

The Persian empire set the model for the Maurya and, as Vincent Smith observes, Chandragupta did not need Alexander's example to teach him what empire meant.[5] 'He and his countrymen had had before their eyes for two centuries the stately fabric of the Persian, Achaemenian monarchy, and it was that empire which impressed their imagination, and served as the model for their

[5] V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 1914, p. 145.

institutions, in so far as they were not indigenous.' The Persian title of satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages, down to the close of the fourth century of the Christian era.

The prevalence in the north-west of the Kharoshṭi script which is only a localized adaptation of Aramaic and written from the right was perhaps a vestige of Persian rule. This script was confined to the north-west because Brāhmī, of uncertain origin, was already in use in the Jumna valley.

Pānini, whom Max Müller called the greatest grammarian the world has ever known, mentions the formation of the word *Yavanam* which is generally taken to mean Greek writing as stated by Kātyāyana, the most ancient of his commentators. All dates from eighth century B.C. to the fourth have been assigned to Pānini by different writers. Most probably he lived in the sixth or fifth century B.C. at the latest. Some scholars thought that *Yavanānī* might have meant any western writing. Pāṇini, though later than Yāska, author of *Nirukta* (the earliest extant treatise on vedic exegesis), has, by resolving Sanskrit to its simple roots, paved the way for the science of languages. 'It is strange, indeed, to think of him in the dawn of days discovering what was to be rediscovered more than two thousand years afterwards, and adopting half the philosophical formulae of the present century'.[6]

The Indian Campaign of Alexander

SOURCES : For the details of Alexander's invasion of India we have to depend almost exclusively on Greek writers. In fact neither the Achaemenid rule nor the campaign of Alexander left any tangible marks on the memory of the Indians. Though the Greek writers elevate Alexander's raid to a conquest of India, it can only be regarded as a passing show, for no Greek dominion worth the name was established in India as its result. The importance of the event lies in the fact that it comes at the beginning of the great period of Indian history, that of the Hindu empires.

ALEXANDER—HIS METHOD : Alexander was the king of Macedonia, the country which lay to the north of Greece proper. After seven

[6] F.A. Steel, *India Through The Ages*, p. 26.

years of hard fight, he conquered by the year 329 B.C., the whole of the Persian Empire which lay between Macedonia and India, extending from Asia Minor to Afghanistan. Following this conquest he invaded India.

Alexander's method was to mark the course of his conquest by a chain of cities established as so many Greek garrisons to protect his rear. Thus was built the city of 'Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians', which now is called Kandahar. In 329–328 B.C., Alexander led his army to the Kabul valley. Within a year after that, he built another Alexandria at the foot of the Hindukush. He crossed the Hindukush in May 327 B.C., and spent the rest of the year in subduing the wild tribes which have always inhabited the valleys of Swat and Bejaur. The stiff resistance of the wild tribes was so ruthlessly put down by Alexander that they did not interfere with his communications during the period of his stay in India.

Alexander sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas in advance with the bulk of his army and they crossed the Khyber Pass in December 327 B.C. or January 326. On reaching the Indus they constructed a bridge across the river as they had been instructed. In the meantime, Alexander was engaged in settling the administration of the conquered territory, and in a further campaign against the mountain fortress Aornos or Pirsar higher up the Indus which the vanquished hill tribes had chosen as their last refuge.

North-West India at the Time of Alexander's Invasion : At that time the population of the Punjab was divided into a number of small tribes, the Kshatriyas holding the predominant position. The population was perhaps a mixed one as may be seen from the Iranian and Scythian influences. In the Punjab itself Alexander had to meet with wholly unexpected resistance. Plutarch says of the Indians that the bravest and most warlike of them were the 'mercenaries, who marched from one town to another defending each position to the last, and inflicting great loss upon Alexander'. So intense was the animosity of Alexander to the Kshatriyas that after promising unmolested retirement to the defenders of a town, he lay in ambush for them and destroyed them during their retreat.

Though the old bravery remained, the old tribal feuds had by no means died out, and Alexander was greatly helped by the

strained relations subsisting between the Gandhāras and their eastern neighbours, the Purus.

TAXILA : The first Indian State to be reached after crossing the Indus was the Kingdom of Taxila (Takshaśilā). Its capital of the same name was at a distance of some ten miles from modern Rawalpindi which has succeded to the strategic role of the ancient city. Lying on the high road from Central Asia to the interior of India, Takshasilā rose to fame early as a great centre of commerce and an important seat of learning including teachnical sciences like those of medicine and war. Princes and commoners came in large numbers to this university to complete their studies 'in the three Vedas and the eighteen accomplishments'. Among the customs of Taxila, noted by Greek writers, are the exposure of marriageable girls in the market place for inspection by prospective husbands, the exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures and *satī*. The kingdom of Taxila extended from the Indus to the Hydaspes (Jhelum).

THE PAURAVA : Beyond Jhelum lay another kingdom ruled by the Paurava (Porus of the Greek writers). He was very tall and strong and a great warrior. He too had the earth-hunger of kings and wanted to build up for himself a great kingdom. After subjugating the Kshatriya clan of the Kaṭhas beyond the Hydraotes (Irāvatī, Rāvī), he had made alliance with Abhisāra, the ruler of the Himalayan districts of the Punjab, including Hazara. There were other minor kingdoms, but more noteworthy were the many warlike republican clans which dwelt on the banks of the tributaries of the Indus and in the lower valley of the Indus. The Malloi (Mālavas) and Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas) of southern Punjab to the north and south of the Rāvī near its confluence with the Jehlum were among the most determined opponents of Alexander.

ALEXANDER AT TAXILA : The ruler of the Taxilan Kingdom called Taxiles by the Greeks, already hard pressed by the Paurava and Abhisāra from the east and the north, had sent his son Ambhi to Bactria to assure Alexander of his support against any Indian who might resist him. Thus, when in February 326 B.C., Alexander crossed the Indus by the bridge of boats built at Und or Ohind

ten miles above Attock, he was received amicably by Ambhi who had succeeded his father in the meantime. Taxila offered a resting place to Alexander. The story goes that Ambhi vied with Alexander in lavish generosity in offering gifts; golden crowns were given to the Macedonian and all his friends; caparisoned chargers, Persian draperies, banqueting vessels were received by the king and courtiers. But behind all the policy and pleasure like a low distant thunder cloud, lay Porus, with an army of fifty thousand and strong, biding his time beyond the river. To the disappointment of Porus, Abhisāra was playing a double role and had sent presents to Alexander at Taxila.

ALEXANDER'S ARMY : Alexander had at this time an army of not more than twenty-five or thirty thousand men. Of these many were Macedonian footmen armed with long spears and oblong or round shields. There were also Macedonian horsemen, slingers and bowmen and men who threw javelins, mountaineers from the Balkans. Besides these Macedonians there were men from various parts of Asia such as Persian cavalry and men from Central Asia, who could shoot from their horses while riding at full speed.

PORUS AND ALEXANDER : About the middle of May, Alexander, his small force augmented by a contingent from Taxila, arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). The River, swollen by the melting of Himalayan snow, showed a turbulent flood, separating him, from his enemy; Paurava's large army with its troop of elephants could be seen lining the opposite shore.

How to cross over, how to give the invincible Macedonian cavalry time to recover and re-form after a forced passage, was the problem before Alexander. There ensued a delay of several weeks and at last Alexander contrived to 'steal a passage' higher up across the river.

Night after night brought a feint of attack. As Arrian writes:

> 'The cavalry was led along the bank in various directions, making a clamour and raising the battle cry—as if they were making all preparations for crossing the river. When this had occurred frequently..., Porus no longer continued to move about also; but, perceiving his fear had been groundless, he kept his position.'

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS IN NORTHERN INDIA

It was not, however, as Arrian calls it, by 'marvellous audacity' only, that Alexander finally succeeded in his object. 'As one reads the minute precautions, the stringent orders, the foresight displayed for every possible complication, one is forced to acknowledge the master mind of the commander.'

Alexander marched a great part of his army some sixteen miles above the camp and taking advantage of a sharp bend in the river, and a convenient island hidden from the view of Porus' camp by a wooded hill, he managed to deploy his army and take Porus quite by surprise.

The night was stormy. 'The noise of the thunder', Arrian writes, 'drowned with its din the clatter of the weapons'. Thus, noisily yet secretly, the position was gained by 11,000 picked troops led by Alexander in person against an Indian army of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots and 200 war elephants.

THE BATTLE WITH PORUS : With Alexander at the head the West did battle for the first time with India. The very heavens seem to have fought for Alexander. Porus at first sent his son with a force not strong enough to face Alexander's strong cavalry. The Indian chariots proved useless, as their wheels stuck fast in the soft ground and the young prince was killed, with a large number of his men. Then Porus moved almost his whole army against Alexander. It is difficult to know exactly what happened in the battle that followed. The accounts say that it was begun by the mounted archers from Central Asia, followed by the Macedonian horse. The Indians could now get a first rest for their long bows in the rain-soaked ground. The foot-soldiers were driven in among the elephants, which were even more destructive to their own side than to the enemy. The horses took to flight and overturned the chariots into the mud. Thus the battle became a rout. Porus himself, who rode a tall elephant, fought to the last, and after he had received many wounds, was persuaded with difficulty to surrender himself.

The story of the great battle of the Hydaspes remains as a lesson in warfare, and soldiers of today may pore over the sketch map of it in admiration. But no deed on the battle-field can be a match for the story of the meeting of the graceful victor and the proud vanquished, after the battle. Produced before Alexander, Porus demanded proudly that he should be treated as a king who had

fought for the freedom of his country. The generous victor in admiration of the spirit of his worthy foe 'not only granted him the rule over his own Indians but also added another country of larger extent than the former to what he had before. Thus he treated the brave man in a kingly way, and from that time found him faithful in all things'.

Further Victories : Alexander advanced eastwards from the Jhelam. He defeated the Glausai or Glaukanikoi (Glanchukāyanas). He crossed the Akesines (Chenab) and the Hydraotes (Rāvī) and took the capital of the Kathaioi (Kaṭhas), Sangala, by storm. King Saubhuti made his submission to Alexander and his silver drachms bearing his name Sophytes in Greek are well known.

The Retreat : Now before Alexander lay the Beas: beyond it, 'a nation by repute brave, well equipped, more civilized than these through which he had passed like a flaming sword. His own courage rose high, but the spirit of the soldiers had begun to flag', and they said, 'thus far and no farther'. Alexander erected twelve huge altars 'equal in height to the loftiest military towers, while exceeding them in breadth; to serve both as a thanks-offering to the gods who had led him so far as a conqueror, and also to serve as monuments of his own labours'. But all traces of them disappeared long ago. After appointing Porus as the viceroy of the country between the Jhelam and the Beas and completing the preparations for the return journey, he began the retreat in October 326 B.C., down the Jhelam and the Indus. Truly, the record of his retreat is a record of success without aim.

Encounters on the Way : On the way Alexander encountered the Śibis, a rude tribe clad in skins and the Agalassoi (Agrasreṇīs). The latter suffered terribly for daring to resist the invader. The people of one town to the number of 20,000 men, women and children set their dwellings ablaze and threw themselves into the flames—the earliest instance of *jauhar* in recorded history.

Opposition of Free Tribes : A powerful opposition was organized by a confederacy of free tribes led by the Mālavas and Kshudrakas. The former were holding the region between the lower Rāvī and the Chenab, and the latter higher up between the Rāvī and the

Beas. All the Mālava towns were centres of resistance. At one of these towns, the Brāhmins left their pen for the sword and died fighting, about 5,000 'with few taken prisoners'. In another town it was only the superb generalship of Alexander that averted the disaster to his troops. He was himself severely wounded in his fight with the Mālavas, large numbers of whom were slaughtered by way of reprisal. The survivors of the tribe made peace by offering large gifts which included 500 or 1000 four-horsed chariots, 100 bucklers, a vast quantity of cotton cloth, 1000 talents of 'white iron'—probably steel-tortoise shell—and tame lions and tigers of more than ordinary size. The gifts showed the prosperous condition of the community. The collapse of the Mālava opposition damped the spirit of the Kshudrakas who offered submission to Alexander. Alexander attached the Mālava and Kshudraka territories to the satrapy of Philip.

After subjugating several other tribes that opposed him, Alexander encountered King Mousikanos and the Brāhmanas of upper Sind. He found that the Brāhmanas were his most determined opponents. He put them all to the sword.

Alexander then reached Pātāla at the head of the Indus delta. He marked out this place for future development as a naval station. The elephant and heavy troops went back under Craterus by way of the Mula and the Bolan passes, and Kandahar. The mouths of the Indus were then occupying positions very different from those now obtaining. He explored this region and made alliances with the indigenous powers.

ALEXANDER LEAVES INDIA : In September 325 B.C., Alexander left the neighbourhood of modern Karachi by the land route across Gedrosia. The navy was left under the command of Nearchus. Alexander's way lay through an inhospitable country inhabited by ferocious wild tribes who brought untold hardships to his troops. His army reduced in numbers, he came to Karmania in February 324 B.C. Here he got into touch with Nearchus who had sailed late after waiting long for a favourable wind. Alexander reached Susa in May and died at Babylon about a year later in June 323 B.C., in the thirty-third year of his life.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS : Alexander had appointed three satraps in the valley of the Indus, besides recognizing the Paurava

as another satrap. Abhisāra was in a less intimate relation with Alexander's empire than the Paurava. These arrangements show that Alexander's intention was to form the north-west of India as an administrative unit of his empire and bring Asia and Europe nearer to each other. But his premature death resulted in the loss of the Indian possessions.

One of the satraps in India was murdered soon after Alexander's departure. This news reached Alexander in Karmania. We do not know if a successor was appointed. The Greek garrisons in India soon faded and Alexander's successors were not equal to the task of maintaining control over the Indian possessions.

There was a second partition of the empire in 321 B.C., at Triparadisus. Porus and Ambhi were appointed for form's sake to the charge of the Punjab and the Indus Valley. In 317 B.C., Eudamus slew Porus treacherously, appropriated his war elephants and quitted India with his Thracian band of soldiers. Taxiles too disappeared from view, we do not know how. Thus all vestiges of Macedonian authority disappeared from India within a few years of Alexander's death.

Results of Alexander's Invasion : The invasion itself lasted only for two years. It showed clearly that an emotional love of independence was no match for the disciplined strength of the Macedonian. The shock tactics of Alexander and the folly of trusting to elephants and chariots in warfare appear to have made no impression on the warrior class in India. The disruption of the small scattered republics created a situation favourable for the political unity of India and Chandragupta Maurya was not slow to profit by it.

The invasion resulted in the opening of land and sea routes of communication with the West. In consequence India's contact with her western neighbours increased in range and volume. Europe's knowledge of India vastly increased by the observations and writings of Alexander's generals and companions whose literary merit, scientific knowledge and powers of observation were of no mean order. In the Punjab Jullender (Alexander) is still a name to be conjured with among the warrior clans.

A few coins are reminiscent of Alexander's invasion. 'A ten drachm silver piece with its obverse showing Alexander standing and the reverse depicting a horseman charging an elephant mounted

by the driver and a soldier armed with a lance is believed to commemorate the battle of the Jhelam. Some went further and recognized in it the scene of Taxiles pursuing Porus at the bidding of Alexander to persuade Porus to yield and Porus in his resentment trying to pierce Taxiles with his lance. But the horseman is now seen to be Alexander himself, the rider on the elephant must be Porus. and the scene an artist's version of the battle.'

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CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF THE MAURYAS

Sources and Chronology

SOURCES : In a study of the Mauryan period, there is a comparative abundance of information, from sources either contemporary or later.

Important among the Buddhist sources are the *Jātakas*, for the social and economic conditions which they reveal of the Buddhist period continue as broad trends into the Mauryan period. The Ceylon chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁśa* (compiled between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.) and the *Mahāvaṁśa* (believed to have been written in the fifth century A.D.) serve as source materials, since they describe at great length the part played by Aśoka in the spreading of Buddhism, particularly in Ceylon.

The Purāṇas give lists of Mauryan kings but the sequence of rulers is very much confused. Of the secular literature of the period, the most important single source is the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. There are some scholars who cast doubts on the authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra*. Opinions of individual critics on its real date range from 300 B.C. to A.D. 300. The balance of opinion is clearly in favour of the bulk of the book being accepted as a genuine picture of the conditions prevailing in the Mauryan epoch. Romila Thapar[1] is of the opinion that the *Arthaśāstra* was originally written by Kauṭilya, the minister of Chandragupta, also known as Chāṇakya.

The *Arthaśāstra* provides such full details on administration, society and the economy of India as we do not possess for any other period before Akbar's reign.

Among the literary sources there are the accounts gathered from classical writings in Greek and Latin of the impressions of travellers who visited India in and about the Mauryan period.

[1] *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Appendix I, The Date of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Foremost among these is the account of Megasthenes who visited the court of Chandragupta for some time. Though the original work has not survived there are copious quotations from it given by Greek writers of later date such as Strabo and Diodorus (first century B.C.), Pliny (first century A.D.) and Arrian (second century A.D.).

From the reign of Aśoka, his many edicts, inscribed on rocks and pillars, become available and furnish the most reliable guidance.

Among the material remains of the Mauryan period, we have a considerable amount of numismatic evidence, some artifacts from archaeological excavations and art objects.

CHRONOLOGY : Chandragupta's contemporaneity with Alexander and Seleucus is firmly established. The thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka says, 'And moreover the Beloved of the Gods has gained this victory (by Dhamma) on all his frontiers to a distance of six hundred *Yojanas* (i.e. about 1,500 miles), where reigns the Greek King named Antiochus, and beyond the realm of that Antiochus in the lands of the four kings named, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander'.

The edict dated in the thirteenth year after Aśoka's coronation (probably 258 B.C., at the latest) shows the Chandragupta's grandson Aśoka, was a contemporary of five Hellenic kings, namely Antiochus II, Theos of Syria (261–246 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–247 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (date of death probably 258 B.C.) to the west of Egypt, Alexander, King of Epirus (272–258 B.C.), and Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (276–239 B.C.). On the basis of this evidence it could be said that Aśoka's coronation was about 270 B.C.

The date of Chandragupta's accession can only be approximately determined. The Purāṇas give the duration of his son Bindusāra's reign as twenty-five or twenty-eight years. All relevant factors considered, 322 B.C. may be adopted as the date of the accession of Chandragupta, 298 as that of his son Bindusāra, and 274–73 for the accession of Aśoka with 270–69 for his coronation.

Political History

CHANDRAGUPTA : Chandragupta's rise to greatness is indeed a romance of history. Born of peacock-tenders in humble

circumstances, he worked his way through the help of Chāṇakya and carved out an empire which for the first time in the history of India gave political unity to the country.

About Chandragupta's ancestry there are different accounts. In the Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākshasa* written by Viśākhadatta, Chandragupta is called Mauryaputra, meaning son of Maurya. The name Maurya is interpreted as the son of Murā, daughter of a *Vṛishala* and concubine of the last Nanda king. This story is obviously a very late invention.

An account of the Buddhists makes the Mauryas a Himalayan branch of the Śākyas, a clan to which the Buddha belonged. Some writers accept the view that Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya clan called the Moriyas originally ruling over Pipphalivana which probably lay in U.P. about 50 miles to the west of Kuśinagara. Jaina tradition regards Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-breeders (*Mayūra Poshaka*). It may be noted that the peacock figures as the emblem of the Mauryas in some punch-marked coins and sculptures.

The story goes that Chāṇakya who had been treated with disrespect by the Nanda king was on the look-out for a suitable instrument to wreak his vengeance on the Nanda. Finding Chandragupta suitable for his purpose he bought him paying a heavy price and had him educated at Taxila, his native place. Another and more probable story makes Chandragupta a general of the Nanda army who had grievances of his own and so joined Kauṭilya in effecting a political revolution.

Chandragupta's task was no easy one. He was to liberate the country from alien domination and rid it of the tyranny of the Nanda king. According to classical writers Chandragupta once visited Alexander in the Punjab and greatly offended him. Alexander in his anger gave orders to kill Chandragupta; but being swift of foot Chandragupta managed to escape. We have no place for the various miracles which are said to have encouraged Chandragupta to aspire for sovereignty. With the aid of Chāṇakya, Chandragupta set out collecting a large army of the republican peoples of the Punjab. Justin describes these recruits by a term which may mean 'robbers'. This meant only the stubborn fighters of the republics of the Punjab.

Chandragupta took advantage of the growing difficulty of the Greek position in the Punjab. There was a growing jealousy between

the Greeks and the Macedonians which undermined the strength of the Greek rulers in North-West India.

The death of Alexander in 323 B.C. led to the disruption of his short-lived empire. And as Justin sums up, 'India, after the death of Alexander, had shaken off the yoke of servitude and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandracottos (Chandragupta)'.

Chandragupta succeeded in seizing the throne of Magadha and bringing the north-west under his sway. The details of the conquest are lost. It is not even known if his conquest of the Punjab came before or after the Magadhan revolution. The story as related in a Jaina book called *Pariśishṭaparvan* mentions Chāṇakya's initial defeat in Magadha because he had not secured the surrounding country before attacking the stronghold of the enemy.

According to the same text Chānakya made Chandragupta enter into an alliance with Parvataka (king of Himavatkūṭa) and the allied armies beseiged Pāṭaliputra and forced Nanda to capitulate. Nanda was spared his life and permitted to leave Pāṭaliputra with his two wives and one daughter and as much treasure as he could carry off in a single chariot.

Extent of Empire : Seleucus' inroad and cession of territory to Chandragupta for 500 elephants has been doubted by Tarn. But the recently discovered Kandāhār inscription of Aśoka conclusively proves that the territory in question formed part of Aśoka's Empire. Aśoka did not conquer the region but inherited it. By 305 B.C., Chandragupta undoubtedly ruled over a vast empire, which extended as far as the Hindukush in the west. According to Plutarch, he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand men and Justin also refers to his mastery over the countries. Aśoka's inscriptions credit him with only one conquest namely that of Kalinga. But the geographical distribution of his inscriptions as well as their internal evidence shows that the empire extended to Mysore in the south and beyond the natural boundaries of India up to the borders of Persia in the north-west. As Aśoka's father Bindusāra is not known to history as a great conqueror, it may reasonably be assumed that the empire over which Aśoka ruled was mostly the creation of his grandfather Chandragupta. There is no clear evidence about Bengal in the east, but it must be taken to have become a

part of the Mauryan State. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150) shows that Saurāshṭra was a province of the Mauryan empire. There the Mauryan governor (*rāshṭriya*), the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, constructed the famous Sudarśana lake. Possibly, Chandragupta's dominions embraced all those parts of the Deccan which had formed a part of the Nanda empire.

Kauṭilya's idea of *Chakravartikshetra* very nearly corresponded to the reality of the Mauryan rule in the reign of Chandragupta. It must here be pointed out that 'empire' did not always mean the extinction of local dynasties but only their recognition of a suzerain imperial power to which annual tributes were paid. The Roman historian Justin affirms that the rule of Chandragupta was oppressive but this is not supported by details or by Indian evidence. It may well be believed that Chandragupta was a strong ruler who did not shrink from the use of force to maintain order in his realm. All authorities agree that his rule lasted for twenty-four years.

Late and doubtful Jaina tradition affirms that in his last days Chandragupta renounced his kingdom and became a Jaina monk. On the eve of a famine in Magadha he followed the Jaina migration led by Bhadrabāhu to Mysore. It is believed that he lived in Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa where some local inscriptions still perpetuate his memory. The hill where he lived is still known as Chandragiri and a temple erected by him as *Chandraguptabasti*. But the identity of the *Chandragupta Munipati* of the inscription with the Mauryan emperor has been doubted.

Bindusāra : Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded by his son Bindusāra. Athenaeus calls him Amitrochates (Sanskrit Amitraghāta 'Slayer of Foes' or Amitrakhāda 'Devourer of Foes'). We owe to the Purāṇas the name Bindusāra, which is generally adopted. Not much evidence is available about the facts of Bindusāra's reign or administration. We do not know how he got the title 'Amitrochates'. Hemachandra and Tāranātha state that Chāṇakya outlived Chandragupta and continued as a minister of Bindusāra. According to Tāranātha, Chāṇakya accomplished the destruction of the kings and ministers of sixteen towns and made Bindusāra master of all the territory between the eastern and western sea. Some scholars have taken this as evidence that Bindusāra conquered the Deccan. But from Rudradāman's inscription already

cited we know a large part of western India was already a part of his father's empire. The destruction of the kings of sixteen towns may be taken to refer to some kind of popular revolt which was suppressed. It is clear that there was a revolt at Taxila and that Bindusāra sent his son, Aśoka to quell it. The utmost that can be said about Bindusāra is that he kept his father's vast empire intact.

Bindusāra first appointed his eldest son Sumana (also named Susima) Viceroy at Taxila and Aśoka at Ujjain. Aśoka's deputation to Taxila was arranged when the revolt at that place got out of his brother's control. That Bindusāra was given to ease and luxury may be seen from the fact that he asked the Syrian King Antiochus I Soter to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs and a sophist, and got the reply, 'We shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold'. However, Antiochus sent Daimachus to his court as ambassador. Pliny mentions that Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt sent Dionysius as ambassador to India.[2] 'The dates of Ptolemy's reign are consistent with the conjecture that Dionysius may have been accredited to Bindusāra's court.'

Aśoka in his fifth Rock Edict states that he had several brothers and sisters. Two of these brothers are named in *Divyāvadāna* as Susīma and Vigatāśoka whom the Sinhalese chronicles name Sumana and Tishya, the former was step-brother. Aśoka's mother was named Subhadrāngī and also Dharmā, and Tishya was his youngest brother.

Aśoka : After serving as Viceroy in Ujjain and Taxila, Aśoka succeeded Bindusāra on the Mauryan throne. The Ceylonese chronicle says that he seized the throne by killing ninety-nine of his brothers and sparing only the youngest, namely Tishya. But this appears to be just a grotesque invention calculated to stress the wickedness of Aśoka before he embraced Buddhism. There are also other stories in the *Divyāvadāna* of similar import and not quite trustworthy.

Aśoka in his edicts speaks, as just stated, of his brothers and sisters and their families, several years after his coronation. Hence the Ceylonese stories do not bear scrutiny. In these edicts Aśoka generally calls himself Devānāmpiya Piyadasi, Devānāmpriya

[2] *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 19

edicts have been found near the Bay of Bengal, one at Dhauli in Orissa and the other at Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam district of Orissa. In the north we find the third copy of his edict at Kālsī in the Himalaya, in the Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh. Going westwards we notice two versions, one at Mānsehra and the other at Shāhbāzgarhi, both situated in the north-western province of Pakistan. In Laghman, old Lampāka on the north bank of the Kabul river, fragments have been found of the rock and pillar edicts in Aramaic characters (*BSOS* XIII page 80 following). Coming to the south moving along the western coast we have a copy of the edict at Junagaḍh in Kathiawar, and at Sopara (the ancient Śūrpāraka). There is one at Yerraguḍi in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. Side by side of these Major Edicts there has been traced also a Minor Edict of Aśoka, three versions of which, and other Minor Rock Edicts are known to exist at three different places all close to one another in the north of Mysore. In many of his edicts Aśoka recounts his administrative and other measures such as the digging of wells by roads, provision of medical aid for men and animals, the planting of useful trees and medicinal plants not only in his own dominions but in the neighbouring countries in South India and north-west, nay, even as far as the Greek kingdom of Antiochus and beyond. How he restricted the slaughter of animals for food we read in the first Major Rock Edict: thus 'formerly in the kitchens of the Beloved of the Gods, the King Piyadasi, many hundreds of thousands of living animals were killed daily for meat. But now, at the time of inscription on *dharma*, only three animals are killed, two peacocks a day and the deer not invariably. Even these three animals will not be killed in future'. He issued a plea for kindness and consideration all round, replaced royal hunts and holiday excursions by edifying shows and pious conferences. In order to ensure quick despatch of business, he made himself accessible at all hours to urgent calls as stated in his sixth Major Rock Edict: 'But I have now arranged it thus. At all times—whether I am eating, or am in the women's apartments, or in my inner apartments, or at the cattle-shed, or in my carriage, or in my gardens—wherever I may be, my informants should keep me in touch with public business'. The same text says how he strove hard to promote the welfare of the whole world by means of hard work and quick despatch of business.

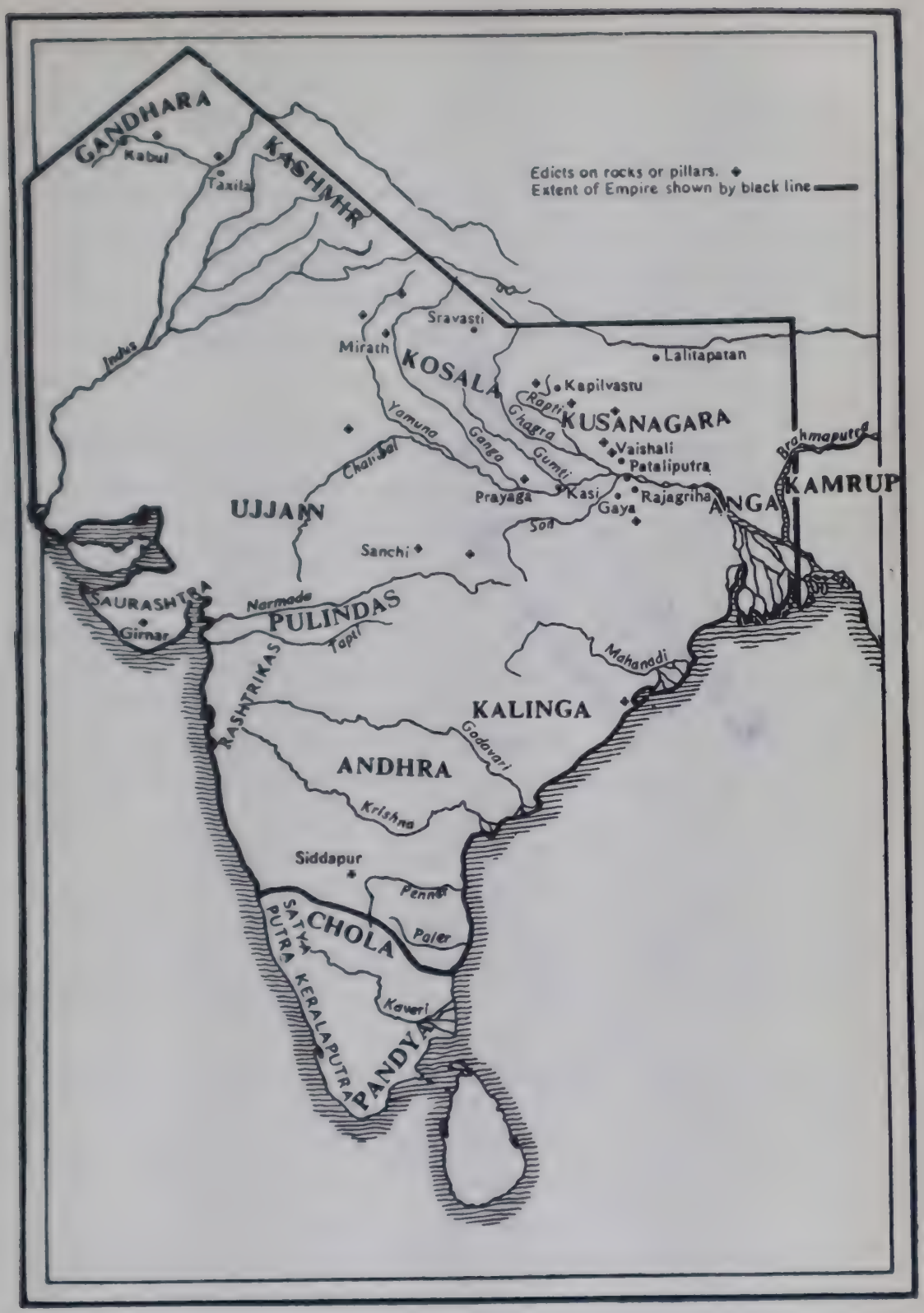
He instituted quinquennial tours by leading officials for proclaiming *dharma* as well as for general supervision of the administration. In the fourteenth year of his reign he created a cadre called *Dharma Mahāmātras*. These officials were charged with the duty of inculcating *dharma*, redressing wrongs and organizing charitable gifts. The proclamations relating to Kalinga revealed the anxiety of Asoka to win the confidence of the newly conquered country and lay down liberal principles of policy. In the years of rule for which no inscriptions are found we may suppose that Aśoka laid down religious foundations including the distribution among the '84,000 stūpas' of tradition of the relics of the Buddha originally held by eight favoured cities. In the thirteenth year as well as the twentieth, Asoka dedicated cave dwellings with polished interiors in the Barabar hills to the Ājīvika monks. In the fifteenth year he enlarged the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni near Kapilavastu. He visited this site and the Buddha's birth place Lumbini-vana in the twenty-first year and set up commemorative pillars on the spot. The unique Bhabhra or Bairat inscriptions belong to this period. In this edict addressed to the monks are commended to them seven select passages from the sayings of the Buddha as pre-eminently suited for their instruction and meditation. Then was held the Third Buddhist Council presided over by Moggaliputta Tissa. This Council expelled from the order heretics and schismatics who after joining it for material advantages had created confusion for many years by their indisciplined conduct. The Council also definitely closed the canon after adding to it the *Kathāvatthu* composed by Tissa on the occasion.

According to the northern tradition Upagupta of Mathurā, son of Gupta, the perfumer of Benares, was the spiritual guide of Aśoka. Like Tissa, the son of Moggali, of the Ceylon tradition, Upagupta is also counted as the fifth in succession of Vinaya teachers after the Buddha. But the succession list of patriarchs differs with each school. Upagupta is said to have converted Aśoka. He conducted Aśoka on pilgrimage to holy places, convoked the Third Council and composed or edited the *Kathāvatthu*. There are conflicting views about Upagupta and the Council convoked by him. Some identify Upagupta with Tissa, while others hold that a common tradition originating in Magadha got different names attached to it in different localities. Yet others discredit the whole

tradition regarding the succession of patriarchs and the Three Councils.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES : Aśoka for the first time in the history of Buddhism seems to have been responsible for directing missionary activities both in and outside India. The first step towards this was to circulate instructions on *dhamma* (*dharma*) and inscribe them on rocks and pillars overlooking the high roads. Officials were asked to encourage and afford facilities to those who wanted to follow the *dhamma*. His dispatch of officials to distant countries beyond the frontiers of his empire was probably characterized by a missionary zeal.

The Buddhist literature tells us that on the conclusion of the Third Council, Tissa Moggaliputta sent missionaries to various countries. The names of some of the missionaries together with their relics have been preserved in caskets from the *stūpas* of Sāñchī. Mahārakkhita was sent to the Greek (Yona) country, Majjhima to the Himalayan zone, and Soṇa and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi. But the most celebrated missionaries were the children of Aśoka himself, the monk Mahendra and the nun Sanghamitrā, said to have been born of Aśoka's youthful romance (when he was Viceroy at Ujjain) with the lovely maiden Devī of Vidiśā (Bhilsa). Nepal also claims that Aśoka himself went to Nepal and founded four *stūpas* which are still shown around the city of Lalitapaṭṭana. Besides, a spurious Buddhist tradition claims that seventeen Buddhist missionaries were sent by the emperor to the capital of China during the reign of Ts'in She-Laung (246–209 B.C.). Some of this information is confirmed by epigraphy. The dispatch of Aśoka's son and daughter as missionaries to Ceylon is believed to form the subject of a fresco painting at Ajantā. Aśoka himself speaks of his mission to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) and to such countries as Kāmboja, Nābhaka, Nābhita, Bhoja, Pittinika, Andhra, Pulinda and border regions. Whether the initiative is due to Tissa Moggaliputta or to Aśoka himself is a point of dispute among scholars. To whomsoever it might have been due, it seems clear that efforts to carry Buddhism to distant countries were made after the re-organization of the Buddhist Church under the patronage of Aśoka.



EMPIRE OF AŚOKA 250 B.C.

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K. E. A. N. M's Centenary
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Aśoka's Faith : For some thirty years of his life Aśoka set himself to alter the faith of the world. He believed with a whole heart not in ritual or dogma but in something which can best be described as the 'Law of Piety', which his edicts explain to be 'mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness'. According to him this gospel was to be preached by example, by tolerance, by 'gentleness and moderation in speech', 'government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion'. This was Aśoka's rule, and in it he stands alone as the only King who has subordinated all things to a faith.

The Seven Pillar Edicts : The Last Rescripts of Aśoka's reign belong to the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth years after the coronation. They are known as the Seven Pillar Edicts. All of them are found in Delhi, and only the first six concern themselves largely with the *dhamma*, and contain little that is new. The seventh and last appears to be a survey of his work, particularly the development of the *dhamma*. The following extract from it is illuminating: 'The advancement of *dhamma* amongst men has been achieved through two means, legislation and persuasion. But of these two, legislation has been less effective, and persuasion more so. I have proclaimed through legislation for instance that certain species of animals are not to be killed and such ideas. But men have increased their adherence to *dhamma* by being persuaded not to injure living beings and not to take life'.[3] For about ten years after this until his death Aśoka issued no further major edicts and his silence is difficult to explain.

The Last Years of Aśoka : Aśoka's reign lasted for 36 to 37 years from his coronation. According to tradition his elder brother Sumana or Susīma, a rival to the throne was vanquished in a contest. The Ceylonese accounts mention Asandhimitrā as the chief queen of Aśoka. The princes who are mentioned as Viceroys of Taxila and Ujjain in the inscriptions were probably her children. Kāruvāki was another queen who had a son Tīvara by name. Tishyarakshitā, an attendant of Asandhimitrā became the chief queen of Aśoka's later years. Buddhist legends say that Kunāla, the heir apparent, tore out his eyes and made himself blind on account of the intrigues of Tishyarakshitā. She became jealous

[3] Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 266.

of Asoka's devotion to the Bodhi tree at Gaya and cast a spell on it which caused it to wither. On the lowest lintel of the eastern gateway of the Sāñchī *stūpa* is found carved the propitiatory procession to the tree which Aśoka and Tishyarakshitā undertook to avert the mischief of the spell. This sculpture of the first or the second century B.C. showing the king descending from his elephant is the only representation of the great monarch so far known; it can hardly be a portrait. A few doubtful legends represent Aśoka towards the end of his reign as wasting the resources of the empire in indiscriminate gifts to monks and monasteries. The same legends indicate that Asoka's ministers replaced him by his grandson Samprati, son of Kunāla. In fact we do not know how Asoka's reign ended or what followed after it. A Tibetan tradition affirms that he died at Taxila.

AN ESTIMATE OF ASOKA : All historians are agreed that Aśoka is one of the greatest kings of history. Under him India reached the high-water mark of material progress and, in a sense, of moral progress too. His eminence lay in the practical and detailed application to the daily administration of a vast empire of the highest principles of religion and morality. Aśoka was equipped both by his own endeavour and by circumstances to understand the requirements of his time. He coupled with this characteristic an extraordinary degree of idealism and the courage with which he attempted to expound and impose *dhamma* particularly in the complex cultural milieu of the third century B.C. is remarkable. His sixth Rock Edict emphasizes the responsibility of man to his fellow human beings. He is the unique example of a supreme and active humanist on the throne. One war was enough to turn his mind for ever against the use of arms and convince him that the true conquest was that of love of *dhamma* (*Dhammavijaya*). One special characteristic of his humanism is his insistence on responsible human social behaviour and his understanding of human limitations. It may be noticed that in his earlier edicts he preached moderation in action. As ruler he accepted the traditional view that the king stood in relation of a father to his people and acted up to it in a remarkable way. He considered his royal duties as a debt he owed to his subjects and exhorted his officials to follow his example. He promoted mutual goodwill and respect among different religious sects. The Edicts show that his patronage

extended to all religious sects except to those who were schismatics. He emphasized respect for elders and holy men and laid stress on kindness to servants and animals. The Edicts lay stress on the dignity of man but it is clear that he believed in gods and wanted his people to strive for Heaven. Although there is no reference in his Edicts to specific Buddhist tenets like the Four Grand Truths or the Eightfold Path, there is no gainsaying the fact that he was an ardent Buddhist. He showed his greatness in the way in which he grasped the true values of human life and tried to live up to them throughout his life. The courage with which he introduced important innovations in the government will be discussed later. What is sure is that Aśoka possessed abundant courage to preach a system of morals and ethics, which may be regarded as the common property of mankind and not the special possession of any particular sect. Aśoka's message was one of peace on earth and goodwill among men; the glory and fame of a king do not rest upon the physical extent of his dominion but upon the moral progress he can help his people to achieve (R.E.10). Aśoka lived up to this ideal.

SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA : We get different lists of the successors of Aśoka from different sources and it is impossible to reconcile them and construct a continuous history of the empire after Aśoka. It is clear that the unity of the empire was lost soon after his death. Perhaps the different lists of kings represent different local traditions.

The *Purāṇas* state that altogether nine Mauryans ruled for 137 years. This may be true for Magadha but no list actually corresponds to these figures. Daśaratha is mentioned in the *Purāṇa* list but he is ignored by Jaina and Buddhist accounts. Daśaratha is, however, the only name borne out by epigraphy. Three inscriptions relate his bestowing on the Ājīvikas caves in the Nāgārjuni hills (near Barābar) immediately after his coronation. The Buddhist tradition mentions one Samprati but the Jainas claim him as a convert to their creed and say that he did as much for Jainism as Aśoka for Buddhists. Samprati's capital is given as Pāṭaliputra by some and Ujjain by others with greater probability. Jaloka, son of Aśoka, is famous in Kashmir history as a propagator of Śaivism and persecutor of the Buddhists. He is also credited with having freed the country from the invasion of the *mlecchas*, probably

Greeks. He seems to have extended his dominions as far as Kānyakubja (Kanauj). According to the *Purāṇas*, Śāliśūka succeeded Samprati. He also seems to have favoured Jainism. The *Gārgī Samhitā* states that his rule was very oppressive. Tāranātha mentions Vīrasena as ruling in Gandhāra. He was probably of the same line as Subhagasena (Sophagasenus). There was evidently a division of the Magadhan empire and this western line must have come to an end with the Greek conquest of the north-west, which will be narrated in the next chapter.

The eastern line of Pāṭaliputra may have held out somewhat longer till about 184 B.C. Bṛihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, was uprooted by Pushyamitra, a brāhmin of the Śunga dynasty. In Kalinga and the Deccan also the Mauryas were succeeded by the Chetas and Sātavāhanas who were also brāhmins like Pushyamitra. Although the Mauryan empire broke up, the rulers of Magadha continued to rule small territories even up to the seventh century.

THE DECLINE OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE : There is something almost dramatic in the way in which the Mauryan dynasty disappeared after the death of Aśoka. The decline was complete within half a century. The reasons given by historians for such a rapid decline are as conflicting as they are cronfusing. Some say that Aśoka's pacifist policy and the undue favour he showed to Buddhism which provoked the brāhmaṇa reaction were largely responsible for the downfall. Aśoka gave up war after Kalinga as an instrument of policy but he did not reduce the strength of the army, nor was he averse to the employment of force whenever it was necessary in the interests of society and State. His message to the forest tribe is precise. They are warned of the power which he possesses in spite of his repentance so that they may cease committing faults and therefore not be killed. The brāhmaṇa reaction came under Pushyamitra Śunga about half a century later than the death of Aśoka and the empire had all but ceased to exist long before that date. Aśoka always mentions brāhmaṇas before *śramaṇas* and holds them in high respect. The order against the sacrifices affected all classes and the support given by Aśoka to Buddhism could not have produced serious reaction as he extended support to other faiths as well. Pushyamitra Śunga's usurpation of the throne was a *coup d'etat*, not a popular revolt

gainst the Mauryan rule. The following causes may however be uggested. The Mauryan empire was not a highly centralized ut still rather a loosely organized empire like all other Indian mpires. When the central control of an able and powerful monarch s removed such an empire tends to fall into separate States. This appened to the Mauryan empire after the death of Aśoka. The uccessors of Aśoka were not at all capable rulers. To add to the roubles there came invaders from the West. Among the reasons sually given for the decline of the Mauryas is one that is anachro-istic, i.e. 'an absence of any national consciousness' among the people. It is said that the loyalty was to the person of the king and not to the State. It is hardly realized that the spirit of even medieval Europe was not nationalist but oecumenical, i.e. world-wide. There was no Germany or Greece or Spain in the Middle Ages. Nationalism began to count in Europe as the political force only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. When such is the case to criticize the people of the Mauryan empire of the third century B.C. as lacking in national consciousness does not seem to be sound.

South India

The references to the Pāṇḍya country in Megasthenes are among the earliest data known to us about South India. Megasthenes knew that Ceylon was an island separated from the mainland of India and that it was more productive of gold and large pearls. He gives the story that Heracles had a daughter named Pandaia. Heracles assigned the southernmost portion of India to her including 365 villages. The people of these villages had to bring by turns their daily tribute to the royal palace. Perhaps the tribute consisted of provisions needed for the royal household. This curious mixture of fact and fiction is the first datable account of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The relatively late work *Śilappadikāram* states that households of shepherds in the city of Madurai had to supply ghee to the palace by turns. Late inscriptions in these regions recall events long passed, mention the rule of the Nandas in the Deccan and the migration of the Chandragupta Maurya with Jaina Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇabelgoḷa in Mysore. Perhaps the oldest and most tangible evidence of North India's contact with the South is to be found in the punch-marked coins of copper and silver which long served

as the common currency of most of the States of ancient India. The inscriptions of Aśoka at Brahmagiri and Siddhapura in Mysore and Yerraguḍi near Gooty indicate the southern limits of the Mauryan empire. Perhaps the empire extended up to the latitude of Madras and possibly a little beyond. From the Aśokan Edicts we learn that the Tamil States of the South were prosperous and they did not form part of the Mauryan empire although the *Dharmamahāmātras* of Aśoka were permitted to enter the States for the missionary work. There are several short Brāhmī inscriptions in natural caverns with rock-cut beds particularly in Madurai and Tirunelveli districts and in Ceylon. From these inscriptions we can infer the conditions prevailing in the South India of those days. The caverns do not seem to be exclusively Buddhist. Some of them are called caves of the Jainas (*Śamaṇar-Kuḍagu*); such caverns are still being discovered in South India. Tradition is strong that Jainism came to South India at the same time as Buddhism, if not earlier. The script of the inscriptions is Brāhmī of the southern variety but the language used seems to be Tamil still in its formative stages. Much has been said about the Mauryan invasion of South India. The Podiya hill adjoining the Tirunelveli and Madurai districts of the west has been fixed as the farthest limit of this invasion. This invasion is supposed to have occurred in the period between Chandragupta's treaty with Seleucus and the thirteenth year of Aśoka. This theory rests on the references to Maurya in the Śangam poems. These have been referred by others to a branch of the Konkani Mauryas. The reference to the Mauryas occur in five poems, three by Māmūlanār and one each by two other poets. The chronology of the poets is not clear but the whole body of the Śangam literature obviously belongs to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Therefore the mention of the Nandas and Mauryas in these poems can only be reference to events long past but preserved in the popular memory. Mamulanar mentions the vast treasure of the Nandas hidden in the Ganges and states that when the Kōśar, a Tamil tribe, had a quarrel with the chieftain of Mohur near Madurai, a division on the Mauryan army with the Vaḍugar for its vanguard came to their aid. If this interpretation is correct the utmost that we can say is that the memory of the Mauryan concern with the politics of independent States of the Tamil country survived till the first or second century A.D. Another poem by another poet (*Kurundogai* 75) makes

mention of some white-tusked elephants bathing in the Son and of Pāṭali rich in gold.

There seems to be a confusion between Oriyar, a legendary group of superhumans, and the Mauryas (Mōriyar). It is not clear whether the two poets other than Māmūlanār had any clear conceptions of the Mauryas. The Vaḍugars are the Kannada-Telugu people of the Southern and Eastern Deccan which were, as we have seen, included in the Mauryan empire. The Tamil kingdoms mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts are Chola, Pāndya and Chera (Kerala) as well as Ceylon (Tambapanni). There is also of Satiyaputa which can be interpreted philologically thus: '*Satiya* corresponds, not to Sanskrit *satya*, but later Tamil *atiya;* and *puta* becomes *magan* later *mān* in Tamil, so that Satiyaputa was the Tamil chieftain Adigamān (of Tagaḍūr)—who was quite prominent in the Śangam period and may have risen into importance earlier. This is a much more satisfactory identification than that of Satiyaputa with Kōśar which was accepted by some scholars till recently.' The evidence of the Śangam literature shows that the Tamil States were within the sphere of Mauryan influence—a fact attested by Aśoka's inscriptions, and that at least on one occasion the Mauryas went to the assistance of the Kōśar to enable them to put down the rebellious chieftain of Mōhūr.

Political and Social Organization

The essentials of Mauryan polity contained in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* are abundantly corroborated by Greek writers. Chandragupta took over from the Nandas a vast empire protected by a numerous and powerful army. The administrative set-up of the Nandas was continued by Chandragupta and Chāṇakya with such changes as were necessary for improving efficiency. The chief characteristic of the Mauryan administration was its policy of hostility to non-monarchical States, but the republican States seem to have survived it. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions some republican clans (*Sanghas*). Megasthenes also mentions them. We hear of Yonas, Kāmbojas, etc. in the Aśokan inscriptions. These republican clans successfully retained their individuality within the Mauryan empire and continued to exist after its fall.

CONTACT WITH WESTERN ASIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD : In the Age of the Mauryas India was in active contact with Western Asia and the Mediterranean world which were then experiencing a great economic and political revolution due to the forces liberated by Alexander's astonishing career. The main features of this revolution were the rise of large States under absolute monarchs, the transition from a rural to a money economy, and the increase in the volume of international trade. Contacts and exchanges among different nations greatly increased owing to diplomatic missions and frequent travels.

On the question of Achaemenid influence on India there are two sharply conflicting theories. One maintains that everything Aśokan in art is derived from Achaemenid Iran, the other equally vehemently claims that it is all indigenous. As Iran and North-Western India were a very close cultural group, similarities were bound to exist. In assessing the influence of Iran on India, historians will do well to bear in mind the fact of their contiguity and the fact that Iranians and Indo-Aryans came from a common stock of the early Aryans. However, the influence of Iran on Mauryan polity has to be accepted. Kauṭilya himself says that in writing the *Arthaśāstra* he was guided not only by the ancient lore of India but by the contemporary practice of States including clearly the Hellenistic. It should be noted that the organization of the Hellenistic States was based very largely on the Persian practice. There is good reason to believe that in the set-up of the imperial palace and court, in the organization and administration and in the realm of art and architecture India drew inspiration from her external contacts, but India also showed a great capacity for adapting useful ideas or institutions which came from elsewhere to suit her own milieu. There is evidence of a common culture in the similarity of the preambles of Darius and Aśoka to their edicts. But there are some historians who doubt if Aśoka knew the edicts of Darius at all. He may have known that Achaemenids engraved inscriptions on rock surfaces and decided to do the same. There Darius uses the phrase 'the king, the beloved of the Gods, Piyadasi speaks thus'. The ceremonial hair washing on the king's birthday corresponds to the Persian ceremony described by Herodotus.

THE KING : According to ancient Indian polity the king was only the guardian of the law and not its maker. His orders should

conform to established principles of *dharma* and social usage. But Kauṭilya exalts royal power and claims for the king's Edicts the highest validity in its own nature. Perhaps he got the idea from the Hellenistic monarchies of Egypt and Syria. Kauṭilya says: '*Dharma*, contract, custom and royal decree are the four legs of law (determinants of litigation). Of these, each later item is of superior validity to its predecessor'. The royal decree is thus exalted above all other sources of law in its superior validity.

A large part of the administrative work devolved upon the king. He had to go through a course of education to fit him for the work. We have already seen how Chandragupta was carefully educated by Chāṇakya in Taxila. Kauṭilya prescribes a course of study for princes of the royal family. A regular time-table is given both for the king and the prince. Aśoka strictly followed the time table as is indicated in his Edicts. Among the maxims for royalty this is found: 'In the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of the king; in their good is his own good, and not in what is pleasing to him. He must find his pleasure in the pleasure of his subjects.'

ADMINISTRATION : The machinery of administration modelled by Kauṭilya in accordance with the theory of Hindu polity consists of (1) the sovereign (*svāmī*), (2) the ministers (*amātya*), (3) the territory (*janapada*), (4) fortifications (*durga*), (5) financial strength (*kosha*), (6) military strength (*daṇḍa* or the army made up of its four limbs—infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots) and (7) alliances (*mitrāṇi*).

MEASURES OF SAFETY : The observations of Megasthenes regarding the precautions taken in ensuring the safety of the king are borne out by the *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya provides for the king's personal safety on occasions of his journeys in all possible manner. Detailed instructions are given on how to mount the chariot, board the ship, etc. All personal services to the king were performed by women and there was a guard of armed women to protect his person. The risks of food poisoning and intrigues in the harem were carefully guarded against. The kitchen was carefully guarded and constructed in a secret place. Besides, the food for the king had to pass through a number of tasters. Articles of ornament and apparel were carefully inspected by the king's maid-servants

before use. On occasions when the king went out of the palace he was either carried in a golden palanquin or mounted on an elephant with gorgeous trappings. He dressed himself in fine muslin embroidered with gold and purple. His route was guarded by armed soldiers. Princes were trained carefully so that they might not give trouble and when they came of age they were employed as Viceroys or in other posts. The palace was a walled building with hidden passages, hollow pillars, collapsible floors and other contrivances and included women's apartments and gardens and tanks in the rear.

THE PALACE : Greek writers noted that the splendour of the palace at Pāṭaliputra excelled that of Persian palaces of Susa and Ekbatana. According to Aelian, 'neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour, nor Ekbatana with all its magnificence' can vie with it. 'The palace is adorned with gilded pillars clasped all round with a vine embossed in gold, while silver images of those birds which most charm the eye diversify the workmanship'. Excavation has shown that the audience hall of the emperor was built on a persepolitan design. The king had his own suite of rooms. On rising from bed, he was to be received by his Amazonian bodyguard and women archers. His personal servants would receive him in the second apartment. In the third apartment were dwarfs, hunchbacks and *kirātas*, or mountaineers of foreign origin. The outermost of the king's apartments leading to the exterior of the palace was in charge of an armed retinue, doorkeepers as well as the king's ministers and kinsmen. Fa-hien (A.D. 319–414) who saw the Mauryan palace in a good condition describes it as follows: 'the King's (Aśoka's) palace in the city, with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid, after no human fashion, is still in existence'.

CAPITAL AT PĀṬALIPUTRA : The capital Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra was a great city stretching along the northern bank of the Son for a distance of nine miles with a depth of rather less than two miles. Its site is now occupied by Patna, Bankipore and a number of villages near about. The river Son has now changed its course and modern Patna is not so well protected by the Ganges and the Son as the Mauryan capital was. The city was protected

by a moat which had a depth of about 60 feet (30 cubits) and a width of 200 yards (6 plethra). The moat was thus navigable. It was filled from the waters of the Son, and it received the sewage of the city. The city was further protected by a massive timber palisade surrounding it along the moat. The palisade was pierced by loopholes through which archers were to shoot. It had also 64 gates and 570 towers. Historians in general accept the estimate made by Megasthenes of the size and splendour of the city wherein he dwelt.

MAURYAN ADMINISTRATION : Kauṭilya has well said (1.7): 'administration cannot be work of one man, just as one wheel cannot drive a car'. Therefore the king must carry on the administration with the help of a hierarchy of agents of different grades and jurisdictions extending and descending down to the village. There was a full complement of departments with well-defined duties. The amount of statistical information the officials were expected to gather and maintain up to date and the extent of regulation of control they had to maintain in almost all departments of social and economic life are indeed very amazing. There is good reason to think that this feature of imperial organization owes a great deal to Western, Hellenistic and Persian influence. Under the Mauryas the control of the Government over distant provinces was far more steady and stringent than at any other period before the advent of the British rule in India. Kauṭilya recommends the appointment of permanent advisers of the king, either three or four in number, or as many as he required. These were the important councillors (*mantriṇaḥ*) on whom the king depended for sage counsel and they formed the regular council of ministers (*mantri-parishad*). There were several other administrators (*amātyas*) besides. We may note that earlier than the time of Chandragupta, Pāṇini refers to the *parishad* as an accompaniment of kingship. The council (*parishad*) of *mantris* is mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions and was often consulted by the monarch or by the viceroys in the provinces. According to Kauṭilya the king should consult absent *mantris* by letters on important questions, and be guided by the majority opinion. The procedure of the king's business in the council is also indicated by Kauṭilya. The *mantriparishad* had its (1.12) secretary-in-charge of its office. He is called *mantri-parishad-adhyaksha*.

Administration of Towns and Villages : In the Mauryan period towns were numerous. There were fortresses in strategic positions and on the frontiers. The village (*grāma*) with its boundary and its hall and assembly, its *grāmanī* and *grāmavṛiddhas* and its independent internal economy was the unit of rural administration. For purposes of administration, villages were grouped together in progressively widening areas in charge of officers of corresponding grade, *gopas* and *ethānikas*. Towns and cities were divided up into convenient units held under a town-superintendent called *nāgaraka*. Precautions against fire and simple rules of sanitation were enforced everywhere.

The Government of the Capital : The capital was administered by a Town Council which functioned through six committees or boards dealing respectively with (1) the industrial arts, (2) the entertainment of foreigners, (3) the registration of births and deaths, (4) trade and commerce including weights and measures, (5) supervision and sale of manufactured articles, and (6) collection of tithes on sales. At the head of the organization in the centre was the *samāhartā*, the Minister of the Interior and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This minister commanded the services of *pradeshṭris* who were undoubtedly the same as *prādeśikas* of the Aśokan inscriptions who were to assist the minister in the supervision and control of the regional details.

The cultivable land was parcelled out in estates owned by individuals while pastures and forest land were held in common. There was an extensive royal domain. Over all the land the king had a right of eminent domain. The *Arthaśāstra* stretches this domain so that agriculture and forestry become a vast State-regulated enterprise. There was storage of produce and extensive market operations were carried on by the government. This arrangement gave Greek observers the impression that all land was owned by the king as in Egypt.

Revenue : Besides land revenue there were tolls, fines and fees for licences for various trades and occupations including prostitution, sale of liquor and running a gambling house. An important minister was the *sannidhātā* or Minister of Works in charge of the construction and maintenance of store houses, treasuries, prisons, armouries, warehouses and the like besides the maintenance of

rain gauges. The accounts branch of the government had an elaborate organization. The financial year ran from *Āshāḍha* to *Āshāḍha* (July-August). The *Arthaśāstra* describes thirty departments each under a superintendent (*adhyaksha*). The government undertook a great deal of social welfare work like finding employment for the unemployed, care of the widows, destitutes and orphans, regulations of wages and prices, control of wandering parties of musicians, dancers and acrobats. To the scope of the State's work Aśoka added the promotion of social morality, and he created new classes of officials like the *dharmamahāmātras*, *śrīadhyaksha-mahāmātras* and *anta-mahāmātras*. Although their duties are not clearly set forth we can understand them from their names. The *anta-mahāmātras* were clearly those officials who had to look after the well-being of the wild semi-civilized tribes on the borders of the empire.

Administrative Units of the Empire : The empire was divided into a number of provinces under governors, or princes acting as viceroys. The Aśokan inscriptions mention some important headquarters of provinces, viz. Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī (Ujjain), Takshaśīlā, Suvarṇagiri (Dzonnagiri near Yerraguḍi) with Iśilā (Siddhāpura) as a subordinate division and Tosali (Dhauli) and Sāmapa (near Jaugaḍa) in Kalinga. There might have been others. *Rājūka* is the name applied in the Edicts to one of the highest class of provincial officials. Each of them held sway over many hundred thousands of men and either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion. Aśoka exhorts to them to behave to the people like an intelligent nurse to the child in her charge. Aśoka ordered that a prisoner condemned to death might be given a respite of three days to prepare himself for the end or appeal for a revision of the sentence. There were the king's personal agents called *purushas* who were constantly in touch with the *rājūkas*, and the former had the advantage of knowing the king's mind.

Judiciary : The village tribunals settled petty disputes. The headman and the elders of villages had limited judicial powers. There were two classes of courts besides these village tribunals. They were (1) the *dharmasthīya* court, and (2) the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* (removal of thorns). In the first kind of court three *amātyas* assisted

by three learned brāhmaṇas presided as judges. All civil disputes under the traditional heads of law were decided in these courts. According to Kauṭilya disputes under the following heads came within the jurisdiction of the *dharmasthīya* court: marriage and dowry including divorce (*moksha*), inheritance, houses, house-sites, disputes regarding boundaries and water-rights, and trespass; debt, deposits; serfs (*dāsas*); labour and contracts; sale; abuses, violence and assault; gaming; and miscellanea. The procedure in these courts conformed to rules regarding plea, counter-plea and rejoinder. There was a regular system of appeals right up to the king's court. Punishments included fines commutable for forced labour, whipping, mutilation, and death with or without torture. The *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts were presided over by three *pradeshṭris* or *amātyas* who were assisted by an army of spies and *agents provocateurs*. The procedure in these courts was rather summary, and torture for extorting confessions was not unknown. These courts tried all political offences and cases of misconduct on the part of officials. Within their competence came the following: difficult cases of theft, murder, burglary and forcible entry, poisoning and others which were referred to them, contumelious violation of caste rules, combinations to influence prices, boycott and other acts of employees, use of fraudulent weights and measures. These were special courts introduced by Kauṭilya to meet the requirements of the rapidly changing political and social conditions in the Mauryan empire. Such courts are not heard of in subsequent epochs.

Army : There was a large standing army adequate for all the needs of the empire, internal and external. The total number of men in Chandragupta's army is computed to be 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 horsemen, 36,000 men with the elephants; and 24,000 men with the chariots, totalling 6,90,000 in all, excluding followers and attendants. According to Megasthenes, the army was controlled by a War-Office constituted by thirty members distributed among six Boards of five members each. The six Boards were in charge of the following departments of the army, viz. (1) The infantry, (2) The cavalry, (3) The war-chariots, (4) The elephants of war, (5) Transport, commissariat, and army service, including the provision of drummers, grooms, mechanists, and grass-cutters, (6) The Board 'to co-operate with Admiral of the Fleet'. According

to Kauṭilya 'Surgeons carrying in their hands surgical instruments (*śastra*), apparatus (*yantra*), medicines (*agada*), healing oils (*sneha*), and bandages (*vastrāṇi*) and nurses with prepared foods and beverages, should always be in attendance and encourage the soldiers to fight'. This is certainly a most creditable anticipation in that age of the work of the Red Cross Society. In the Kauṭilya scheme the entire War-Office with all its departments is placed under the supreme control of the Commander-in-Chief known as the *Senāpati* who is to be possessed of all military qualifications. The War-Office comprised the following Chief Officers :

1. *Senāpati*, with a salary of 48,000 *paṇas* (the highest salary in the Service).
2. *Praśāstā*, drawing 24,000 *paṇas*.
3. *Nāyaka*, drawing 12,000 *paṇas*.
4. *Mukhya*, getting 8,000 *paṇas*.

The equipment of the army included fixed and mobile engines such as 'hundred-slayers' (*śataghnī*). An elephant carried three archers besides the driver. Smaller chariots were drawn by two horses, while the bigger ones had four and carried six men each as its full complement. Each horseman carried two lances and a bukler. Broad-swords, javelins, bows and arrows were the arms of the infantry. According to the *Arthaśāstra* they were organized in squads of ten men, companies of hundred, and battalions of a thousand each. Men, elephants and horses were protected by defensive armour.

THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA : Kauṭilya's system—revenue administration, bureaucracy and police—was the basis of all later Indian kingdoms, the Mughal Empire, and the British rule which followed it, in a large measure. His *Arthaśāstra*, however, contains several sections advocating immoral practices like the secret murder of high officials and confiscation of their property and unscrupulous means of collecting taxes under various pretences, for the advancement of the State as against its opponents, internal and external. But such methods described for the sake of the logical completeness of the exposition of a point of view (*artha*) were not meant to be and were seldom practised by monarchs who could not ignore the precepts of morality and religion. Even for his theoretical

exposition Kauṭilya was reproved by Bāṇa; but Kamandaka and Daṇḍin held him in high reverence.

Chandragupta and Chāṇakya were really the first empire-builders of India. They must be held to have faced the task of organizing the imperial administration with courage and initiative. Due to their sound imperial policy there was complete cultural freedom in the empire for all the different communities. Differences in language, custom and creed were duly respected. Social, religious and linguistic rights were so well protected that there was communal integrity and harmony in the vast empire. By the propagation of his *dhamma* Aśoka succeeded, in an appreciable measure, in eliminating the narrow attitude of religious teaching and in protecting the weak against the strong.

Economic Conditions—Industry and Trade

In the organization of industry and trade the Mauryan empire was marked by an all-round advance on the conditions of an earlier age reflected in Pāli Buddhist literature. The establishment of a large and closely knit empire created a sense of security which stimulated production and exchange. The opening up of the Western trade-routes by Alexander and the increased attention paid by the Mauryan State to the laying out and maintenance of roads and waterways led naturally to a great expansion in the industry and commerce of India, internal and external.

The *Arthaśāstra* shows that the State controlled and organized the agriculture, industry and the trade of the country. The *Jātakas*, believed to be documents of older history, throw a flood of light on private enterprise with special reference to eighteen chief handicrafts of the times. The extent of technical knowledge of the various industries and art exhibited by Kauṭilya's great work has been one of the main grounds on which some critics suppose, not very logically, that the work must belong to a period much later than the age of the Mauryas. The vastness of India's agricultural and mineral resources and the extraordinary skill of her craftsmen were noted with admiration by the companions of Alexander and by Megasthenes.

Agriculture : The State had a large part of the agriculture of the country directly in its own hands in its vast Crown estates.

But it did not interfere with the actual work of cultivation provided its share of the produce as land revenue demand was duly paid. However, it was the State's business to organize and extend the agricultural productivity of the country by schemes of colonization, encouraging the surplus population to settle new or abandoned tracts and also by assisting the emigration of foreigners to settle in the country.

Villages were well organized from the fiscal point of view. Cultivable land and pastures were carefully surveyed. Among the crops grown in the villages are mentioned rice of different varieties, coarse grain (*Kodrava*), sesamum, pepper and saffron; pulses, wheat, linseed, mustard, vegetables and fruits of various kinds, and sugarcane. The government set up model farms which were of great use for the improvement of agriculture in the country. The State maintained cattle-farms, stud-farms and dairy farms.

Irrigation was the concern of the State as an important source of revenue derived from the water-rates levied in accordance with the means of irrigation employed. A village had its full complement of public works of utility and social institutions. Grants of land without right of alienation were made to rural officers. The village life was built upon the basis of private property, security of life and property, communications and public works.

The forest yielded various animal products of economic value such as hides, skins, sinews, bones, teeth, horns, and tails of creatures like leopard, tiger, lion, elephant, buffalo, yak, crocodile, tortoise, snake and birds.

Trade Routes : The *Arthaśāstra* devotes a great attention to roads and market towns. It makes an intelligent appreciation of the relative value of different trade routes. Kauṭilya (VII.12) quotes an unnamed teacher who says that the costlier merchandise consisting of elephants, horses, fragrant products, tusks, gold and silver were plentiful in the Himalayas, and consequently the routes leading to the Himalayas were better than those leading to the *Dakshiṇāpatha*. But Kauṭilya contradicts this saying that with the exception of blankets, skins and horses other articles such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones and pearls were plentiful in the South. With the establishment and spread of the Mauryan power the balance of trade shifted in favour of the South. More routes leading to that part of the south opened out and the volume of

trade increased. The Mauryan empire controlled not only all the internal trade routes but most of the land and sea routes leading outside. The royal highway from the north-west to Pāṭaliputra was considered an important one. It has continued to be so throughout the centuries, being popularly known as the Grand Trunk Road. Megasthenes refers to government officers-in-charge of roads and records how signboards were set up at intervals to indicate turnings and distances. He also refers to the royal road from the north-west to Pāṭaliputra as a road existing in earlier times. Prof. Rostovtzeff[4] has made a masterly study of these developments and no apology is needed for citing him at some length. 'India supplied Egypt with ivory, tortoise-shell, pearls, pigments and dyes (especially indigo), rice, and various medicinal substances, and cotton and silk'. 'The routes of immemorial antiquity which connected India with Babylonia were, for the most part, far more frequented, more important and better developed (than the more northerly route). They converged on Seleuceia on the Tigris, the great political and commercial city of Seleucus I, the eastern capital of that king and his successors, the inheritor of Babylon's preeminence'. 'A channel of Indian trade not less important than that by the Persian Gulf was provided by the ancient roads across the Iranian plateau to Seleuceia.... Transport by these routes, long and difficult as it was, was nevertheless safer and perhaps cheaper than by the Persian Gulf, since their whole course lay in Seleucid territory. It was probably to secure the safety of these routes that Seleucus gave up his claims to part of India and preferred peaceful traffic with Chandragupta and his empire of Magadha to continuous and ruinous war.' The routes from India westwards have been discussed in some detail by a modern historian of Indo-Greek history, Tarn. There were three main groups of routes; the first was the northern route of comparatively minor importance—it ran from Taxila to Kabul, thence to Bactria, the region of Oxus, the area south of the Caspian Sea, Phasis (in the Caucasus) and terminated at the Black Sea. The second group consisted of three routes which were used extensively in the third century B.C. One was from India to Ekbatana via Kandāhār and Herat and was the most important. The recently discovered inscription of Aśoka at Kandāhār confirms this view. The Greek and Aramaic texts would point to a large Greek and Iranian

[4] Rostovtzeff quoted in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 77–78.

population at Kandāhār, whose livelihood depended mainly on the prosperity of this trade route. Another southerly route branched off at Kandāhār via Persepolis to Susa. Yet another southerly route ran from India to Seleucia via the Persian Gulf and Tigris river. From Seleucia roads branched off in various directions to Ephesus, Antioch, etc. This route was probably started after Alexander's army had marched in that direction on its march from the Indian campaign. But it never developed into any great importance. The third route was the sea route on the west coast of India to ports along the south-eastern coasts of Arabia where now stands the modern port of Aden. Tamluk (Tāmralipti) on the east coast, Broach and Sopara on the west coast were the most important sea-ports of India in those times.

Ship-building was known to the Indians in the pre-Mauryan period. We have already noticed that Alexander on his return journey was supplied with a large number of boats and ships by the Indians. Strabo writes that the Mauryans maintained ship-building as a State monopoly. The ships of those times were large enough to accommodate hundreds of passengers. The Pāli books mention 'shore-sighting birds' for use when position became doubtful.

Trade with foreign countries by land and sea was regulated by means of ordinances and passports. India supplied the western countries, Syria and Egypt in particular, with indigo, and various spices like pepper, cinnamon, malabathrum, some rare woods, various medicinal substances, and cotton and silk. To facilitate the Bactrian trade with India, Antiochus I, at the time of his joint rule with Seleucus (285–280 B.C.), issued coins of the Indian instead of the Attic standard. Aśoka's religious missions to the west and perhaps also the east must have taken well-established trade-routes.

The inland trade was carried on by carts and caravans. Trade routes (*vaṇikpatha*) according to Kauṭilya are to be established as ways of profit. Kauṭilya does not agree with the view that water route is preferable to land route for the transport of goods. In his opinion water route does not admit of any ready help in danger nor can it be used in all weather. Kauṭilya classifies sea-ways into (1) ways along the coast, (2) ways through mid-ocean to foreign countries. Of these he prefers the former as a source of greater profit. Besides these two there is the river which serves as

the water-ways. Bridges were not known, but only ferries and boats.

TEXTILES : The Textile manufacture was perhaps the most important major industry. We have seen that the Mālavas presented a vast quantity of cotton cloth among other things to Alexander. The Pāli books speak very highly of Benares cloth, as well as cloth from the Śibi country. Kauṭilya mentions Madhurā, the Pāṇḍyan capital, Aparānta (on the west coast), Kāśī, Vanga, Vatsa and Mahisha (either Māhishmatī on the Narmadā, or the Mysore country) as the sources of the finest cotton fabrics. He refers to the varieties of the *dukūla* (a fabric of uncertain nature) produced respectively in Vanga (East Bengal), Puṇḍra (West Bengal) and Suvarnakudya (in Assam). Kāśī and Puṇḍra were noted for linen fabrics (*kshauma*), and textiles made from fabrics of trees *patrorṇā* were made in Magadha, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya.

Among costlier textiles silk and silk cloth are frequently referred to in Pāli Buddhist books. Kauṭilya mentions *kauśeya* from the Chīnabhūmi which seems to mean not China but the land of the Shin tribe.[5] Silk may have come from China as well, the latter being called Chīna-paṭṭa. Woollen manufacture of different kinds including varieties of blankets, rain proof cloth (*apasāraka* made of eight pieces black in colour called *varshā-vāraṇam*). This came chiefly from Nepal. Gold embroidered cloth was used for turbans and worn on festive occasions by the well-to-do.

A wide variety of skins particularly from the Himalayan regions is listed by Kauṭilya. Arrian alludes to the skill of Indian leather-workers by saying that the Indians 'wear shoes made of white leather and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and of great thickness to make the wearer seem taller'.

Forest produce included fragrant woods of various kinds which entered largely into international trade. Kauṭilya speaks of *chandana*, *agaru*, *taila-parṇika*, *bhadraśrī* and *kāleyaka*, and distinguishes them according to their places of origin, colour and other qualities. Wood-work and ivory-carving had reached a high level of efficiency. The building of boats and ships and making of carts and chariots, and the manufacture of machines are all mentioned besides house-building. The wooden platforms that have been dug up at Kumrahar in the neighbourhood of Patna are a testimony

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

to the skill of the Mauryan carpenter. Each of the platforms is 30 ft. in length, 5 ft. 4 ins. in width and 4 ft. 3 ins. in height from the base. Doctor Spooner who made the discovery says 'the neatness and accuracy with which it has been put together, as well as the preservation of ancient woods whose edges were so perfect that the very lines of jointure were indistinguishable, evoked the admiration of all who witnessed the experiment'. Ivory was used for inlay work in furniture and bedsteads and ear-rings worn by the rich.

Stone-cutting was another highly developed art in which Mauryan craftsmen reached a height never surpassed since. The relic caskets of beryl and rock crystal from the *stūpas* of Bhaṭṭiprolu and Piprāhwā are among the finest examples of the stone-cutter's art. The making and transport over long distances of the huge monolithic columns of Aśoka's time required no small degree of engineering and technical skill, and the pillars as well as the interior of the rock-caves of Barabar provide proof that 'the art of polishing hard stone was carried to such perfection that it is said to have become a lost art beyond modern powers'.

Mining and Metal Work : Mining and metal work had a long history beginning from pre-vedic times. Numerous metals including brass and bronze are mentioned in the *Jātakas;* they also mention manufacture of ornaments from precious metals and of domestic and agricultural implements from the baser metals. Kauṭilya gives many details of metallurgical interest and refers to the manufacture of copper, lead, tin, bronze, iron and other wares. We have already mentioned that the Mālavas gave Alexander a hundred talents of 'white iron' steel. The bell-shaped part of Aśokan pillar of Rāmapūrva is joined on to the shaft by a bolt of pure copper of the form of a barrel, which is an excellent specimen of the coppersmith's art. We hear of royal attendants 'carrying vessels of gold, such as large basins and goblets, six feet in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and levers all made of Indian copper—many of them set with precious stones—emeralds, beryls and Indian garnets'. Pearls, jewels (*maṇi*), diamonds and coral are discussed at length by Kauṭilya from the standpoint both of the jeweller and the trader. That the art of the jeweller was highly developed and specialized may be seen from Kauṭilya's mention

of five varieties of pearl necklaces and of several varieties of ornaments for the head, arms, feet and waist.

OTHER INDUSTRIES : Other industries included the manufacture of dyes, gums, drugs, perfumes as well as of pottery. The making of armaments included swords and armour of different types, machines (*yantrāṇi*) of different descriptions both fixed and movable and perhaps also war-chariots. The manufacture of military equipment was a State industry.

THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE : The eighteen chief handicrafts of the time such as wood-work, metal-work and jewellery, etc. were organized in guilds called *śreṇis* each under its president called *pramukha* and the alderman called *jeṭṭhaka*. Trade was organized in merchant-guilds (*sanghas* and *śreṇis*) whose chief was called *seṭṭhi*. We hear also of a *mahāseṭṭhi*, 'a chief alderman over the aldermen of the guilds', empowered to hear disputes among the guilds. According to Kauṭilya they flourished on *vārttā*, a term which included agriculture, cattle-raising and trade.

LABOUR : There were landless agricultural labourers who worked as domestic servants on the basis of free food and a little wages in cash. Industrial labour included free labourers (*kammakaraṣ*) who worked on the basis of a wage contract and serfs (*dāsas*). Kauṭilya's code contains a whole section of the relations of labourers with their masters. The Indian *dāsa* was not identical with Greek *doulos*, since the former could own property and earn for himself. Aśoka refers to both the categories of labourers in his edicts and lays peculiar emphasis on their being treated with kindness.

STATE CONTROL : The Mauryan State itself was a vast industrial and trading concern and employed in its service vast numbers of artisans and merchants. Hence the State had to control its entire trade to safeguard its own interests. Regulating the relations between State concerns and private enterprise was a delicate task and the *Arthaśāstra* gives clear evidence that the Mauryan State performed this task with considerable success. It is impossible to give here details of the provisions regulating trade. To mention a few: every trader had to get licence for sale. The Superintendent of Commerce fixed the wholesale prices of goods allowing a margin

of profit for the retailer. Smuggling and adulteration of goods were severely punished. Speculation and cornering to influence prices were not allowed. There was State control of weights and measures. Trade was taxed all along its way by export and import duties, octroi and excise. The *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts bore the brunt of the work of enforcing these rules. If trade was thus strictly regulated and taxed, there was adequate compensation in the protection assured to it by the State. The transit of goods was guarded all along its way and any loss in transit was to be made good by the government. Artisans and craftsmen were specially protected by the State and offences against them were severely punished.

CURRENCY : We have very little authentic information about the currency of the time. 'The evidence of the law-books and even Kauṭilya is by no means clear or consistent on the standards of weight and fineness of the standard coins or their relation to token currency. It has been observed that silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and differed with different areas of circulation.' The oldest variety of coins has been found in north-west India. These coins belonged to the Achaemenian Persian empire in the sixth and fifth century B.C. Some of these were found in an early layer in Taxila. The '80 talent of coined silver' which Āmbhi, the king of Taxila, paid Alexander were probably Achaemenid *sigolos* of the fourth century B.C. Next, a hoard of coins was found at a deep stratum in Gorakhpur at the site of ancient Pāṭaliputra. These are considered to be the earliest punch-marked silver coins, perhaps of the Nandas. After this find, punch-marked silver coins have been found in great number all over India. These have been identified with the silver *kārshāpaṇas*, *dharaṇas* or *purāṇas* as they have been variously called in legal literature. These coins bear on their surface, usually on one side, separate marks made at different times by different punches. It is difficult to comprehend fully the meaning of the symbols and punch-marks on the coins. Specimens in copper are not unknown, though rare. These coins are usually square or oblong, seldom circular. The marks 'hill and crescent' and 'peacock' have generally been recognized as peculiar to the Mauryan epoch; other marks are earlier and might well go back to the early fourth century B.C. if not the fifth. The coinage was improved in the succeeding epochs under the influence of the artistic currencies of the Greeks and Romans.

Language and Literature

SPOKEN LANGUAGES OF THE TIME : We have already noticed that the study of Sanskrit in the first half of the nineteenth century by European scholars led to the establishment of a clear relationship between the languages of the Indo-European group and to the development of the science of comparative philology. The earliest surviving form of Sanskrit is that of the *Ṛigveda*. After the composition of the *Ṛigveda* Sanskrit developed considerably. New words, mostly borrowed from non-Aryan sources, were introduced, while old words were forgotten or lost their original meaning. So recitation of Vedic texts with complete accuracy and correct tonic accent came to be insisted upon. The oldest Indian linguistic texts were the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Yāska's Nirukta* (500 B.C.) which explains obsolete Vedic words. These were followed by Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Eight Chapters) which effectively stabilized the Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit that Pāṇini defined and described in his grammar is called *Bhāshā* as contrasted with the language of the Veda. This was the language spoken at the time in the north-west when Taxila was still a great centre of learning. This was the correct speech; *Saṁskṛita*, employed by the learned (*śishṭas*), particularly on ceremonial occasions; popular dialects, coeval with the Vedic language itself, but with much pre-Aryan admixture, must have been developing side by side in the region from the Punjab to the eastern boundary of Bihar. The colloquial forms of these dialects must have been mixing with and influencing, to some extent, the Sanskrit language itself. From this area Sanskrit was spreading south, mainly along the west, through Rājaputānā and Mālwa to Sind and Gujarāt on one side, and the Mahārāshṭra on another. In the belt of forest land in the east (east Madhya Pradesh and Choṭa Nāgpur mountains) there were non-Aryan tribes speaking Munda and Dravidian languages. In South India, eastern Deccan and farther south the Dravidian idiom continued to be the language of common speech.

THREE DISTINCT DIALECTS : Of the Sanskrit dialects that developed there were at least three which were distinctly different from one another. These were a northern or north-western, a midland and an eastern. The first as already noted was conservative and regarded as the purest form of Aryan speech. This dialect was

taken by Indian settlers to Chinese Turkistan where it continued to be in use for some centuries as an official language in the southern part of the country. The midland and eastern dialects were susceptible to rapid change. In the Mauryan period the eastern dialect had already reached the middle Indo-Aryan or the Prākṛit stage.

Prākṛit (Māgadhī) was perhaps the language of Aśoka's Court, and his edicts were first written in the capital in this dialect and sent over the provinces for publication. It is interesting to note that Aśoka should have consistently used Prākṛit, the language spoken by the people at large, and not Sanskrit, the language of culture in all his inscriptions except that at Kandāhār, which is bilingual, being inscribed in Greek and Aramaic.

Where the local dialect differed considerably from Māgadhī (the official language of the Mauryan Court), as in the north-west (Mānsehra and Shāhbāzgarhī) and in south-west (Gírnār), the edicts were rendered in the local dialect before publication, though in a haphazard way. In the region of the midland dialect, the eastern speech was evidently not so difficult to follow and was retained (*kālsī*). The official dialect was retained also in tracts far from the Aryan land (Siddhapura, Maski, Yerraguḍi).

The earliest versions of the Buddhist canon must have been in the eastern dialect. Aśoka's references to the passages from scripture are to this version and not the Pāli canon. The eastern dialect must have acquired literary vogue for a time through Buddhist and Jaina texts being first redacted in it. But with the fall of the Mauryan empire this dialect lost its prestige and the midland country forming the heart of Āryāvarta quickly gained its natural place, and the discourses of the Buddha were rendered into the midland dialect as it prevailed in Mathurā and Ujjain and became the Pāli canon. In Central Asia has been found another version of the canon in the north-western dialect. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages of mediaeval and modern India were very largely the products of the developments of the three dialects referred to above. There is no tangible evidence of the non-Aryan idioms of this period except the obscure and short inscriptions from caverns in South India already mentioned.

WRITING : We have seen that the people of the Harappa culture had a script which has not so far been deciphered. Though there is no clear evidence of writing in the pre-Aśokan period, it may

be assumed that some form of script may have been used by merchants. The earliest important written documents are the Aśokan inscriptions, the script of which shows many centuries of development before the days of Aśoka. The Aśokan edicts employ two scripts, *Kharoṣṭhī* derived from the Persian Aramaic (read from right to left), and *Brāhmī* normally read from left to right. The two northern versions of the Major Rock Edicts are in *Kharoṣṭhī* and the rest except that at Kandāhār are in Brāhmī. There are conflicting theories about the origin of the Brāhmī script, and we do not propose to reopen the problem here. Local variations of the Brāhmī script are evident even at the time of Aśoka. In the following centuries these differences developed further, and distinct alphabets evolved.

LITERATURE : Classical Sanskrit established by Pāṇini spread throughout the length and breadth of India through the efforts of *śiṣṭas*, learned men. It came to be associated more and more with the midland; the clarity of its forms and the prestige it gained soon won for it the homage of the Buddhists and Jains also.

According to tradition the Nandas were liberal patrons of brāhmaṇa logicians (*tārkikas*). Some accounts credit Chandragupta and Bindusāra with having favoured Sanskrit language and brāhmanical learning. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* written in the succeeding epoch, partly in defence of Pāṇini against Kātyāyana, contains casual references to a great deal of grammatical and literary activity in the Mauryan period. The great work of Pāṇini evoked much discussion in the light of new facts of speech or omissions in the old work. There arose several *vārttikakāras* (commentators); one of the most famous of them was Vyāḍi reputed to be a descendant of Pāṇini himself, on whose *Saṁgraha* in 100,000 verses, Patañjali's great commentary is supposed to rest. Among the works of Vyāḍi are mentioned *Paribhāshās* or rules of interpretation for Pāṇini's *sūtras* and a lexicon named *Utpalinī*. Another famous versatile scholar of the Nanda-Maurya epoch was Kātyāyana *alias* Vararuchi, a southerner, according to Patañjali. In his *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* he submitted several Pāṇini *sūtras* to criticism which made him *vārttikakāra par excellence* of the school of Pāṇini. Yet another scholar was Kātya, the author of the *Mahāvārttikas*. Bharadvāja, Sunāga, Kroshṭa, Kuṇarvadava and Sūrya who was venerated as Bhagavān were the other *varttikakāras*. Of all the

commentaries on Pāṇini's work Patañjali's alone has gained the epithet 'great' *mahā;* it throws a vivid light on the state of contemporary society, religion, philosophy, literature and art.

Subandhu, described as a brāhmin minister of Nanda, Chandragupta and Bindusāra, was regarded as *mahākavi* (great poet) of the age. He composed the *Vāsavadattā-Nāṭya-dhārā*, dramatizing the story of the famous princess Vāsavadattā of Ujjain and her lover Udayana. This was a unique play in which each succeeding Act was embossed in the earlier one so as to make the characters of each preceding Act the spectators of its successor.

Allusions in Patañjali's work make it clear that there was a rich crop of literature in classical Sanskrit in this period, including *kāvyas* and *ākhyānas*. Most of this literature has been lost, though stray samples from a few survive in citations in later works. These quotations show that the metrical forms of the epics, particularly of the *Mahābhārata* were popular with authors. The *Chhanda-sūtras* of Pingala, the *sūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasishṭha and the kernel of the epics in the present form may be assigned to this period. The first redactions of the Buddhist and Jaina scripture texts also belong here.

That the dramatic arts were developed and popular in the Mauryan age is borne out by the many references in Kauṭilya to *naṭas*, *nartakas*, *nāṭya-rangopajīvins* and *prekshā* or a show witnessed by the king. Music in all its departments (*gīta*, *vādya*, *gāyana*, *vādana*, *vīṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛidanga*) is often mentioned by Kauṭilya. But Kauṭilya is against popular shows as they interfere unduly with the useful and productive activity of the country people.

Religion

The Vedic religion, Jainism and Buddhism appear to have been the important religions prevalent at the time, besides a number of minor religious orders including that of the *Ājīvikas*. Chandragupta undoubtedly began as an orthodox follower of the Vedic religion as is seen from his association with Kauṭilya. The Jaina tradition that he embraced that faith later in life may well be true. But the *Mahāvaṁśa* says 'Aśoka's father had shown hospitality to sixty thousand Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Brahma-doctrine and in like manner he himself nourished them for the three years'. However, brāhmanism scented danger from the newer creeds and

did its best to rally to itself all sects that had not succumbed to the new doctrines. In fact Buddhism was only one of several rival faiths struggling for an ascendancy till Aśoka adopted it.

According to Megasthenes the brāhmaṇas of the mountains adored Dionysos, i.e. Śiva, while the people of the plains adored Heracles, i.e. Vishṇu (Krishṇa) whose cult was mainly rustic and pastoral and centred in Mathurā, the city of the gods. The Vedic religion of sacrifices, domestic and public, and the periodical worship of the manes continued intact during the Mauryan period. Kauṭilya advocates use of the power of the State to check the tendency of people to live as wandering ascetics, perhaps because such asceticism was due to mere love of vagrancy and dislike of honest work than to sincere religious beliefs. Government was therefore required to stop persons from taking to asceticism until they had discharged their legitimate social duties, including provision for their dependents.

Popular faith was then as ever manifold in its trends. Kauṭilya mentions shrines dedicated to Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), Aśvins and Śrī (Lakshmī). Worship was offered to fire, rivers, Indra, seashore, forests, mountains, *chaityas* of *rākshasas;* to *vāstu* (building site), *dik* (quarters), and what not. Pilgrimages to holy spots and dedication of *nāga pratimās* (snake images) were common. Flag-staffs representing particular deities were honoured. Faith in sorcery and magic, astrology and omens, oracles and interpretation of dreams governed much of the daily life of the common folk.

Our knowledge of Jainism in the Mauryan epoch is very little. The strongholds of Jainism in this period seem to have lain more in Western India than in its original home where the rival creeds of the Buddha and the *Ājīvikas* seem to have prevailed. The *Ājīvikas* received gifts of cave-dwellings in the hills near Gaya both from Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. As we have seen Aśoka was the first Mauryan monarch to have been associated with Buddhism as its imperial patron. The greatest event in this period was the conversion of Aśoka. Though Aśoka was a Buddhist, the *dhamma* which he propagated cannot be equated with the Buddhist *dhamma*. The concept of *dharma* used in the sense of law and social order was by no means new to Mauryan India. Therefore by his *dhamma* Aśoka made an attempt to impress upon people the importance of virtuous behaviour which transcends all barriers of

sectarian belief. Thus Aśoka's *dhamma* was very largely an ethical concept which sought to reform the narrow attitude of religious teaching.

ART : The numerous objects and buildings unearthed in the Indus valley are the earliest examples of the art and architecture of India. The link between the Harappan art and the Mauryan is unfortunately missing. It is difficult to believe that the former died out altogether; perhaps the products of the intermediate period still lie hidden under the soil or having been made of perishable material like wood have vanished altogether leaving no trace. In art as in other spheres of national life, the age of the Mauryas constituted a notable epoch. Aśoka's striking individuality is borne out not only by his administration and religious policy but also by his works of art. Most of the surviving monuments of the period belong to Aśoka's reign, because of the use of stone, which was not altogether unknown in the centuries preceding Aśoka. Not only did the use of stone become common in the Aśokan period but a school of art sprang up 'which drew its inspiration from many sources and whose achievements take a very high place in the art history not merely of India, but of the world'.

The splendour of the Mauryan palace and the capital has already been noticed. Indian art doubtless had an earlier history and the influence of lost works and wooden prototypes can be traced in the stone work of Aśoka's time. In his forty years' rule Aśoka must have improved the wooden walls and buildings of the capital city and partly replaced them by more substantial edifices. In later times Aśoka's palace was considered the work of spirits as Fa-hien attests; so astonishing was his work as a builder. The palace seems to have been destroyed by fire as may be inferred from the ashes found in the site of Kumrahar in the neighbourhood of Bulandi Bagh. Commenting on the remains of a hall which formed part of the palace, Percy Brown says that it 'was reared in three stories on a high stylobate and contained fifteen rows of fifteen pillars each; colossal stone caryatid figures supported the ceiling of one of the stories and polished stone was used for a variety of purposes in the structure; the single shaft that has survived is some twenty inches in diameter, tapers like a pine trunk with no sign of base or capital and bears a mason's mark similar to a symbol used at Behistun in Persia'.

Seven rock-cut sanctuaries in the hills about 25 miles to the north of Gaya, four on the Barabar hills, and three on the Nāgārjuni hill, belong to the time of Aśoka and his successors. These are the earliest known examples of the rock-method. Some of them are faithful copies in stone of structures in wood and thatch. Lomas Ṛishi cave in Barabar bears no inscription; this is apparently unfinished and perhaps the latest in the series, not excavated till after Daśaratha's reign. The representation of the human figure in Mauryan art is far from impressive. The *yaksha* of Parkham, the *yakshiṇī* of Besnagar, and the female *chauri*-bearer of Didarganj appear to be works of a transitional nature. They still seem to follow the technique of wood-carvers used to chisel the human form from a block of wood. They strive more after size than beauty, and the stone is not properly dressed. The Didarganj image, however, exhibits some of the traits of the aesthetic ideal of Indian womanhood in the beauty of its trunk, and this trait is seen in its further development in the art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī in the next period. Some art critics regard the sculpture of these *stūpas* as the work of the lower grades of craftsmen. A fragment of railing at Sāranāth and a throne at Bodh-Gayā are also devoid of all ornament, but each is cut with great precision from a single block of stone; likewise the plainness of the fragments of *stūpa* umbrellas of stone at Sāñchī and Sāranāth is only relieved by a faint indication of ribs radiating on their under side.

The best specimens of Aśokan art are furnished by a number of monolithic columns with their majestic animal capitals found in Bakhira (near Basārh or Vaiśālī), Rāmpūrva, Lauriya Nandangarh, Sāranāth, Sāñchī and other places. The so-called 'Persian bell-shaped capital' of these stately Mauryan pillars is a symbolic *motif* which is universal in Indian art. The label is misleading for the capital represents a flower, lotus, not a bell. The lotus symbolism is more characteristic of Indian art than Persian. The surface of both the shaft and the capital is chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterize the workmanship of the Mauryan age and have never been surpassed in Athens or elsewhere. Besides these monuments whose size and finish are imposing there are the inscriptions on some of these pillars 'which are models of careful and accurate engraving and therefore entitled to a place, in the art of the age'. The stone was got invariably from a quarry near Chunar. The most beautiful of these is the Sāranāth

pillar raised in the deer park where the Buddha preached his first sermon. It was surmounted by a richly decorated capital comprising in order from below: an inverted 'bell-shaped' lotus; an entablature with a frieze carrying fine sculptures in high relief of an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion, separated by intervening wheels (*chakra*); at the summit, the fore-part of four lions standing back to back carrying the great Wheel of the Law crowning the four quarters of space. Some of these pillars, especially those bearing animals sacred to Hindu gods, e.g. the bull of Śiva, the elephant of Indra, the lion of Durgā, and the *garuḍa* of Vishṇu (Lauriya Ārarāj), may be pre-Aśokan in origin, possibly of the time of Bindusāra. The sculptures of these noble animal figures take a high place in the history of art.

These masterpieces of art are believed to have been influenced by Achaemenid technique. Though clearly inspired by foreign models Aśokan art is as clearly different from them and in some respects their superior. The differences that separate the Mauryan columns from the Achaemenian ones are considerable and must not be lost sight of. The Mauryan shaft is plain, the Achaemenian, fluted; the Mauryan monolithic, the Achaemenian, built of separate pieces of segments of stone; the Mauryan partakes of the character of woodcarver's or carpenter's work, the Achaemenian, that of a mason. The form and character of the capital differ widely in the two cases; the Mauryan has no base, the Achaemenian has one which takes the form of an inverted lotus.[6] These details of decoration in the excavation show the originality of Indian Art. The design of the Sāranāth capital may have been suggested by Persia, but the lions are far superior in their pose and style to their Persian models, while the animals of the abacus are purely Indian in every way. 'It is improbable that they could have been executed by any sculptor who had not been soaked in ancient Indian tradition, altogether his previous practical experience might have been gained by working on wood or ivory.' Havell thinks that the few suggestions of Hellenic and Persian influence of Mauryan art are generally much more satisfactorily explained by considering the common origins of Indo-Aryans than by the assumption that the great Mauryan emperors set out to reproduce Persian palaces.

[6] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 508–9.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA 200 B.C. TO A.D. 300

Post-Mauryan India: General Features

The Mauryan empire lost its unity and strength soon after the death of Aśoka, but its decadence dragged on for half a century till the last Maurya; Bṛihadratha was murdered by the first Śunga about 185 B.C. The history of India after this up to the rise of the Guptas is almost a welter of confusion. Our sources of information are mainly *Purāṇic* and numismatic. The *Purāṇic* chronicles preserve the continuity of Indian history up to the last quarter of the first century B.C. Then the narrative loses itself in the darkness of uncertainty which is occasionally dispelled by the light thrown by coins and inscriptions. For the period immediately following the overthrow of the Mauryas, the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa supply interesting and important details. For the third century A.D. coins constitute our main source of information but they are often insufficient, inconclusive and difficult to interpret.

Soon after Aśoka's death Pañchāla under the dynasty of *mitra* kings different from the Śungas, and Mathurā under another dynasty seem to have become independent States. According to the *Purāṇas*, the Śungas, Kāṇvas and Andhras were the successors of the Mauryas to the imperial position. The Andhra rulers of the *Purāṇas* were those who called themselves Sātavāhanas and ruled in the Deccan till the first half of the third century A.D. The kingdom of Kalinga declared its independence but its history is dependent mainly on a single inscription which is by no means well preserved and full of gaps and difficulties. In the farther south, the Tamil kingdoms and fiefs were flourishing in a relatively high state of civilization. These kingdoms were having their full share of the prosperous maritime commerce with the West and probably

also in the movement of colonization across the Bay of Bengal in Malaysia. The most important aspect of this age lies in the contacts of India with the Western world and their far-reaching consequences. The maritime commerce of South India included a growing trade with the Roman empire. The north-west of India may have had a growing trade with the Roman empire. The north-west of India may be said to have remained completely under Hellenistic influence. In this period it entered fully into the State system of Central and Western Asia with consequences of no mean import for the rest of the country. During the life-time of Aśoka, Parthia and Bactria separated themselves from the Seleucid kingdom of Syria. Commanding important land routes to India, they sought for outlets towards the Indus and the Ganges. By the beginning of the second century B.C. the Greek power reached the Jumna. A hundred years later the Scythians of Seistan (Śakasthāna) occupied the delta of the Indus (Śakadvīpa). The land routes to the West were thus practically closed to the rulers of Magadha. Therefore they had to resort much more than before to the sea routes connecting the Narmadā valley with Mesopotamia and Egypt. This resulted in the southern regions of the Mauryan empire getting economic advantage. It was at this time that Ujjayinī in Avantī became a centre of international commerce. From Broach to Pāṭaliputra arose prosperous towns at regular intervals marking the routes of caravans and also of Buddhist pilgrimage. Little by little Magadha ceased to be the seat of imperial supremacy.

The history of North-West India during the first centuries before and after Christ is of great interest for many reasons. The contact of India with the north and west became close and constant. Greeks, Partho-Scythians, and Yue-chi or Kushāns entered India. They founded colonies and established States some of which were long-lived, e.g. the empire of the Satraps of Ujjain lasted till the fourth century A.D. The most important feature of the period, is the assimilation of the invaders by the indigenous population. They, who came as barbarians, became civilized Hindus. At one time the Greek condottiere advanced as far as the Ganges and possibly up to Patna. The ethnic character of the western marches of India was considerably changed by the new admixture. Out of the mingling of the Greeks and Hindus was born the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra whose influence radiated on all sides

reaching Amarāvatī and even Central Asia and Indonesia and Indo-China beyond the seas. Buddhism underwent a profound modification and the Mahāyāna doctrine, born perhaps at Amarāvatī, is said to bear the stamp of Iran. Thus enriched, Buddhism crossed the Pamir and reached China by way of Turkestan. There was a great deal of exchange of merchandise, symbols and ideas between the remotest regions of the west and the east. Some kings of India issued coins of Mediterranean origin and are said to have assumed the Chinese title of 'Son of Heaven'. This period is in every way a fascinating one though bristling with difficult problems of interpretation and chronology but in this book we can give no more than the barest outline of it.

Political Geography : The political geography of India of this period may be broadly stated thus: south of the Ganges were four States namely Magadha, Kāśī, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. To the east were Videha (North Bihar), Kosala (Oudh) and Pañchāla. These States occupied most of the Gangetic plain. The Central Indian kingdoms of Barhut, Vidiśā and Ujjain formed the bulk of the territories outside the Gangetic plain which were still held by the later Mauryas and their immediate successor, Pushyamitra. During the reign of the first of the Śunga dynasty, the Andhras of Southern India began to play an important role in the politics of the north. The situation in India at the beginning of the first century B.C. saw the Śungas holding the centre of the country and probably the western side of the Gangetic plain, the Andhras occupying the north of the peninsula and Mālwa, and Kalinga strongly established on the east coast. South of the Andhras, the peninsula was divided mainly between the Tamil kingdoms—the Cholas in the east, the Keralas in the south-west, and the Pāṇḍyas in the south-east. To the north-west remained the Indus plain.

Śungas and Kāṇvas

We owe to Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* some details of the story of the overthrow of the Maurya power by Pushyamitra. According to this, the occasion of the military coup was provided by a review of the forces. This incident shows that Pushyamitra had already prepared his ground by seducing his army from its loyalty to the

Maurya king. The *Purāṇas* also affirm that Pushyamitra slew his master and reigned in his place.

According to Pāṇini the Śungas were brāhmins of the Bharadvāja *gotra*. Kālidāsa, however, in his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* describes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as a scion of the Baimbika family of Kaśyapa lineage. But the Śunga origin of Pushyamitra is generally accepted. The *Purāṇas* assume the rule of the Śungas and Kāṇvas from Magadha, but there is no evidence, epigraphic or numismatic, connecting them with that country or Pāṭaliputra. The inscription of Khāravela gives the only known epigraphic evidence on Magadha in this period and this excludes the possibility of an imperial power established at Pāṭaliputra. The Śungas are mentioned by name in a brief inscription at Bhārhut. In this they are specially associated with the kingdom of Vidiśā; perhaps they inherited from the last Maurya only a part of the old Mauryan empire. The Śungas are said to have ruled for 112 years (184–72 B.C.) and there were ten kings in all. The first of them was Pushyamitra who ruled for thirty-six years and the last Devabhūti who had a ten years' rule. In between them except the ninth ruler, Bhāga who ruled for thirty-two years, others had short reigns of three to ten years. Although there is uncertainty regarding the length of individual reigns, the total duration of the dynasty may well be correct.

PUSHYAMITRA : *Divyāvadāna* and *Tāranātha* depict Pushyamitra as a veritable enemy of the Buddhist doctrine. The story goes that he wished to destroy the *Kukkuṭarāma* of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra, but his attempt was foiled by the mysterious roar of a mighty lion. After burning other monasteries he went to Śākala (Sialkot in East Punjab) and offered a reward of 100 *dināras* for the head of every monk. It is said that Pushyamitra's end was due to superhuman interposition. The net purport of this story seems to be that Pushyamitra favoured brāhmanism more than Buddhism. But in fact the Śunga period was marked by the rise of important Buddhist monuments at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and other places. There were numerous donations to the *sanghas* from merchants and corporations. A short Sanskrit inscription from Ayodhyā mentions two *aśvamedhas* performed by *Senāpati* Pushyamitra and a relative of his who was perhaps ruling there as viceroy of the Śungas.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa (A.D. 400) dramatized the love of Agnimitra, the viceroy at Vidisa, for Mālavikā, a princess of Berar, who was living at the king's court in disguise. The play refers to the war between Vidiśa and Vidarbha ending in the victory of Vidisa and the recognition of the Wardha as the boundary between the two States. The kingdom was ruled by a Sātavāhana king. The play also refers to Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra, defeating a band of Yavanas on the right bank of the river Sindhu when they tried to capture the sacrificial horse of Pushyamitra. Patañjali attests to both the horse sacrifice and the Yavana invasion of Central India. There is a difference of opinion over the location of the Sindhu; probably it is Kāli Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmaṇavatī (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā which was besieged by the Yavanas, or another Sindhu, a tributary of the Jumna. We would discuss the Yavana invasions later.

Agnimitra must have succeeded his father and ruled for eight years. Among the coins found near Ahicchatra are some bearing the name of the king, but it is doubtful if they belong to the Śunga king or a feudatory line of kings who ruled in that city and bore names ending in *mitra*. According to Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra, was overfond of the drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and killed. The fifth ruler of the line was Odraka, a name which has many variant forms. An inscription at Pabhosa records the excavation of a cave in his tenth regnal year. It seems therefore that the *Purāṇic* version that he ruled for seven years is mistaken. The ninth ruler Bhāga or Bhāgavata according to the *Purāṇas* was undoubtedly the Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra, king of Vidiśā in whose 14th regnal year the Garuḍa column of Besnagar was erected by Heliodorus (son of Dion), the Yavana ambassador representing Antialcidas, king of Takshaśilā, at the court of Vidiśā. This inscription of about 90 B.C. furnishes a valuable link between Śunga history and that of the Yavanas in India. The last king Debabhuti ruled for ten years. According to Baṇa he was killed at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva by a daughter of his slave woman disguised as his queen. This minister was a Kāṇva brāhmin. According to the *Purāṇas* Vāsudeva became the founder of a line of four kings who ruled altogether for forty-five years after the Śungas (72–27 B.C.).

One thing is certain about the Śungas—that they played an important part in history. Pushyamitra stemmed the tide of foreign invasion and maintained his authority over a large part of the empire. The Bactrian kings maintained friendly relations with the Śungas. Though the Śungas lost Magadha, they did not altogether disappear from the stage but continued to rule in Vidiśā until that region passed into the hands of the Andhras. Many kings of Central and Northern India, such as those of Kauśāmbī (Kosam on the Jumna), Mathurā and Ahicchatra, who are represented by coins and inscriptions became their feudatories. In those days Vidiśā was the meeting place of many important trade routes. Its neighbourhood is studded with monuments of the Mauryas, Śungas and Andhras. This region affords the earliest example of an inscribed coin bearing the inscription *Raño Dhamapālasa* (of king Dharmapāla) in Brāhmī characters written from right to left and most probably of an earlier age than the Aśokan inscriptions.

KĀṆVAS : The first ruler of the Kāṇva line was Vāsudeva, as we have seen, who was succeeded by his son, Bhūmimitra. Vāsudeva's kingdom apparently consisted only of a part of the Śunga territory, perhaps confined to Magadha alone. The Punjab had already been occupied by the Greeks. The greater part of the Gangetic plain to the west of Magadha had been parcelled out amongst the various 'mitra' kings and Vidiśā was still in the hands of the Śungas. The *Purāṇas* speak of the Kāṇvas as 'enjoying the allegiance of the feudatories'. But it is impossible to say who these feudatories were. Perhaps the naming of Kāṇvas as an imperial power is only a conventional compliment to a dynasty ruling over Magadha. It is best to state that nothing definite is known about the Kāṇva rulers and there is an unsettled dispute over the interpretation of coins bearing the legend Bhūmimitra. That Suśarman, the last ruler of the Kāṇvas, was overthrown by the Andhras is certain. But the identity of the Andhra king who conquered Magadha from the Kāṇvas cannot be ascertained now.

REPUBLICS : In the Southern Punjab and Northern Rājputānā there were several Kshatriya clans, the ancestors of the Rājputs of later days and this fact is attested by coins. These clans had a republican or monarchical form of government. When the Śunga

power fell, the tribes living between the Rāvī and the Jumna asserted their independence. These were the people described as professional warriors by Pāṇini.

The Yaudheyas living in the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna were notable warriors. Coins furnish proof of the independence of this tribe during the period. To the south-west of Mathurā lay the tribal republic of the Ārjunāyanas who are known to us from their coins bearing legends in Brāhmī characters of the second and first century B.C. Later Indian tradition regards them as the descendants of the epic hero Arjuna. They seem to have been subdued by the Śakas about 75 B.C. The Udumbaras of the Gurdaspur district claimed descent from Viśvāmitra who is figured on the coins of their king Dharaghosha (latter half of the first century B.C). The Kulūtas of the Kulu valley (Kangra district) are known from coins of a later date—first or second century A.D. The earliest issues of Kuṇindas on the Sutlej in the Simla hill States belong to the same age as the coins of Udumbaras.

The Sātavāhanas (Andhras)

There has been much controversy over the original home of the Sātavāhanas and the meaning of their dynastic name and the title Śātakarṇi. The kings called Sātavāhanas and Śātakarṇis in inscriptions and on coins are styled by the *Purāṇas* as Andhras, Andhrajātīyāḥ and Andhra-bhṛityāḥ.

Andhra is both a tribal and territorial name. Andhras as a people are mentioned as early as the fifth century B.C. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of them as exiled and degenerate sons of Viśvāmitra. The elder Pliny also mentions the Andhras as a powerful race. The inscriptions of Aśoka mention the Andhras along with the Pārindas as border people. It appears that the Bhojas, the Peṭenikas, the Raṭṭhikas, the Pārindas and others soon after Aśoka's death united under the rule of the dynasty (*kula*) of Sātavāhanas who belonged to the Andhra nation (*jāti*). Pliny's mention of the Andhra territory in Eastern Deccan together with the late traditions about Śrīkākulam on the lower course of the Kṛishṇā being the capital of the Andhras led to the assumption that the original seat of their kingdom was in the Godāvarī-Kṛishnā delta region from where it expanded rapidly to the west right across the Deccan. But there are no traces of the early Sātavāhanas on

the east coast. The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions in this region (near the mouth of the Kṛishṇā) reveal only the existence about 200 B.C. of a king Kubiraka who is otherwise unknown. All the inscriptions and the coins of the early Andhra kings are concentrated in Western Deccan. This points to a western origin, the region around Pratishṭhāna, modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of Mahārāshṭra State. Pratishṭhāna is famous in literature as Śālivāhana's capital, therefore the theory of the expansion of the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas from west to east rather than the reverse is more plausible.

The name Sātavāhana took the form of Śālivāhana later. The name Śātakarṇi was borne by many kings of the dynasty. It is very difficult to explain these names. Sātavāhana is connected by some with Satiyaputas. Others say that it is the equivalent of Sapta-vāhana (the sun's chariot is believed to be drawn by seven horses). This interpretation would give a solar origin to the dynasty. A third view derives the name from the Muṇḍā words, *sadam* meaning horse, and *hapan* meaning son. According to this view Sātavāhana means 'son of the performer of Aśvamedha'. Some Sātavāhana coins carry the figure of a horse. The name Śātakarṇi (Sanskritized into Śatakarṇī, i.e. son of Śatakarṇa, hundred-eared) is derived from the Muṇḍā word *kon*, (*koni*) which means 'son'. Yet another form of the same name appears as Nurruvar-Kannar, the hundred Kannas, described in the Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* as the friends of Śeran Śenguṭṭuvan and as the rulers of some territory on the banks of the Ganges. These and other legends are of too puerile a character to be mentioned here.

Whether the Sātavāhanas were brāhmins or not is also a debated point. One of the greatest kings of the line, Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi is called '*ekabamhaṇa*' which means 'unrivalled brāhmaṇa'. R. G. Bhandarkar translates *ekabamhaṇa* as 'the only protector of the brāhmins'. Another epithet used is '*khatiya-dapa-māna damana*', meaning 'the restrainer of the might and pride of the Kshatriyas'. Legend treats Śālivāhana as of mixed brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin.

The *Purāṇas* regard all the Andhras as the successors of the Kāṇvas. In them the slayer of Suśarman, the last Kāṇva king is identified with Śimuka, the first of the Andhra line. But this is against the reliable evidence of the inscriptions, which show that independent rule of the Sātavāhanas must have begun soon after the death of Aśoka about 230 B.C. The end of the Kāṇvas came

about 28 or 27 B.C. Therefore this will fall in the reign of a later king among the Sātavāhanas, No. 11, 12 or 13 of the *Purāṇic* list of thirty kings. The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a list of thirty kings and states that their rule lasted altogether for about 460 years. This is manifestly correct and should be preferred to the shorter list of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which gives the names of only 17, 18 or 19 kings with a total of 300 years' reign.

The *Purāṇic* name Āndhrabhṛitya is interpreted as servants of the Andhras, but it can also mean Andhras who were servants. Perhaps the Andhras were at first tributary to Aśoka. The Sātavāhana family which had risen in the service of the Mauryan empire in Western Deccan was quick to take advantage of the death of the great emperor, organize an independent kingdom of their own and start it on a career of expansion. Their first conquest was Mahārāshṭra north and south. Then they conquered Mālwa west and east, and the modern Madhya Pradesh. In this task they were ably assisted by the Raṭṭhikas and Bhojas for which these were amply rewarded with high offices, titles and matrimonial alliances.

The first ruler of the Sātavāhana line was Simuka. According to Jaina tradition he became wicked after a time, was dethroned and killed at the end of a rule of twenty-three years. His brother Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) succeeded him and extended the kingdom to west up to Nāsik, if not beyond. The third king, Śātakarṇi I, was a powerful ruler. He was Śimuka's son. He conquered Western Mālwa, came into conflict with the Śungas and performed many sacrifices including *aśvamedha* and *rājasūya*. During these sacrifices he gave away large sums as *dakshiṇā* (fees) to the priests. This incident is recorded in an inscription of his widow, queen Nāganikā, daughter of a Mahārathī. He had the titles Lord of Dakshiṇāpatha and the ruler of the unchecked wheel (*apratihataratha*), i.e. free to march wherever he liked. The sixth king of the line was Śātakarṇi II who had the longest rule of the line (56 years). Towards the end of his reign he conquered Eastern Mālwa (Vidiśā) from the Śungas. Most probably this is the Śātakarṇi mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela who will be found described later. The eighth king of this line was Āpīlaka who brought Madhya Pradesh under Sātavāhana rule. The seventeenth king Hāla (A.D. 20–24) is famous in literature as the compiler of *Sattasai* which is a collection of 700 erotic *gāthās* in the Āryā metre in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit.

KSHATRAPA INVASION—SET-BACK C. A.D. 40–80 : The steady growth of the Sātavāhana empire for more than two centuries and the rapidly mounting prosperity which reached its culmination in literary and maritime activities received a serious set-back in the second quarter of the first century A.D. There followed half a century of great crisis in Sātavāhana history. This was also a period of Kushāṇa advance in Northern India.

The inroads of Śaka *satraps* of the Kshaharāta family were probably the result of the advance of Kushāṇa power in Northern India. The four immediate successors of Hāla had short reigns making up altogether less than a dozen years. This itself is a sufficient evidence of the troubled time. In this period the 'Western Satraps' came into prominence. The earliest known member of the Kshaharāta dynasty was Bhūmaka known to us from coins only. The greatest conqueror of the line was Nahapāna who succeeded Bhūmaka immediately or after an interval. Nahapāna is known from numerous coins and a few inscriptions. On coins he bears the title *rājan*, and in inscriptions for a great extension of the Kshaharāta empire at the expense of the Sātavāhana. The *Periplus* states that the kingdom of Mambanus (Nahapāna) began with Ariake (Āryaka of Varāhamihira) and that the Greek ships coming into the Sātavāhana port of Kalyān were diverted to Barygaza (Broach). Nahapāna ruled over Gujarāt, Kathiawar, nothern Mahārāshṭra and even parts of southern Mahārāshṭra for a time. Nahapāna's capital was Minnagara (*min* means Scythian), perhaps Dohad, half-way between Ujjain and Broach. This spread of Śaka-Pahlava power at the expense of Sātavāhanas is best placed in the period A.D. 40–80 about the time of the *Periplus*.

SĀTAVĀHANA RECOVERY : After half a century of great tribulation the Sātavāhana power made a sharp and total recovery in the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (No. 23 in the list, c. A.D. 80–104), the greatest of the Sātavāhanas. The first sixteen years of his reign would seem to have been spent in great preparations for an all-out attack on the well-entrenched Kshaharāta power. He is described as the destroyer of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas. He overthrew Nahapāna and restruck large numbers of his silver coins. He recovered from the Śakas northern Mahārāshṭra and Konkan, the Narmadā Valley and Surāshṭra, besides Mālwa and

Western Rājputānā. His empire extended also to Vidarbha (Berar), and to Banavāsi in the south. There is no evidence of his rule in Andhra-*deśa*, though it might have touched Kalinga. Gautamīputra is also called Lord of Western Vindhya. He also assumed the pompous titles of *rāja-rāja* and *mahārāja* and took over the K haharāta prefix '*svāmī*'. His brilliance as a soldier was supported by gifts of statesmanship and a resolute sense of public duty. His administration was based on the twin foundations of *śāstraic* injunctions and humanism. He paid a great deal of attention to the amelioration of the conditions of the poor, weak and suffering. Towards the close of his reign either illness or military preoccupations made Gautamīputra associate his mother with himself in the administration of the country.

His mother was Gautamī Balaśrī and she has recorded in glowing terms the achievements of Gautamīputra in an inscription at Nāsik engraved after his death in the nineteenth year of his son and successor, Pulumāyi II. This shows the Śaka power did not regain its lost possessions for some time. Pulumayi II ruled for at least twenty-four years and his coins are found in the Godāvarī and Guntur districts and on the Coromandel coast as far south as Cuddalore. His preoccupations in the east gave the Śakas an opportunity to get back their lost territory in Western Rājputānā and Mālwa (c. A.D. 126–31). In an effort to stay these conquests, Pulumāyi's successor Śātakarṇi married the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. Rudradāman, however, defeated the next Sātavāhana ruler twice in 'fair fight' and took from him North Konkan and the Narmadā valley.

Perhaps the best-known ruler among the later Sātavāhanas is Śrī Yajna Śātakarṇi, who ruled for twenty-nine years from c. A.D. 170. His rare silver coins imitating Satrap coinage show that he must have recovered some of the western territory lost to the Śakas by his predecessors. The numerous coins of his reign are as varied in type and denomination as they are widely distributed. His coins occur in Madhya Pradesh (Chanda district) and in Andhra-*desa*. From Eastern Deccan come sackfuls of lead and copper coins bearing horse, elephant and *chaitya* devices. Coins with the figure of a ship with two masts are also his and Bāṇa describes the Sātavāhanas as Lords of the Three Oceans (*trisamudrādhipati*). Śrī Yajña's inscriptions are found at Kāṇheri and Nāsik in the west, and Chinna-Ganjam in the east. He seems to have been

the last Sātavāhana king to retain rule from sea to sea. The very last king of this line was a Pulumāyi whose inscription is found in Bellary district. The names of other rulers of Sātavāhana extraction are found on coins from different parts of the Deccan and Madhya Pradesh. The story of the fall of the Sātavāhana empire is not clear, although an attempt has been made to documentate the study of the large finds of coins. The Sātavāhana empire seems to have been partitioned among five northern provinces. In the west the Ābhīras very early appropriated the territory around Nāsik; the Ikshvākus carved out for themselves a kingdom in the eastern (Kṛishṇā-Guntur) region; the Chūṭus took possession of the south-western parts and extended their power in the north and east; and the Pahlavas filled the political vacuum in the south-eastern tracts. The *Purāṇas*, even in their present distorted and sketchy form, corroborate and supplement the picture drawn from inscriptions and coins.

Khāravela

At the time of Khāravela, Kalinga included the districts of Puri and Cuttack, and possibly a portion of the Viśakhapatnam district, besides Ganjam. While the successors of Aśoka succeeded in retaining hold of the Gangetic plain for about half a century after his death, the outlying provinces slipped from their hands very soon. An inscription in post-Aśokan characters, engraved inside the Elephant Cave (Hāthīgumphā) in the Udayagiri hill, three miles from Bhubaneśwar in the Puri district, describes the achievements of Mahārāja Khāravela, a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, who seems to have wrested Kalinga from the Mauryas soon after Aśoka's death, and founded an independent line of kings. This dynasty is described as the royal house of Cheṭi, i.e. Chedi and Khāravela is styled a scion of the Lunar race. The relationship between Khāravela and Mahāmeghavāhana is not clear, nor is it known how many kings intervened between them. It is now admitted on all hands that the Hāthīgumphā inscription does not bear any date. There is, however, a sharp controversy regarding the date of Khāravela. The Hāthīgumphā inscription records the events of the first thirteen or fourteen years of the reign of Khāravela of the Cheṭa dynasty. This is a badly damaged inscription of seventeen lines of which only four are distinct. These lines

describe the first fifteen years of Khāravela's life as having been spent in games and in the study of writing, coinage, accounting, administration and legal procedure. In his sixteenth year, Khāravela was installed as Yuvarāja. When he completed his twenty-fourth year, he was anointed Mahārāja of Kalinga. Khāravela assumed the title of *Kalingādhipati* or *Kalinga-chakravartin*, claiming the status of a universal ruler. He married a daughter of the great-grandson of king Hastisiṁha, probably of the Lalāka lineage. Khāravela was an ardent Jain, but he was not a bigot as he is said to have honoured, like Maurya Aśoka, all religious sects dwelling in his realm.

In the sixteenth line of his inscription some detect mention of the 165th year of the Mauryan era while others deny it. In any case the record must be assigned to about the middle of the second century B.C., although scholars who accept the shorter list of the Andhra kings take it necessarily to a later date. Much in the record is uncertain and being a *praśasti* it is not unlikely that there is some exaggeration. However, the details that the record gives of his life may be taken as valid information about Khāravela.

In the first year of his reign he carried out repairs to the gates and ramparts of his capital Kalinganagara which had been hit by a cyclone. This was in fact the first step taken in pursuit of his plans of extensive military operations. In the second regnal year he sent out a huge army to the west without caring for Śātakarṇi. This was meant as a challenge to the Sātavāhana monarch. The armies of Kalinga seem to have struck terror into the city of Mūshikanagara. The limits of this advance cannot be exactly determined. The expedition does not appear to have produced any concrete results. There is no mention of any actual fighting between the armies of Khāravela and those of Śātakarṇi (some identify this Śātakarṇi with the first monarch of that name in the *Purāṇic* list). However, the success appears to have been celebrated by an elaborate programme of festivities. The next year Khāravela undertook an expedition against the Bhojakas—the ruling chiefs of Berar, and the Raṭṭhikas of the adjoining Marāṭhi-speaking districts. The cause of this war appears to be that the 'abode of Vidyādharas' sacred to the Jains was violated and therefore Khāravela was obliged to give protection to the ascetics. Khāravela's repeated incursions into the Sātavāhana territory show that he was militarily

strong enough and the absence of a decisive battle shows that Kharavela did not carry his expeditions beyond the limits of safety. In the fifth year of his reign he brought the waters of a canal from Tanasuli to his capital. In this connection the phrase *ti-vasa-sata* occurs. This may mean 300 or 103 years. It is difficult to determine whether the Nanda referred to was the well-known ruler Mahāpadma of Magadha, or a local king of Kalinga. On the first interpretation we must think of the Nandas of Magadha who preceded the Mauryas. 103 years before Khāravela's fifth year would imply a predecessor of his, Nanda by name, who ruled before Asoka's conquest; if it is 103 of the Mauryan era, it must refer to a Cheta king who ruled after Kalinga regained freedom.

In the eighth year of his reign Khāravela undertook his first expedition against the North. It is said that the king of Rājagriha fled at Khāravela's approach. He also attacked Gorathagiri, a fortified hill between Rājagṛiha and Pātaliputra. In the tenth year of his rule he sent an expedition against Bhāratavarsha, a name of uncertain import. In his eleventh year of reign he marched towards the south, his armies sacked Pithuṁda, which is believed to be the same as Pitundra mentioned by Ptolemy, and overran the Tamil country as far south as the Pāṇḍya kingdom whose monarch is said to have sent a tribute of pearls.

In the twelfth year Khāravela led his army into the northern plains and watered his horses and elephants in the river Ganges. The king of Magadha was compelled to fall at the feet of Khāravela and according to one view, which is not undisputed, Khāravela brought back trophies which had been carried away by king Nanda. The identity of the king or kings of Rajagṛiha and Magadha is unknown; some hold him to be Pushyamitra himself, while others think that it is the Greek invader Demetrius, a view rendered highly improbable by more recent studies. It is said that the enormous wealth which Khāravela gathered in his expeditions was used on building a magnificent temple adorned with beautiful towers, probably Bhuvaneśvar.

The purpose of the Hāthīgumpha inscription is to record the construction of residential chambers for Jaina ascetics on the top of the Udayagiri hill. The King set up magnificent columns in a grand hall for congregation of Jaina monks. The grand building was adorned with sixty-four panels of sculptures at a heavy cost.

Khāravela's career was meteoric. His achievements dazzle us like a flash of lightning. Whatever differences there may be about the date and accuracy of statements about his achievements, it cannot be denied that Khāravela was a military leader of rare ability and under him Kalinga reached the height of glory which it failed to regain for several centuries after his death.

Foreign Rulers of the North-West

A. INDO-GREEKS : In the middle of the third century B.C. while Aśoka was at the height of his power two important provinces Bactria and Parthia broke away from the Seleucidian empire and almost simultaneously became independent kingdoms. Bactria or Bactriana as the classical writers called it denoted a vast tract of land which was bounded on the south and the east by Aria and Margiana (the modern regions of Herat and Merv). Parthia was the territory lying to the south-east of the Caspian Sea and inhabited by shepherd horsemen whose habits were akin to those of the Turkomans of a later date.

When the Mauryas had fallen on evil days and Śungas were coming into power, the north-western and northern parts of India were conquered one after another by a band of Greek rulers who were the virtual successors of Alexander in the extreme eastern parts of the empire. Important among the invaders of India were the Bactrians who were followed by Sakas and Parthians; the Indo-Greek kings of Bactrian origin were more influenced by Indian religion and thought than were the Hellenistic kings by the faith and ideas of their respective countries. So the history of the Indo-Greek kings of Bactria should be regarded as part of the history of India. The Indo-Greek invasion of India brought in its train other races to India who held sway successively over the greater part of northern and western India in the last century before the Christian era and the first century after it. They are generally referred to in Indian epic literature as foreigners under such specific names as Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas, and Kushanas. It is said that these foreign tribes were looked upon as degenerate Kshatriyas who had lost caste through their neglect of religion and social code; but this is a fiction, and their description as *mlecchas* (barbarians) is nearer the mark. Of these foreigners, only the Greeks were inheritors of a great culture which could be compared with

that of the Indians. The others who were not that advanced were deeply influenced by the two superior cultures—Hellenistic and Indian; and each of these again was influenced by the other. The most remarkable feature of this period is the gradual amalgamation of these foreigners with the original inhabitant of India so that the foreigners lost their identity and came to constitute an important and virile section of the Indian people in the subsequent period.

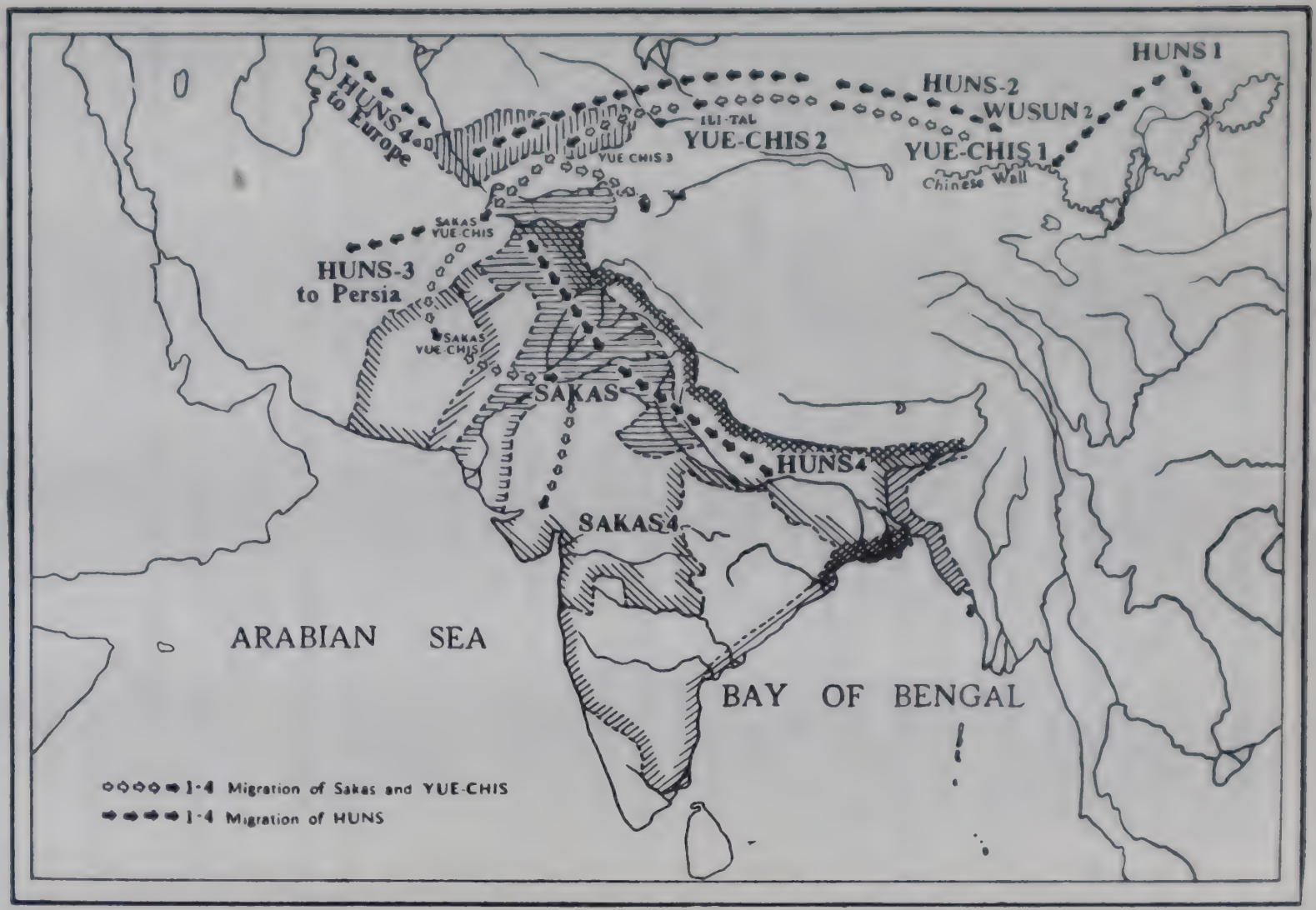
This is a story extending over 200 years during which there reigned thirty-nine Greek kings and two queens. Coins are our main source; and their evidence as well as that of the meagre notices in classical and Chinese sources is interpreted in different ways by different writers and presents no small difficulty in the way of an attempt at a synthetic presentation of facts.

Bactrians and Parthians : The Bactrians were the people living in the valleys and fertile plains about the Oxus. They were a semi-civilized, semi-Hellenized race, who boasted the possession of a thousand cities. The Parthians came from the wide steppes about the Caspian sea, and were barbarians in the sense of not caring for either luxury or culture. They were mounted shepherds, and mere moss-troopers. After the death of Alexander two eminent personalities emerged in western Asia, Seleucus and Antigonus. The latter secured a large slice of the Asiatic dominions while the former was entrusted with the task of governing the eastern part of Alexander's empire. These two were unfortunately not on friendly terms. Bactria taking advantage of the conflicts of Seleucus with Antigonus and Chandragupta Maurya became more and more independent of the suzerain power. In 293 B.C. Antiochus I became joint king with his father Seleucus. Antiochus was in charge of Bactria. After him came Antiochus II who was joint ruler in 266 B.C. According to Justin Parthia revolted against the Seleucidian rule and became independent under Arsaces and perhaps a little earlier Diodotus, governor of Bactria, also became independent (256–55 B.C.). Evidently there was no show of force on the part of Diodotus for he kept Antiochus's effigy on his coins only adding that of his family deity—the thundering Zeus.

Diodotus II was the son and successor of Diodotus I. About 235 B.C. Euthydemus, a nobleman or official of Bactria, killed

Diodotus II and seized the throne. Some years later, i.e. 207 B.C. Antiochus III Magnus had, after a two years' war, to make peace with Euthydemus who threatened to invite the Scythians from the other side of the Sogdian Mountain. The mediator was Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. Antiochus was so fascinated by the person and manner of Demetrius that he offered his daughter in marriage to him and recognized the independence of Bactria. After this Antiochus turned his attention towards India in order to reconquer the lost Indian provinces of the Seleucidian empire. He met Subhagasena in the valley of the Kabul, and taking some elephants from him hurried back to the west where his presence was urgently needed on account of the expanding Roman power. By this time Arachosia and Drangiana (Seistan), regions which had been parts of the Mauryan empire, passed under Euthydemus and Demetrius whose coins are found in large numbers there. Euthydemus died about 200 B.C., and Demetrius I spread the power of Bactria over the regions to the west, north and south of the Hindu Kush which he ruled up to about 185 B.C.

Demetrius I had a contemporary named Antimachus Theos (190–80 B.C.) who ruled in eastern Bactria or Badakshan north of the Hindu Kush. Antimachus made raids into the Kabul and upper Indus valley and was the first Yavana king to strike square coins on the Indian model. Possibly after the death of Demetrius I Antimachus Theos included Bactria also in his kingdom. Perhaps his son was Demetrius II Aniketos (invincible, 180–65 B.C.) who extended Greek rule into the Kabul Valley and Western Gandhāra and struck bilingual coins with his fine effigy helmeted by an elephant scalp and with legends in Greek and Kharoshṭhī. Chaucer's picturesque description of 'the grete Emetreus, the King od Inde' in his 'Knight's Tale' is probably a reference to this Demetrius II. The bilingual characters of the coins really prove that they were meant for circulation in his Indian realm. While Demetrius II was engaged in his Indian campaign, an adventurer named Eucratides, about whose antecedents little is known, started a Bactrian rebellion against Demetrius II and became king (171 B.C.). Demetrius II hastened back to Bactria and tried in vain to regain his kingdom. Nothing is known about the last days of Demetrius II. Perhaps he lost his life in his effort to displace Eucratides (165 B.C.). After the death of Demetrius II Eucratides consolidated his position and proceeded to conquer India, the Paropanisadae, and areas


HUNS 1
HUNS-2
WUSUN 2
HUNS 4 to Europe
ILI-TAL
YUE-CHIS 2
YUE CHIS 3
YUE-CHIS 1
Chinese Wall
SAKAS YUE-CHIS
HUNS-3 to Persia
SAKAS YUE-CHIS
SAKAS
HUNS 4
SAKAS 4
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
1-4 Migration of Sakas and YUE-CHIS
1-4 Migration of HUNS

in Gandhāra, Aria, Arachosia and Drangiana, all territories west of the Indus.

When Eucratides returned to Bactria (155 B.C.) after a long absence he was killed by his ungrateful son Plato whom he had made joint king before he started on his conquest. The only other king who deserves particular notice here is Menander who came to power about the time of the murder of Eucratides. Menander is mentioned in association with Apollodotus with reference to his Indian conquests. We do not know the exact relationship between the two. Again we have no means of ascertaining definitely the exact nature of Menander's association with the house of Euthydemus. The conjecture that he was matrimonially connected with the Euthydemids is highly probable. Menander appears to have been a great personality of ancient times for he is not only mentioned by several classical writers like Strabo, Plutarch, Trogus and Justin but also referred to as a person of eminence in the early Buddhist tradition. The Pāli work *Milindapañha* (Questions of Milinda) is in the form of a dialogue between Milinda (Menander), the mighty Yavana king of Śākala and an erudite Buddhist monk, Nāgasena by name, where high problems of Buddhist religion are discussed. The author of the Pāli treatise writes thus about Menander: 'As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome, the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. As in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in India. He was rich, too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end'.

According to the Buddhist tradition Menander was born in a village Kalasi near Alasanda (Alexandria of the Caucasus in Afghanistan) and 200 *yojanas* from Sagala, his capital to be identified, not with Sialkot in the Rechna doab in the Punjab, but with some place in Udyāna, in the Swat region, the Yonakadeśa or Yavanadvīpa *par excellence*. The Yavana raids directed against Sāketa, Mādhyamikā, Pātaliputra and other places mentioned by Patañjali, and the *Yuga Purāṇas* were most probably carried out by Menander who had Pañchāla and Mathurā for his allies. The wide extent of Menander's dominions is indicated by the great variety and distribution of his coins which are found in large numbers not only in the valleys of the Kabul and the Sindhu but also in western districts of the Uttar Pradesh. His coins are

known to have been current in the first century A.D. His dominions appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Rājputānā and Kāthiāwar, and probably also a portion of the Western Uttar Pradesh. Cunningham thought that Menander planned to recover Bactria, but died in the course of his march to the west. But the Buddhist tradition avers that late in life Menander retired from the world, handing over his kingdom to his son. Coins, however, indicate that he left only a minor son to succeed him. Plutarch called Menander 'a Bactrian king'. His death occurred in 130 B.C. Many cities desired to get a share of his ashes, as at the death of the Buddha. After Menander there seems to have been a simultaneous rule of more than one king. There appears to have been a lot of mutual antagonism and confusion culminating in civil war. Although the Yavana rule was put an end to by the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas there is evidence to show that the services of qualified Yavanas were gladly accepted by the new lords of the land. There was acknowledged suzerainty of the Scytho-Parthians and Parthians. The last of the Indo-Greek kings was Hermaeus (75–55 B.C.), a remote descendant of Eucratides.

B. Sakas and Pahlavas : The disappearance of the Indo-Greek power from north-western India was followed by a period of confusion and obscurity. That was a period when there was a ferment in Central Asia which was 'throwing off streams of human lava'. Whole peoples were seeking new homes. The eruption of Central Asian nomadic tribes into Central Asia is explained by some events recorded by early Chinese authors. About 175–165 B.C. the Hiung-nu (Huns) drove out of Western China the nomadic tribe known as the great Yueh-chi (Tocharians, Turushkas). Yueh-chi migrated westwards and encountered another nomad tribe, the Sacae or Śakas on the banks of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya river. Being driven out of their homes by the Yueh-chi, the Śakas had to find lodgement on the border lines of India. The Yueh-chi were in their turn attacked by another tribe named Wu-sun and driven from the lands they had taken from the Śakas. The Yueh-chi settled in the valley of the Oxus and exercised some authority over Bactria in the South. This was one of the two branches of Yueh-chi into which they divided themselves during their western march. These were called the Great Yueh-chi. The other group known

as Little Yueh-chi went southwards from the Issy-kul region and settled in the Tibetan borders.

The association of the Śakas with India proper may be traced back to the days when the Bactrian kings were ruling in North-Western India. The earliest mention of the Śakas is found in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. Patañjali's comment of Pāṇini's Sūtra, *śūdrāṇām anirvāsitānām* leaves little doubt that the Śakas at the time of the commentator were living with the Yavanas outside the limits of Āryāvarta.

The Śakas, before their entry into India, probably lived for a considerable time in the Iranian uplands under Parthian rulers. There must have been a good deal of admixture of Scythian, Parthian and Iranian elements among the early Śakas. The Śakas who had been driven by the Yueh-chi appear to hav come to Ki-pin, a place difficult to locate, some scholars favouring its identification with Kāpiśa (Kāfiristan) and others with Kashmir. The Śakas fell upon the Indo-Greek principalities one after another and were soon in Arachosia, North Gedrosia, and in the Punjab. Kabul valley was then held by the Greeks in some strength. This forced the Śakas to avoid the usual Khyber Pass route to come to India. They crossed the Brahui mountains in Baluchistan and entered India by the Bolan Pass. There is some evidence to show that a branch of the Śakas might have entered by the more direct northern route via Kashmir and Udyāna as Fa-hien did later. The *Rāmāyaṇa* places the settlement of the Śakas along with the Kāmbojas and the Yavanas in the extreme north beyond the Śūrasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus and Madrakas, while the *Mahābhārata* locates them along with the Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas and Yavanas in the extreme north-west beyond Śākala. There are two lines among the Śaka rulers who took the imperial title 'king of kings'. The founder of one is Maues or the Great King Moga; his successors ruled in the Punjab. The other line was founded by Vonones and his associates in Kandāhār (Arachosia) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia). Maues must have ruled soon after the early Indo-Greeks about 100–75 B.C. His coins are in imitation of those of the Indo-Greeks. His kingdom extended from Pushkalāvati to Taxila on either side of the Indus. The rapid Indianization of the Śakas may be noted from the fact that Śiva and Buddha figure in the coins issued by Maues besides Greek gods. He was followed by Azes I in Punjab, Gandhāra and Kāpisa regions

which he cleared of the last vestiges of Greek rule. The exact nature of the connection between Azes and Maues is not known.

Azes I is considered by some to have founded the Vikrama era. But Indian tradition associates it with a Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The mediaeval Jaina work *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* contains a story which says that the Jaina saint Kālaka having been insulted by king Gardabhilla of Ujjain appealed to the Śakas. In response to this call they crossed the Indus and conquered Kāthiāwār. Then Kālaka led them to Ujjain, Gardabhilla's capital. Gardabhilla was defeated and imprisoned and a line of Śaka kings was established in Mālwa. Some years later, however, the famous Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, issuing from Pratishṭhāna, repelled the invaders and re-established the throne of his ancestors. It is said that the Vikrama era commemorates his victory over the Śakas. Although there is no other source to corroborate this story it may contain a genuine tradition of an early Scythic settlement in parts of Western and Central India. The story perhaps is an episode in the historic struggle between the Andhras and the Śakas of which some account has already been given. But Vikramāditya 'sun of valour' is a common title, and Saka power in Mālwa and Gujarāt was finally destroyed by the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (A.D. 380–414) and tradition, which makes the founder of the era also the patron of Kālidāsa, appears to regard two kings as one.

That there is a close connection between the Sakas and Pahlavas of Iran is clear from the names and affiliations of Vonones, the younger contemporary of Maues. His name undoubtedly Parthian and the names of his associates such as Spalahora (Greek Spalyris), are pan-Iranic according to some and Scythian according to others. On account of the predominance of Parthian elements in the line of Vonones the dynasty is called Parthian or Pahlava. In the Punjab Azes I was followed by Azilises and Azes II (a nephew of Vonones) who ruled till A.D. 19 when he was followed by Gondopharnes (A.D. 19–45). Gondopharnes (Persian Vindapharna, 'Winner of Glory') is not only known from his coins, but also from a very interesting Kharoshṭhi epigraph now in the collection of the Punjab Museum and the apocryphal legend of St. Thomas. It is said that St. Thomas preached Christianity in his dominions and was martyred. But in the legend there is no specific mention of the name of any king. Therefore the king might

either be Gondopharnes or another Indian king probably of the south, for St. Thomas is credited to have come to the south. And the story of his martyrdom at Mylapore, Madras, is considered to be more trustworthy although there is little tangible evidence that St. Thomas was martyred at all. The successor of Gondopharnes was Pacores. But about A.D. 50 a new power, that of the Kushāṇas, was preparing to cross the Indus.

C. THE KUSHĀṆAS : We have earlier referred to the Yueh-Chi (moon-people) occupation of the Śaka territories of the Oxus (Amu Daryā) valley and the Bactrian lands. From Pan-Ku's history of the first Han dynasty dealing with the period down to A.D. 24, we learn that the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads and that their country had become divided into five principalities, one of them being the Kuei-Shaung or Kushāṇa. From Pan-Young (c. A.D. 125) we learn that Kushāṇa was the name of one of the five Yueh-Chi sub-tribes. Whether Kushāṇa was the name of a tribe or sept or not, or whether it was only a family or dynastic title cannot be finally decided. But it is clear the Kushāṇa section attained pre-dominance over the others under the leadership Kujula Kara Kadphises who has been designated Kadphises I by historians. This was about A.D. 40.

Kadphises I

Crossing the Hindu-Kush Kadphises I made himself master of Parthian possessions in the Kabul valley and Arachosia to the west of the Indus. One of the coins of this king shows Roman influence; it bears on its reverse a diademed head, perhaps an imitation of the emperor Augustus or his successor Tiberius. Kadphises I bore the imperial titles of Mahārāja, *Mahanta* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, besides *Satyadharmasthita*, which are an indication of the completely Indian culture of the lands newly conquered by him. He died after a long and prosperous reign at the age of eighty about A.D. 64.

Kadphises II

Wemo (Ooemo) Kadphises, called Yen-Kao-Ching by Chinese historians succeeded his father at a fairly mature age some time about A.D. 64. From the time of his accession to the throne until his death in the early part of A.D. 78 he was engaged in the task

of advancing the Kushāṇa power into the interior of India. Perhaps he advanced as far as Mathurā in the East. The prosperity of the Kushāṇa empire under Wemo Kadphises is known by the large number of gold and copper coins that were issued in his reign. His empire lay between two other great empires of the time, the Chinese and the Roman. A brisk trade in silk, spices, gems and other articles was carried on by traders of Indian and other nationalities. Pliny (first century A.D.) deplores the heavy drain of the gold coins of the Roman emperors that poured into India. This inflow of Roman money seems to have influenced the gold coinage of the imperial Kushāṇas. The numismatic evidence clearly shows that the Kushāṇa empire greatly developed during the reign of Kadphises II and that it was maintained in full during the reigns of his immediate successors. Kadphises II was most probably a *Śaiva* in his religious faith, a *Māheśvara;* Śiva with or without his bull and the trident or battle-axe, his emblem, are figured on the coins of the reign. The full Kharoshṭhī legend on the coins reads: '*Mahārājasa rājātirājasa sarvaloga-īśvarasa mahīśvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tradara*', the last word meaning 'defender' or 'saviour'.

Kanishka

Wemo Kadphises was succeeded by Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushāṇa rulers in India. According to the chronological scheme adopted here, i.e. ascended the throne in the latter part of A.D. 78. His relation to Kadphises kings is not known. Kanishka started an era. Though some scholars give various other interpretations, it seems best to identify it with the well-known Śaka era beginning in A.D. 78. It came to be called *Śaka-nṛipa-kāla*, the era of the Śaka king either because Kanishka was plausibly held to be a Śaka, or, what is more likely, because the era was long in use among the Śaka *satraps* of Mālwa and Gujarāt. Without attempting to appraise the several theories about Kanishka's date, we may mention that Smith and a few other scholars suggest that Kanishka began his rule in the beginning of the second quarter of the second century A.D. (c. 125–128) and that his reign lasted for about a quarter of a century. The latest writers, however, support the theory of Kanishka's association with the era of A.D. 78, starting from his first regnal year. It must be remembered that Al-Biruni does not know of an era which began in the second century A.D.

Kanishka's capital was Purushapura (Peshawar) in Gandhāra, but Kashmir, the whole of the Punjab, and the valley of the Ganges up to Patna, came under his rule. He warred with the Parthians on the west and led an army across the Pamirs for subduing the petty nomadic chiefs of Khotan, Yārkand and Kāshgar, who had been tributary to China, and for collecting tribute and hostages from them. In the south his rule extended to Upper Sind and perhaps to Mālwa. In the latter part of his reign, Kanishka had reverses in the north and north-east because of the victorious progress of Pan-chao, a famous general of the Chinese emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89–105). Kanishka may be regarded as a contemporary of Pan-chao. Although Kanishka may have lost some of the dominions in Central Asia, there was no diminution of the Kushāṇa empire in India during his lifetime. The Buddhist tradition and the inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī afford ample testimony to the wide extent of his Indian possessions. Nothing certain is known about the time or manner in which the rule of the great Kanishka came to its end. Legend tells us that his soldiers grew tired of his constant wars and broke out into a rebellion against him. His death was brought about in a peculiar manner: when he was lying ill, 'they covered him with a quilt, a man sat on top of him, and the king died on the spot'. It is not known how far this tradition is true. But it certainly indicates a very undignified end for a great emperor.

Kanishka and the Fourth Buddhist Council

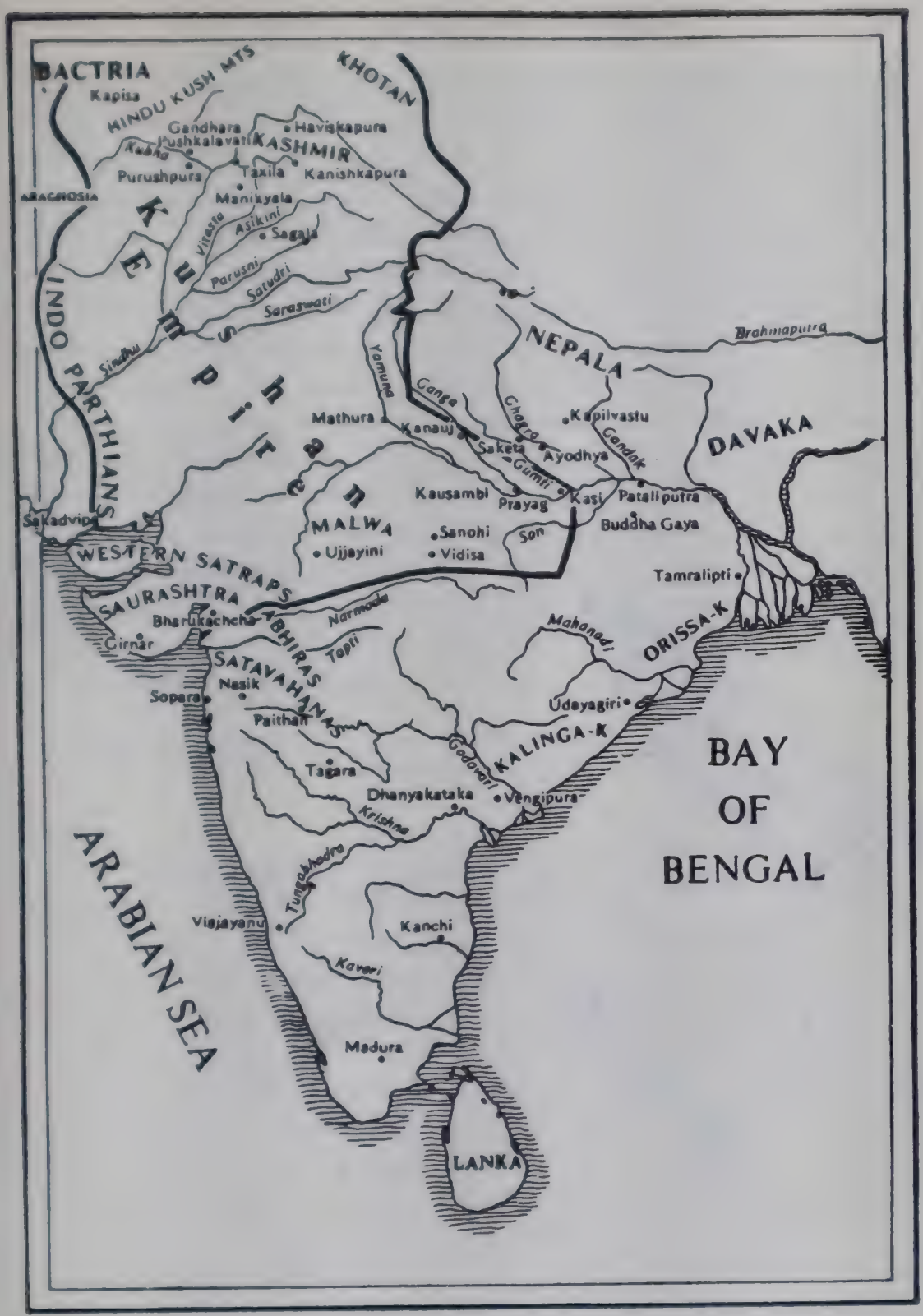
The Buddhist claim that Kanishka was almost like a second Aśoka to their religion. That his personal faith was Buddhism is clear from his great *stūpa* at Peshawar, which was much admired by the Chinese pilgrims. But the traditions which magnify his Buddhist leanings and repeat many details similar to those of the Aśoka cycle of legends and connect his name with several names famed in the history of Buddhism cannot all be accepted as history.

Kanishka's zeal for Buddhism did not make him intolerant of the other creeds followed by his numerous subjects all over his empire. This fact is clearly proved by the large numbers of deities appertaining mainly to the Zoroastrian but partly to the Hindu, Greek and Roman religions; the deities were used as the reverse devices of his gold and copper coins.

There is a Buddhist story which says that the king of Pāṭaliputra, unable to raise the large indemnity imposed on him by Kanishka, surrendered to him the alms-bowl of the Buddha, the poet and philosopher Aśvaghosha, and a marvellous cock. According to another account, Aśvaghosha was specially invited from Oudh to attend the Fourth Buddhist Council for systematizing and codifying Buddhist texts. Traditions about this council are contradictory. Hiuen Tsang avers that it was held primarily at the instance of Kanishka. It is difficult to decide the actual share of the emperor in the summoning of the council; likewise it is also not clear what part the council itself played in the new developments that were undoubtedly taking place in Buddhism in this period. The earliest account of the council is that of Paramārtha (c. A.D. 550), but this omits all mention of Kanishka and ascribes the meeting to the initiative of one Kātyāyanīputra. The council is said to have been held in the Kuṇḍalavana monastery in Kashmir, but there is another account which locates it in Jalandhara (Kuvaṇa monastery). According to Hiuen Tsang the council was summoned by Kanishka on the advice of the venerable Pārśva and he made Vasumitra its president and Aśvaghosha its vice-president. The whole Buddhist canon in all its three sections was thoroughly examined and commented on. The commentaries were copied on sheets of copper and deposited in a *stūpa* built by Kanishka for this purpose. Perhaps this may be discovered in some future excavations. This council prepared an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy called *Mahāvibhāshā*, which survives in a Chinese translation. The language employed was Sanskrit.

Successors of Kanishka

Very little is known of the successors of Kanishka or of how long the Central Asian tracts stayed in the empire after him. Vāsishka, probably the son of Kanishka, succeeded him and ruled for about five years over the empire confined mostly to the interior of India. He was perhaps identical with Vajheskha whose son Kanishka II ruled with full imperial titles in the north-west (Ara near Attock) for a while about A.D. 119. The titles are *Mahārāja* (Indian), *Rājātirāja* (Iranian), *Devaputra* (Chinese), and *Kaisara* (Roman). But the immediate successor of Vāsishka was Huvishka with dates A.D. 107–138. The coins of his reign are numerous and pretty, and bear evidence of prosperity. Hushka,



India in A.D. 150

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Jushka and Kanishka, according to Kalhaṇa, were Turushka kings. These three may be identified respectively with Huvishka, Vāsishka and Kanishka II. With Vāsudeva (A.D. 152–176) began the break-up of the Kushāṇa empire. His coins and those of his successors bear Śiva and his emblem. Mathurā region and Oudh stayed under his rule, probably the north-west was lost. All that we know about him and his successors Kanishka III (176–210) and Vāsudeva II (210–30) is that their coins became gradually Persianized. This indicates the rise of the Ṣassanian dynasty in Persia and the conquests up to the Indus attributed to Ardashir Pāpakān and his successors. However, Kushān princes continued in the Kabul valley till the invasion of the Huns in the fifth century, and even the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in the seventh. In India proper, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (Pavāyā in Gwalior), Kuṇindas and others became prominent in the various parts of the Kushān empire, while the north-west and Central Punjab fell to the Śakas and Shiladas.

D. The Western Satraps :

Satraps

The satrapal system of government was first introduced into the country by the Achaemenid conquerors of Northern and North-Western India. The term 'Satrap' is the hellenized form of the old Persian *Kshatra-pāvan* (meaning 'protector of the realm') indianized into *Kshatrapa*. The satraps were governors with a varying degree of political importance. They were usually recruited from men of very high social standing and some of them were members of the royal family by birth or marriage. At times the appointment became practically hereditary. Although in theory the emperor could terminate the office at will, the satraps assumed great powers in civil, judicial and military matters and in course of time became independent. This was how Parthia and Bactria became independent. The institution, in spite of its menace to the imperial power, was continued in one form or another by the Seleucids, the Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Kushāṇas. The title 'Strategos autocrator' was often adopted by the early Macedonian kings to describe their overlordship of the free States of Greece, but during the Śaka-Pahlava rule in India the office of the Strategos must have signified the position of a subordinate ruler, a *Kshatrapa*.

There were satraps of Chuksha and Pushpapura (Peshawar) under Menander and under Maues, one of whom was a *mahādānapati* (chief superintendent of charities) before he became *Mahākshtrapa*.

There was a line of *Kshatrapas* in Mathurā; most of these *Kshatrapas* were undoubtedly Śaka by race, who rapidly adopted Indian names, manners and customs. There was also another line of *Kshatrapas* at Benares, under Kanishka I. But the most celebrated and longest lived line was that of Mālwa and Gujarāt, known as the Western Satraps.

The Western Satraps

The satrapal rule seems to have been introduced in Western and Central India during the Śaka-Pahlava suzerainty. It was, however, not until the Kushāṇa overlordship that this system of government was well established here. Two principal groups of satraps can be distinguished among the large number of names recovered mainly from inscriptions and coins associated with them. The earlier group of satraps consists of two persons only, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonging to the Kshaharāta race, while the later group comprises a large number of satraps most of whom were lineal descendant of Chashṭana, the son of one Ghasāmotika.

Bhūmaka

The northern origin of the Kshaharātas is revealed by the Kharoshṭhī legends of their coins. Bhūmaka is the earliest known *Kshatrapa* in charge of the south-western part of the empire of the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house. Probably he had already been a Pahlava satrap when the Kushāṇas rose to power; no details of Bhūmaka's rule are known. That he preceded Nahapāna is certain. Bhūmaka was only a *Kshatrapa* and never *Rājā* or *Mahākshatrapa*. The device of a lion-capital and *dharma-chakra* on his coins may connect him with the Śakas of Mathurā famous for a fully inscribed lion-capital from a Buddhist monument, one of the best known mementos of Śaka rule in the Mathurā region. Bhūmaka's relation to Nahapāna is not known.

Nahapāna

Nahapāna who succeeded Bhūmaka is identified with Mambanus of the *Periplus*. He is known not only from his coins but also

from a number of inscriptions bearing dates ranging between the years 41 and 46. In the earlier records Nahapāna is called a *Kshatrapa* while in the inscription of the year 46 he is credited with the title *Mahākshatrapa*. On the coins Nahapāna is invariably called *Rājan*, which shows that he was an independent king. The dates of his inscriptions are usually taken as referring to the Śaka era beginning A.D. 78. But the year 46 in his inscription would bring the close of Nahapāna's reign to A.D. 124 and this is not likely. For, it brings Nahapāna too close to Chashṭana's line with which it had little in common and which began some years before A.D. 130. We have no dated coins of Chashṭana and the year 52 (A.D. 130) is the only known date for him. The following events would have to be crowded into the fateful six years from 46 to 52, viz., (1) the end of Nahapāna's reign, (2) the final destruction of the Kshaharātas, (3) the accession of Chashṭana as *Kshatrapa*, his reign as *Kshatrapa*, his accession and rule as *Mahākshatrapa*, (4) the accession and reign of Chashṭana's son Jayadāman as *Kshatrapa* and (5) Rudradāman's accession as *Kshatrapa* and the beginning of his reign as *Mahākshatrapa*. Even if some of these events had been concurrent and not successive, as has been argued by some writers, it would still be highly improbable that they could all have happened within six years. Further, it leaves too short an interval between Gautamīputra's conquests and the recovery of the Śakas under the Chashṭana line to account for the Nāsik inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī recounting the glories of her husband's conquests in the nineteenth year of her son's reign. It seems most likely that the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions are his regnal years. However that may be, our account of the Śaka-Sātavāhana conflict given in an earlier section follows indications derived from the *Purāṇic* list of the Sātavāhanas and confirmed by the *Periplus*.

Chashṭana and his successors

After the death of Nahapāna, Chashṭana was probably authorized by the Central power to recover the lost satrapal possessions. His son Jayadāman who had been associated with him in this task died and his grandson, Rudradāman assisted him; most probably as *Kshatrapa* up to the year A.D. 130 and for some time after, as is proved by the Andhau inscription and some other data.

Chashṭana alone among the members of his line uses three scripts, Greek, Kharoshṭhī, and Brāhmī, in his coin legends. But the first two very soon lost their importance. Kharoshṭhī disappeared completely from the coin legends of Chashṭana's successors, while Graeco-Roman legends lingered as ornamental scrolls around the margin. The numismatic features show clearly the gradual indianization of the foreign rulers.

Chashṭana established a royal and at the same time satrapal line. He is the Tiasthenes of Ptolemy and he ruled from Ujjain. He is sometimes credited with the foundation of the Saka era, but it is better to think of the era as founded by Kanishka I and of Chashṭana and his successors as Kushāna satraps who later became independent.

Jayadāman must have died before A.D. 130. Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman seem to have ruled conjointly for some time, recovering many of the territories conquered by the Sātavāhanas, until this contest became the sole responsibility of Rudradāman called the Great Satrap. We know from his Junagaḍh inscription of the year 72 (A.D. 150) that he twice defeated Śātakarṇi (*Dakshiṇāpathapati*) but did not destroy him completely for the reason of 'not remote' relationship existing between them. There is some doubt about the identity of this vanquished rival and relation of Rudradāman. But Rapson's suggestion that Vāśishṭhīputra Pulumāyi was the son-in-law of the Great Satrap is highly improbable, for Pulumāyi according to Ptolemy was a contemporary of Chashṭana and he could not have married the latter's great grand-daughter. Rudradāman's Girnār inscription (A.D. 150) is composed in ornate Sanskrit and is a long panegyric which records his martial exploits and his reconstruction of the great artificial lake Sudarśana. This inscription is among the earliest certainly dated records of ancient India and proves that Rudradāman was ruling in A.D. 150 and that he earned great fame by the study of various sciences, grammar, polity, music, logic, etc. During Rudradāman's rule the dam of Sudarśana was heavily damaged by a storm. It was thought to be beyond repair by some of his councillors. However, under Rudradāman's orders the repairs were successfully carried out at a great expense from his treasury (*svasmātkoshāt*) without laying any burden on the people by way of taxes (*kara*) or forced labour (*vishṭi*) or even benevolences (*praṇaya*). This record which is quite clear in itself has been made

the basis of far-reaching constitutional theories on the privy purse of the king and the 'power of the purse' vested in the cabinet and in the people.

Girnār is modern Junagaḍh, and the rock which bears Rudradāman's inscription bears also the fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka and an inscription of the Gupta emperor Skanda Gupta. Rudradāman was certainly one of the most outstanding personalities of ancient India. He seems to have had a long rule for there is reason to believe that Rudradāman lived for a good many years after A.D. 150. The successors of Rudradāman continued their rule as *Kshatrapas* and *Mahākshatrapas* with varying fortunes till they were overthrown by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya in A.D. 388.

Government and Society

In the post-Mauryan period monarchies and republics existed side by side. Mauryan traditions of governmental organization were carried on except in the north-west where foreign ideas and influences waxed strong. The Śungas who were the political heirs of the Imperial Mauryas in the sovereignty of North India continued the system of their predecessors, but with a much looser organization. Śunga feudatories of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Ahi-ch-chatra and Mathurā, some of whom were related to the royal family seem to have enjoyed a position little short of independence of the paramount power. The Greeks in India organized their conquests with satrapies whose governors sometimes bore the Greek designations of *strategos* (general) and *meridarkh* (governor of a part of satrapy) and these titles were handed down to Śaka and Pahlava times. That the cultural outlook of Greek kings was rapidly Indianized is seen from their coin legends. They seem to have conceded only a qualified equality to their Indian subjects. This policy is in contrast with the attitude of the other Hellenistic kings towards their Asiatic subjects. For instance four of the chief councillors of Menander were all foreigners, while of the two *meridarkhs* known to Indian history, one was a Greek and the other probably an Indian. The decline and fall of the Greek kingdom in India gave the opportunity to a number of ancient peoples in eastern Punjab and the Upper Ganges basin to establish kingdoms or republics which in some cases lasted far down into the third and even fourth century A.D.

In their organization of the central as well as the provincial administration the Saka and Pahlava kings of North India were indebted mainly to their Greek fore-runners. As we have seen, the most characteristic designation of a provincial governor under Śaka-Pahlava rule was *Kshatrapa*. It would seem that the Śakas put into practice the Indo-Greek ideal of taking their subjects into equal partnership. It is under the Śaka rule that we first hear of Indians occupying the office of treasurer and probably also that of governor.

The imperial Kushānas introduced an exalted conception of monarchy. The Prākṛit equivalent of Kanishka's imperial title (*mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra*) which occurs on the pedestal of his statue was continued by his successors, Vāsishka and Huvishka. The epithet *devaputra* was accepted till recently as a literal rendering of the Chinese imperial title *t'ien-tza* (Son of Heaven). But cogent reasons have now been given for the view that *devaputra* was not adopted by the Kushāṇas as an official title but was a complimentary epithet current among the Indian subjects and meaning a class of divinities with distinctive functions.

In their provincial administration the Kushānas continued the government of *Mahākshatrapa* and *Kshatrapa* brought into vogue by the Sakas. They introduced two grades of military (or judicial) office known by their Indian titles of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *daṇḍanāyaka*. Under the Kushāṇa rulers all the high offices were held by foreigners. The downfall of the Kushāṇa empire in India was followed by the rise of a few minor republics in the Punjab and Rājputānā. These were described as *sanghas* and *gaṇas* in the contemporary literary works. The Sanghas, according to Kauṭilya, (XI.1) were of two classes, namely the military-cum-agricultural and industrial type, and the political type. In the latter type the *mukhya* and *kumāraka* were called *rājā* and *rājaputra*.

Of the two Śaka ruling houses of Western India (those of Bhūmaka and Chashṭana) it may be said that while retaining their titles indicative of their foreign origin, they borrowed or adopted wholesale the indigenous nomenclature as well as the methods and principles of administration. From a reference in Rudradāman's Girnār rock inscription we learn that the *sachivas*, like the *mantris* of Kauṭilya, were entrusted with the execution of great public works. We also learn that there were two classes of *sachivas*, namely *matisachivas* (councillors) and *karmasachivas* (executive officers).

There is evidence of a well-established administrative procedure in the reign of Nahapāna in one of the Nāsik cave records of his son-in-law Ushavadāta. From the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman we learn that his administration was modelled on the basis of Indian traditions. It is said that all *varṇas* looked to him for protection. He adhered to his vow of not taking life except in battle and he re-instated deposed kings, thus conforming to the Indian type of a righteous conqueror.

The Sātavāhana administration maintained the Mauryan system with some necessary local modifications. Their feudatories had the titles of *mahārathis* and *mahābhojas* and held a position of high authority bordering upon independence. In the panegyric of Gautamiputra we are told that he was the ideal king granting the boon of fearlessness to others, refraining from all injury to life, even that of an offending enemy, identifying himself with the joys and sorrows of his subjects and levying and spending taxes justly. Among the village officers we hear of *mahātalavara*, and *talavara* has been taken to be connected etymologically with Tamil *talaiyari*. The empire was divided into *janapadas*, each composed of a number of *āhāras*. The *Mahāsenāpatis* with *senāpatis* below them were obviously important officials on whose efficiency depended the maintenance of order within the empire and security from external aggression. The Sātavāhanas created a new higher grade of officials called *Rāja-amātyas*. The *amātyas* were district officers. Here *Rāja-amātya* is mentioned as Treasury Officer.

Social Conditions : Socially the most notable feauture in the time was the effect of the impact of successive waves of foreign immigrants. Members of the upper classes holding high office possibly learnt foreign languages including Greek. Apollonius of Tyana, it seems, was able to hold a conversation in Greek with the Parthian king of Taxila. In the Punjab and Western India there were undoubtedly colonies of foreign settlers. In the port towns of South India too there were colonies of foreign settlers. Yavanas bearing Indian names are mentioned as donors in the inscriptions of the celebrated Kārlā cave. Most of these donors claim to belong to one place Dhenukākaṭa, probably a Yavana colony near Kārlā. The rapid Indianization of the Yavanas can be seen not only in their names but their adoption of Indian faiths and manners. 'Demetrius' elephant helmet, Menander's place in Buddhist

tradition, the Besnagar Garuḍa column of Heliodorus, and the gifts of Ushavadāṭa, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, to the Buddhist monks of Nāsik, are instances. Ushavadāta is styled *dharmātmā*. There was not much for the Indians to copy in the manners or institutions of the Greeks, though they acknowledged their eminence in the technical arts and sciences, particularly astronomy. The Indians were struck by the Greek mode of wearing the hair, and the Greek habit of eating in a lying posture. The Greeks were lightly talked about because they had neither brāhmaṇas nor *śramaṇas*, but had only two castes, masters and slaves, who could easily interchange position. The Sakas and Turushkas were rough and barbarous. Their strange looks and costumes, at first, made Indians shun all social relations with them. But the position of these foreigners as rulers and their willingness to learn and adopt Indian manners and customs in course of time won for them a grudging admission into Hindu society as kshatriyas of sorts.

One of the most notable features of the time is the remarkable expansion of foreign trade by land and sea. There grew up a prosperous mercantile class and their wealth and piety are reflected in the recorded gifts and surviving monuments of the time. Industry must have developed greatly during the period and internal trade expanded.

Literature

In this period Sanskrit became much more important than Prākṛit. Even Buddhist and Jaina works made increasing use of Sanskrit. A mixed dialect in which Sanskrit words and forms are freely mixed with Prākṛit is remarkable in the inscriptions. There are however some records in pure Sanskrit. It is in the Sātavāhana period that there is a growth in Prākṛit literature. The most important work is *Sattasai* or *Gāthāsaptaśati* by Hāla (c. A.D. 20–24). It is an anthology of 700 erotic verses in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit and in the Āryā metre. This collection has conserved the charms of ancient Mahārāshṭrī poetry. It presents a great diversity: 'some verses are frivolous, others witty, and yet others are sad and sentimental. Some breathe high philosophy, while others describe love episodes of all sorts'. Hāla evidently worked on the basis of an earlier anthology and unified and embellished it considerably. It seems to have been altered much by changes and interpolations.

This work clearly points to the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit. Guṇaḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā* (Great Romance) belongs to this period. Guṇāḍhya was perhaps a minister of Sātavāhana and native of Pratishṭhāna. *Bṛihatkathā* is said to have been written in Paiśāchī language. The theme of the work as seen from extant renderings including a Tamil version, *Perungadai* of Kongu-Veḷir, is the life of Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana of Kauśāmbī. It might have been preceded by an account of Udayana's adventures in the original.

A remarkable event of this period in the field of Sanskrit grammar is the rise of the Kātantra school (first century A.D.). The king Sātavāhana, probably Hāla, the Prākṛit enthusiast, unable to understand correctly a remark made by one of his learned wives asked the brāhmin courtier Sarvavarman, to teach him Sanskrit in the shortest time possible. It is said that Sarvavarman produced the *Kātantra* to help the king learn the language in six months. Sarvavarman managed to cover the whole subject in a fifth of the number of Pāṇini's *sūtras*. The circulation of this work to other parts of the country and in Tibet was rapid, and fragments of it have been discovered in Central Asia also. But the most leading work of the age in Sanskrit grammar was, of course, the *Mahābhāshya* (great commentary) of Patañjali on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* (eight chapters). Patañjali was no doubt a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Doubts raised about it have little justification. In the realm of the didactic fable, the *Pañchatantra* in its original form certainly belongs to this period and gave rise to many adaptations and translations in later times. This was the period in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have assumed its final form, including the story of Uttarakāṇḍa, viz. the abandonment of Sītā by Rāma in response to popular scandal, her sojourn in Vālmīki's *aśrama*, the birth of Kuśa and Lava, and the disappearance of Sītā into the earth. The *Mahābhārata* gathered many of its episodes round the kernel story. The *Bhagavadgītā* must have also come in during this period. This shows a phase of parallel development of *bhakti* (devotion) in Hinduism and Buddhism (see p. 173). The *Manusmṛiti* and the philosophical *sūtras* of the six systems of Indian philosophy, mīmāṁsā, nyāya, vaiśeshika, sāṁkhya, yoga and vedānta almost certainly belong to this age; so also some of the *Purāṇas* though their historical sections were undergoing revision till the Gupta period. Aśvaghosha, a brāhmin convert to Buddhism,

wrote the *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarānanda*, exquisite works of the *kāvya* class. These literary works must have popularized the Buddha stories. His great literary genius has been recognized but in all probability he also originated a system of philosophy. The *Sūtrālankāra*, a didactic work, surviving only in a Chinese version, is also doubtfully assigned to him.

The theatre proper, apart from the mime and the dance, came up in this period. Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta* which seems to have survived in the original or a form very close to it belongs to this period. The origin of the Indian theatre is still not very clear. In the Vedic period there were certainly dramatic performances during the time of festival. Perhaps it mostly consisted of dance and mime. There seems to have been a curious open-air theatre and another indoors in the Sītābenga and Jogimāra caves in the Ramgarh hill (160 miles due south of Benares) which contain inscriptions of the second century B.C. recording the name of Sutanukā, a courtesan, and the provision of rest houses for actresses. Some writers have found elements in common between the Indian and classical Greek theatre on the ground that the term *yavanikā* for curtain is of Greek origin. The use in the drama of terms like *svāmin*, *sugṛihītanāman*, and *bhadramukha* which occur first in Western *Kshatrapa* inscriptions has been held to imply that these rulers were the first important patrons of the Sanskrit theatre. Whatever truth there may be in the hypothesis, it must be said that the Indian theatre in its essentials is Indian in origin and spirit and its roots are to be sought in the age of the Vedas and *Brāhmaṇas*. Aśvaghosha is the first known dramatist, though no drama of his has survived intact. The Indian theatre is probably a century older than Asvaghosha though it is not possible to mention the name of any dramatist preceding him. Patañjali mentions scenes like the binding of Bali, or the killing of Kaṁsa, but it is not certain that these examples relate to the theatre proper. Two among the writers of the time stand out prominently. They are Nāgārjuna and his disciple Aryadeva, Buddhist divines of the Andhra country. They were the exponents of the Buddhist idealistic system of Mādhyamika. Nāgārjuna was a younger contemporary of Kanishka and Āryadeva belonged to a later generation. Charaka and Susruta, famous authors of medicine and surgery, are believed to have flourished in the court of Kanishka. A developed theory of politics and dramaturgy is seen in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a

text which reached its present form in the second or third century A.D. There is clear evidence to suppose that this text took shape in the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. Representations of some of the dance poses of *Nātyaśāstra* by dancers singly and in groups are to be seen in the Amarāvatī sculptures. Bharata's *Natyaśāstra* has perhaps incorporated into itself parts of earlier treatises on the subject, some of which in *sūtra* forms may go back to the *Naṭa sūtras* mentioned by Pāṇini. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana may also be assigned to this period.

Religion and Art

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN BUDDHISM : In the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 Buddhism showed new trends, particularly of theistic character. So numerous and divergent are the sects and popular cults springing from the parent stem that it is impossible to deal with them in any adequate measure here. The earliest Buddhist chronicles give evidence that the *Sangha* represented many schools of thought and many opinions counted as heretical in the Pāli canon. A philosophy of ethics such as Aśoka's might have appealed to a few intellectuals but a very large body of the laity derived satisfaction by ascribing to the Buddha all the attributes of divinity which he had refused to claim.

Orthodox brāhmanical ritual did not permit an image of the Supreme Deity to be worshipped; neither did the orthodox ritual of the *Sangha* when the Buddha took the place formerly assigned to Brahmā, or Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa. An empty throne with sacred footprints or other symbols carved or placed upon it, as is shown in the Sāñchī sculptures, served to fix the minds of the faithful upon the presence of the Blessed One. An appreciation of this abstraction required the eye of faith and some mystic power of meditation which the common run of people lacked. So, gradually Buddhism became a theistic religion with the Buddha and his relics as the objects of the cult. The *stūpas* contained the ashes of the Great Master. Mere circumambulation and worship of these *stūpas* came to be considered by the ordinary laity as an act of great piety. Still it was considered a sacrilege to make an image of the Buddha for the purpose of worship. However, the Bodhi tree or the sacred wheel came to be regarded as sufficiently representative of the divine aspect of the Lord.

It was in this period that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the north-west. The Buddhist kings of Bactria followed the Hellenic tradition and were not bound by the restrictions of the orthodox Indian schools, so that already by the first century B.C. or so, the monasteries and *stūpas* of Gandhāra began to be covered with sculptures of the Buddha, as the diety worshipped alike by men and by the gods whom he had displaced.

The popular party of the *Sangha* gradually from about 200 B.C. detached itself from the primitive doctrines of the faith and under the name of Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle compiled a revised version of the *dharma* in which the divinity of the Buddha was accepted as an orthodox belief and Patañjali's teaching of Yoga became incorporated in the Buddhist canon. The *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalita Vistara*, and Asvaghosha's *Buddha-Charita* are among the early attempts in this line. Sanskrit becomes the language of the scripture. A new theology and dialectic grows up and more attention is devoted to metaphysics and Yoga than in the early Hīnayāna (lesser path). *Saddharma Pundarīka* (the lotus of the good law) is an instance of the combination of myth and metaphysics. This work in its literary expression shows clear signs of the influence of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It has been said that the Mahāyāna so enlarged the Buddhist Church as to make it a universal religious association. 'But the view that the transformation in Buddhism was effected to move the heart of the sturdy mountaineer, the nomad horseman, or the Hellenized Alexandrian would appear on the whole to exaggerate the role of the foreigner in a change which came over Hinduism as well as Buddhism.'

The Besnagar Inscription : That the religious ideals and ideologies of the Indians were adopted by some of the great men of ruling race is proved by the evidence of the Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) inscription. It records that 'the Garuḍa-dhvaja was erected here by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Takshasilā (Takhkhasilākena), who came as Greek ambassador from *mahārāja* (the great King) Antialcidas to king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour (*trātara*-sōter), then reigning prosperously in the fourteenth year of kingship. The importance of this Brāhmī inscription, couched in the Monumental Prākṛit, is very great in the history of Indian religion. It demonstrates the vitality of the Indian culture which was influencing a highly civilized people

like the Greeks who became devotees of Indian gods. There were certainly many more Greek converts to the different religious systems of India.

THE BHAKTI SCHOOL : The *Bhagavadgītā*, the Besnagar column of Heliodorus and the Ghasuṇḍi (Udaipur) inscription (c. 150 B.C.) mentioning an edifice built in honour of Sankarshaṇa and Vāsudeva are attestations to the dominance of the *bhakti* school in Vaishnavism. According to the epic and *Purāṇic* traditions the *bhāgavatas* worshipped Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa.

One of the earliest references to Kṛishṇa is found in the *Chhāndogya* Upanishad belonging to the Bhāgavata or the *Pāñcharātra* cult. The *bhāgavata* or the *bhakti* cult exalted the *bhaktimārga* (the Path of Devotion) above the *karma-mārga* (the Path of Service) and the *jñāna-mārga* (the Path of Intuitive Knowledge). Kṛishṇaism (Bhāgavatism) is essentially Indian in outlook and character. Christianity is no doubt one of the most important *bhakti* cults originating in Asia, but it had nothing to do with the origin and development of *bhāgavatism* in India.

Patañjali's reference to the Śiva-*bhāgavatas* is of unique interest, for it is the first unambiguous mention of a Śaiva sect. He says that a Śiva-*bhāgavata* was an *āyahśūlika*, i.e. 'one who carried an iron lance'. The *Bṛihatkathā* is believed to have been narrated in the first instance by Śiva to his consort Pārvatī. Śaivism continued to stress ascetic habits in this period as ever. The performance of vedic sacrifices by Pushyamitra and the Andhra monarchs may be taken as attempts at reviving the old vedic religion, which might have been kept in abeyance or at least suffered a set-back under the edict of Aśoka prohibiting animal sacrifice.

ART : The post-Mauryan period is an epoch of great sculptural achievements which mark the freedom from the overpowering influence of the court in the history of the Indian art. The art of this period consists mostly of reliefs, and certain problems, connected with the narration of a story, the third dimension, the optical perspective, etc. faced the artists. These the early Indian artists solved in their own way and according to their own beliefs. In this way were evolved certain devices and formulae that do not always follow the notions and standards recognized in the West.

Bhārhut

The reliefs on the gateways and balustrades of the *stūpa* at Bhārhut were executed during the reign of the Śungas. In the scences of the previous lives of the Master, the Bodhisattva is represented in human forms according to the needs of the stories; but the historic Buddha is indicated only by symbols such as Bodhi tree, the *vajrāsana*, the parasol, the footprints, the wheel, etc. It is remarked that the art is not very advanced in technique and the handling of the human figure is still primitive.

Sāñchī

'At Sāñchī the technique becomes more advanced, possibly under Greek influence (the Besnagar column of Heliodorus is very near), in the magnificent sculptures of the *toraṇas* besides Yakshas, Yakshiṇīs and so on. The human figure is presented much more gracefully, and the power of composition and narration is more advanced than at Bhārhut, but the art remains basically Indian with its garlands of lotuses, its swans and peacocks and elephants, and its studious avoidance of representation of the Buddha except by symbols even when narrating his life in all detail—a riderless horse representing, for instance, his Great Departure from home and family life. The Sāñchī sculptures include the *Jātakas* and many historical themes like Bimbisāra leaving Rājagṛiha to visit the Buddha, or Aśoka's pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree. The caryatids of Sāñchī are among the finest renderings of the feminine figure. The enclosure railing of the Bodh Gayā temple (c. 100 B.C.) is a pleasing combination of Greek and indigenous motifs.'

Mathurā

Mathurā grew into a centre of art where the history of Indian sculpture can be studied in an unbroken sequence from quite early times right up to the mediaeval period. The great period of Mathurā art begins with the Christian era, and its most prolific output reached its zenith under the rule of the Kushānas. It is at Mathurā that we first find the prolific use of images representing the various divinities, and with the creation and introduction of the cult image a new direction of Indian art comes into existence. The origin of the cult image in India has been a matter of controversy. It may on the whole be considered as an emergence of the popular non-Aryan and pre-Aryan fashions and practices, now recognized,

absorbed and systematized in relation to Aryan philosophies Extraneous influences naturally affected Mathurā also in her artistic pursuits, but the prevailing and predominant tradition continued to be Indian, and no infusion of alien idiom could change its basic character.

Gandhāra

The Persians, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas came and settled in Gandhāra and the result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found expression in an eclectic school of art. This Gandhāra movement is usually described as Graeco-Buddhist, but it must be noted that the school comes into view only when the Greek domination of this part of India had become a thing of the past. The principal patrons of what is known as Gandhāra art are the Śakas or Pahlavas from Central Asia. The technique employed is no doubt Hellenistic somewhat modified by Iranian and Scythian contacts, but the themes depicted are Indian and almost exclusively Buddhist. We have already noted that the north-west and the Punjab had come under the influence of Indian religions. It is through the influence of Buddhism and *bhāgavatism* that these foreigners were greatly Indianized and absorbed in the Indian population. The Gandhāra school of art represents a stage of this Indianization and has to be viewed in that light. Important remains of the Gandhāra School of art have come from Jalalabad, Haddā and Bamiyān in Afghanistan, the Swat valley (Udyāna), Taxila, etc. The material employed in the early period is usually stucco, terra-cotta becoming the favourite medium later. The importance of this school consists in the revolutionary procedure of representing for the first time the image of the Buddha either seated or standing. The Gandhāra Buddha belongs plastically to an extraneous artistic standard, but follows Indian tradition in every essential of its iconography: 'Though bearing all the iconographic marks and traits of the Indian tradition, the Gandhāra Buddha is rendered in the manner of the devine figures of the Graeco-Roman pantheon and with features wholly foreign to Indian notions. Robed in a thick garment arranged in the fashion of a Roman toga, with hair arranged in wavy curls, with a physiognomy and expression foreign to Indian conceptions, and sometimes with a moustache or turban, the Buddha of the Gandhāra artists is indeed an Apollo, and such representations,

however popular amongst an eclectic population, failed to satisfy the Indian standard and the Indian mind. The reliefs representing scenes from the life of the Master, in spite of their minute details, have the appearance of mechanical reproductions lacking all the spontaneity and emotional warmth that distinguish the reliefs of early Indian art of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodh Gayā or Amarāvatī'.[1]

In the fabric of Indian art as a whole the Gandhāra school of art is nothing more than a passing feature. It made only a negligible contribution except for a few motifs, which again were quickly Indianized. As Dr. Kramrisch rightly observed, 'Gandhāra... occupies a position apart. For, if it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India'.

Terra-cotta

Terra-cotta was the medium of artistic expression for the common people and a considerable number of terra-cotta objects have been found along the Gangetic plains in various sites and in different levels of occupation. There were objects in terra-cotta intended chiefly for domestic worship and household decoration, for children's toys, for popular religious and magical practices. Seals were fashioned out of the same material for purposes of documentation and also as personal ornaments for the use of the poor. Terra-cotta in its various uses and purposes supplies invaluable material for a study of the life and culture of the Indian people. The various modes of coiffure, dress and jewellery provide ample materials for the study of the fashions and tastes of the time. In the Śaka-Kushāṇa period various ethnic types and fashions are represented in terra-cotta, a clear reflection of the racial influx characteristic of the period. Mathurā and Taxila besides many others in the north as also a few in the south represent prolific centres of this art. The terra-cotta art bears the impress and stamp of the parallel contemporary style in stone. Terra-cotta figures are animated and lively and supply a manifold picture of ṣecular life, rich in social content and significance.

Greek art in the production of coins is seen at its best in some of the Indo-Greek pieces, and gem-cutting attained high perfection under the same influence. Some silver and much more

[1] *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 702-3.

the copper money of most of the Indo-Greek kings shows distinct evidence of the adaptation of the indigenous methods of India. The names of Indian die-cutters employed by the alien rulers may be found on almost all the coins from Apollodotus and Menander to the last king Hermaeus.

The Tamil States

After their mention in the Aśokan inscription, the first tangible account of the Tamil States, their rulers, polity and culture, is found in the earliest stratum of Tamil literature and in the writings of the western writers of the first and second centuries A.D. The Śangam literature comprises about 30,000 lines of poetry arranged in eight schematic anthologies (*Eṭṭuttogai*) and another collection known as the 'Ten Idylls' (*Pattu-pāṭṭu*). These anthologieso ffer very little help for the reconstruction of a continuous history, but in respect of the chronology of some rulers, there is perfect agreement between them and the western classical writings such as the *Periplus of the Erythean Sea* (A.D. 81–96) and Ptolemy's *Geography* and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early empire in several places in South India.

The most significant part of the Śangam literature reflects the history of the period ranging about A.D. 130–250. There are of course casual references to earliest events and persons but we lack the means of assigning any precise dates to them. We thus get only a segment of the Tamil history of the early centuries A.D.; the beginnings are lost and the end is abrupt.

We know for certain that Śenguṭṭuvan, son of Imayavaramban Neḍuñjeral Ādan, was a powerful Chera monarch of the second century A.D. (c. A.D. 180). He was a contemporary of Gajabāhu I of Ceylon (A.D. 175–193). The Chola monarch, Karikāla was a younger contemporary of Śenguṭṭuvan.

ŚENGUṬṬUVAN : His father is said to have taken captive a number of Yavana traders who were released only after the payment of heavy ransom. But this was an exception to the generally friendly relations between the Tamil kings and the foreign merchants. The estimate of Śenguṭṭuvan will vary according as we base it on contemporary poems or on the *Śilappadikāram*, a late and legendary work, attributed to the king's brother. The latter makes a great

hero of Śenguṭṭuvan, who is said to have engaged himself in constant war for fifty years.

KARIKĀLA CHOLA (C. A.D. 190) : Karikāla means 'the man with charred leg' and the name perpetuated the memory of an accident in the early years of the prince's life.[2] A later interpretation is to take it as a compound word in Sanskrit meaning 'Death to Kari or Death to (enemies') Elephants'. He fought and won many wars which secured him a sort of hegemony among the crowned kings of the Tamil country and a slight extension of the territory under his direct rule. The description of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam in the *Paṭṭinappālai*, a poem of the *Pattup-pāṭṭu* gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla. He also promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks. That Karikāla enjoyed the fine things of life, including the society of women and children and that he was a follower of the Vedic religion and performed sacrifices are clearly seen from the poems. A Roman 'factory' of the first century A.D. has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry which was in Karikāla's dominion.

THE PĀṆḌYA NEḌUÑJELIYAN. (C. A.D. 215) : Neḍuñjeliyan is immortalized as the victor of Talaiyālangānam,[3] the scene of the battle which secured for him the throne. In this battle he proved himself more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs and several minor chieftains. He is described as a hero of battles and performer of Vedic sacrifices. The *Maduraikkāñji* gives a full-length description of Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan country under Neḍuñjeliyan's rule.

Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan who ruled from Kāñchīpuram was a prominent ruler of the age. There were also many minor chieftains known as *veḷir* in Tagaḍur (Dharmapuri in Salem District), Tirukkōvalūr, Vengaḍam (Tirupati), Palni hills, Podiyal hills and elsewhere.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY : Though the literature of the Śangas does not enable us to trace a connected political history of the

[2] Verse 3 at the end of *Perumbānarruppaḍai*.

[3] It is identified with a village Talai-yālam-Kāḍu, eight miles north-west of Tiruvālūr in the Tanjāvur District.

time, it portrays the social and economic conditions with remarkable vividness. The first thing that would strike one is the pronounced fusion that had occurred between the northern Sanskrit and the southern Tamil cultures. The literature affords unmistakable evidence of the most friendly reception accorded in the Tamil country to the rich and varied culture of the north which not only contributed to the cultural advancement of the peninsula of India but crossed the seas to civilize and humanize the Eastern lands.

Cultivable land was abundant and the necessities of life plentiful. The fertility of the lands watered by *Kāverī* is a recurring theme of Tamil poets. The natural forest produce of Pāri's principality included bamboo, rice, jack-fruit, the *vaḷḷi* root and honey. Society was organized in castes with habits and traditions of their own; but the population of large cities and port towns tended to be cosmopolitan in its constitution. The *Puranānūru* retains traces of the state of society before it was aryanized; it says that 'there are no other *Kuḍis* (tribes) than "the four", viz. *Tuḍiyan*, *Pāṇan*, *Paraiyan*, and *Kadamban* and no god worthy of worship with the offering of paddy but the memorial stones set up in honour of horoes who fell fighting before the tuskers of fierce enemies'.[4]

Realistic pen-pictures of the residences of hunters, shepherds and brāhmins are found in one of the Ten Idylls. Wandering minstrels called *pāṇar* (different from the tribe pāṇan) and their women folk, *viralis*, who accompanied their songs with appropriate dances (characterized by gestures) formed a notable feature of social life at the courts of kings and chieftains. Kings employed Yavana soldiers as watchmen in their palaces and in the capital city.

The chief royal occupations or amusements were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *aham* and *puram*, the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. Correlations of incidents such as lamentations for temporary separation, quarrels and reconciliation, parting of lovers, etc. with natural regions are peculiar to Tamil poetry. Evidently they are based on actual customs and beliefs that prevailed in the pre-Aryan days.

[4] *Puram*, 335, ll. 7-15.

Monarchy was the prevalent form of government, and there is no hint 'even in passing' of the non-monarchical (*araṭṭa*) form of government familiar to many tribal States of the north. The king is asked to look after his country like a nurse tending the child in her charge—an idea put before his officers by Asoka. The *Padirruppattu* emphasizes the idea that good rule is promoted by knowledge of correct speech, economics, astrology and the Veda and by the control of the senses.

Justice was administered in the king's *Sabhā* where even ancient animosities were laid aside and just awards made as soon as the disputants entered it. The Chola *Sabhā* of *Uraiyūr* finds conspicuous mention as the abode of justice.

Women enjoyed much freedom of movement in society and the number of women poets of the age is sufficient indication that they were not excluded from the best education then available. Family life was held in high honour and the wife is desoribed as the light of the household.

Not much is known about the ancient wedding rites of the Tamil land. It is described in two *Aham* poems (Nos. 86 and 136). These poems refer to the feasting of relatives at a meal of rice mixed with black gram and flesh before the marriage, the bathing of the bride by four women who had their husbands and children living, the marriage *pandal* strewn with fresh sand, the music of the marriage drum, the worship of gods, and the preference for the celebration of marriage on a day in the bright half of the month when the moon was with Rohinī. The marriage was consummated the same night. In these anthologies there is no reference to circumambulation of fire (*tīvalam śeydal*) according to the fire cult of the Aryans. Later works like the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Kaḷaviyal* indeed say that the Aryans introduced the ritual and ceremony of marriage (*karaṇam*); but there is no clue to the date when this happened. Circumambulation of fire is specifically mentioned in *Śilappadikāram*.[5]

Next to agriculture in all its forms, including the raising of sugarcane, cotton and pepper, the most important industry of the land was the production of cloth. Merchandise was carried in boats along the coast and in carts and on backs of animals overland. Fine cloth and pearls found their way to northern India from early times, while these together with pepper and spices,

[5] Māmudu pārpān marai vaḷi kāṭṭiḍa tīvalam śeytu.

some of which were obtained from Indonesia, formed the staples of trade with the Roman empire. Roman and Greek merchants visited the ports in considerable numbers and established themselves in small colonies, in important centres. A Pāṇḍyan king sent an embassy to Augustus, and Strabo bears testimony to the tangible growth in the volume of the trade in his day.

In the sphere of religion we find a mixture of practices and beliefs of diverse origin often jointly observed by one and the same section of the people. The Vedic religion of sacrifice was followed by kings and chieftains, Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛishṇa, and Subrahmaṇya are mentioned together in one poem (*Puram* 56). The birth of Subrahmaṇya from Kālī and his warlike achievements like the destruction of the *asura* called Śūra are favourite themes with the poets. The worship of this deity, better known as Murugan in Tamil, was attended by primitive dances known as *velanāḍal*. This is possibly a survival of an unknown Tamil religious fashion like the dances connected with the worship of Kṛishṇa as a shepherd hero.

Though Buddhism and Jainism must have found a footing in the land, there are few references to them in the early Śangam literature. The mention of *Śrāvakas*, lay followers of Jainism, and of Jain monasteries in Madurai and of Indras in the plural are pieces of evidence pointing to the presence of Jainism.[6]

'Society consisted of a fairly gay crew of kings and nobles at the top, befriended by Brāhmins and entertained by poets, musicians and dancers, and indulging in war, the chase and the company of women. The life of the masses was simple but by no means devoid of joy and amusement. There was an abundance of necessities of life and a reasonably brisk inland and maritime trade. The level of material culture was fairly high and in the spiritual sphere there was occurring a progressive integration of the new Aryan with the old pre-Aryan forms and conventions. The general impression left on the mind by this early Tamil literature is one of social harmony, general contentment and happiness.'[7]

[6] *Maduraikkāñji*, 11.475–87, *Puram*, 182, 11. 1–2

[7] *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 567.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGE OF THE GUPTAS

(A.D. 300–A.D. 550)

Political History (Northern India)

THE POLITICAL CANVAS AFTER THE FALL OF THE KUSHĀN EMPIRE: The fourth century of the Christian era is known in India as the Imperial Age of the Guptas. This was the time when the Roman empire became Christian under the emperor Constantine. Very little is known about either the fall of the Kushāṇa empire or the rise of the Gupta dynasty and the century lying between the two events is somewhat obscure.

With the disappearance of the Kushāṇa empire there arose many independent States, monarchies and republics. The detailed history of these States is difficult to trace and is really of little interest. Afghanistan and the Indus Valley passed from the Kushāṇas to the Sassanian rulers of Persia who held this territory for about 80 years down to A.D. 360. The Kushāṇa rulers, however, continued to rule in a subordinate capacity. Hormazd II (A.D. 303–309) married a Kushāṇa princess, and a fine woollen shawl from Kashmir, which formed part of her trousseau, was considered fit to be presented to the Roman Emperor Aurelian. Western and Central Punjab at this time were ruled by Scythian houses known as Shakas, Shiladas, and Gadaharas. Their rule came to an end about A.D. 340. Then the Little Kushāṇa or Kidāra Kushāṇa came to power. Kidāra was the founder of the line. He was at first a vassal of the Sassanians. He extended his fame from Peshawar to Kashmir and Central Punjab and declared himself to be independent. But Shapur II invaded his territory in A.D. 356–57 and compelled him to accept his suzerainty. Ten years later, emboldened by his friendly relations with the Guptas whose power was spreading towards Punjab, he rose against Shapur II, defeated him and declared his independence

again. Kidāra appointed a number of satraps to rule his vast dominion consisting of Gandhāra, Kashmir and Western and Central Punjab. He was succeeded by his son Piro (c. A.D. 375), who came into conflict with the Sassanian Shapur III and the Guptas and lost his kingdom. Minor rulers of this line continued till about the middle of the fifth century when the Huns displaced them.

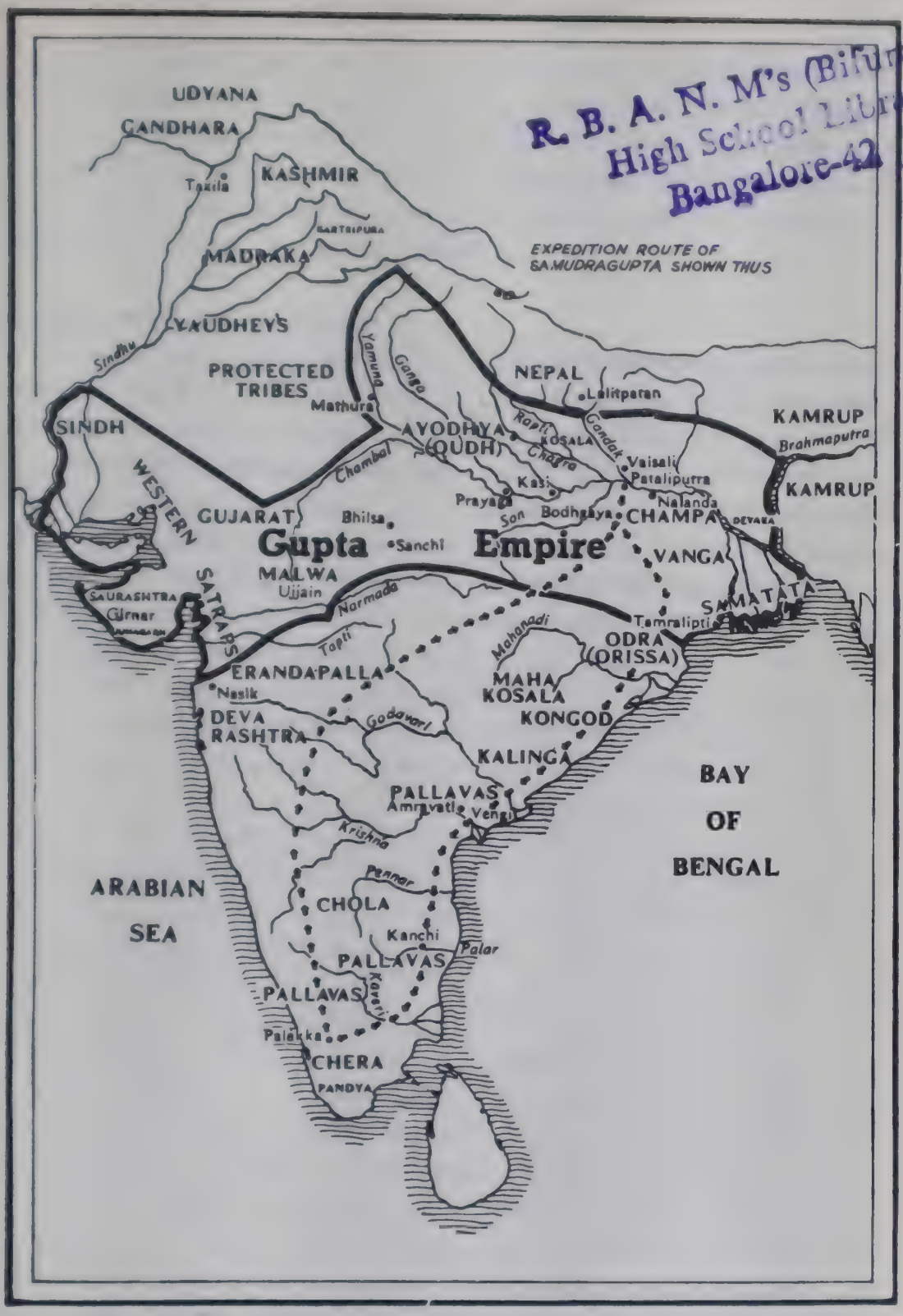
Mālwa and Gujarāt continued to be under the Western Satraps. Ujjain their capital was a prominent centre of trade. This is a city of immemorial antiquity and is regarded as one of the seven sacred cities of India. The Mālavas acknowledged the Śaka supremacy for some time. But about A.D. 226 they made themselves free in the Ajmer-Udaipur tract. About the same time Sind also slipped from Satrap control. The territory of the Mālavas was considerably curtailed due to the aggressions of the *Vākāṭakas* of Berar, but in the midst of all these troubles they continued to rule Gujarāt to the end of the fourth century A.D., until their territory was conquered by the Guptas.

The Rise of the Guptas: It was perhaps some time late in the obscure period of the first three centuries of the Christian era that the Gupta dynasty came into existence. It may be mentioned here that the historical sections of the *Purāṇas* are usually ascribed to the second quarter of the fourth century, as they speak of no Gupta king by name and refer to Gupta rule only over Prayāga-on-the-Ganges, Sāketa, and Magadha, indicating a date earlier than the subjugation of wide areas of northern India by Samudragupta about the third quarter of the same century. The amalgamation of the Gupta and the Licchavi dynasties early in the fourth century A.D. led to the foundation of the imperial power of the Guptas. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī are among the most celebrated Kshatriya tribes, and the suggestion that they were of Mongolian extraction has really no evidence in its favour. The legendary genealogy of the Licchavis of Nepal says that there were Licchavis born of the solar line of Ikshvāku, eight generations after Daśaratha, the father of Rāma; and explains the name as very white or very pure. According to the Jainas, the Licchavis and Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kosala, and the Licchavis continued to exist as a powerful independent State, though their constitution seems to have become monarchical, the date of which event is difficult to decide.

CHANDRA GUPTA I: The first two kings of the Gupta dynasty known to history are Gupta, and his son Ghaṭotkacha. These are described only as Mahārājas but Chandra Gupta I, the grandson of Gupta, is called *Mahārājādhirāja*. The Licchavi princess Kumāradevī who was evidently the heiress to the Licchavi State in her own right married Chandra Gupta I. The result of this alliance marked the beginning of the rise of the Gupta dynasty to power. Chandra Gupta I was no mere king Consort as some writers would have us believe. He was a king in his own right. Because of the hoary traditions of the Licchavi dynasty it was but natural that Samudra Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta I, should have taken pride in calling himself *Licchavi-dauhitra*, the son of the daughter of Licchavis. Some coins figure both Chandra Gupta and his wife Kumāradevī on the obverse with their names, and on the reverse a goddess seated on a lion along with the legend *Licchavayaḥ*.

Chandra Gupta I was undoubtedly the first great monarch of the line. He is generally taken to be the founder of the Gupta era which began on the day of his coronation, either December 20, A.D. 318 or February 26, A.D. 320 according to different calculations. But as there are copper plate grants (held to be spurious by some) of Samudra Gupta from Nālandā and Gayā dated in the years 5 and 9 of the era; and as Samudra Gupta was perhaps the real founder of the empire there is a probability that the Gupta era dates from his accession rather than from the coronation of his father. The extent of the Gupta empire at the end of the reign of Chandra Gupta is not easy to determine, but undoubtedly it included the greater part of Bihar and very probably a portion of the Uttar Pradesh on the west and Bengal on the east.

SAMUDRA GUPTA: Chandra Gupta I seems to have died, when still a young man, leaving his son, apparently quite a boy, to reign in his stead. This precocious stripling—Samudra Gupta—was to fill the throne of India, as it has seldom been filled for more than half a century. Our knowledge of Samudra Gupta comes mainly from coins and from inscriptions, notably one on a pillar which now stands in the fort at Allahabad; this is Aśoka's column of Kauśāmbī. Samudra Gupta's court panegyrist Harisheṇa wrote a fine Sanskrit poem celebrating the exploits of Samudra Gupta. This is a record of aggressive and bloodstained warfare engraved on the vacant space of the pillar in glaring contrast to Aśoka's message of peace.



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GUPTA EMPIRE UNDER CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA
ABOUT A.D. 400

From this inscription we learn that Samudra Gupta was chosen for the succession in open court by his father, much to the chagrin of other princes who were of equal birth. There are coins of a certain Kācha which so resemble Samudra Gupta's coins that some writers are of the opinion that Kācha was an alternative name of Samudra; this seems unlikely.

Conquest and Extent of Empire

The inscription gives us a list of the kings overthrown by Samudra Gupta in his first campaign. His second campaign led to the extermination of nine States of Āryāvarta among which only two can be identified. Mathurā was then ruled by Gaṇapati-nāga and Bankura district in Bengal by Chandravarman. Practically the whole of the Uttar Pradesh, a part of Central India and the south-western part of Bengal fell within the empire of Samudra Gupta. This conclusion gains strength from the names of the rulers of the five kingdoms on the frontier, and of the nine tribal States who 'paid taxes, obeyed orders and performed obeisance in person to the great Emperor'. Three of the frontier States Samataṭa, (South-East Bengal), Kāmarūpa (Upper Assam), and Nepāla (Nepal) are well known. Ḍavāka corresponds to the Nowgong district in Assam while the last Kartripura was most probably Kartarpur in Jalandhar district and possibly included parts of Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. Among the tribes named are the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Madrakas. The Ārjunāyanas have been plausibly located in Jaipur near Rājputānā. The Madrakas were occupying the territory between the Rāvī and the Chenab round Śākala (Sialkot). The other tribes cannot be located with any certainty. Ābhīras are known from records in Western Rājputānā (Abiria of the *Periplus*), in the northern Mahārāshṭra and elsewhere. The Sanakānīkas lived in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa and Jhansi. This is known from a recorded gift of a feudatory chief of Udayagiri two miles to the north-west of Bhilsa during the reign of Chandra Gupta II. Kākapur 20 miles north of Bhilsa must have been the ancient seat of the Kākas. The Kharaparikas have been located in the Damoh district in Madhya Pradesh. It will thus be seen that the territory under the direct rule of Samudra Gupta included the whole of Bengal in the east except its south-eastern part; in the north it extended up to the foot-hills of the Himalayas; in the west it went up to the Punjab, including its eastern districts within

itself up to Lahore. From Karnal in the Punjab the boundary followed the Jamuna river up to its junction with the Chambal. From there it passed almost due south to Eran in the Saugor district, where there is a record of Samudra Gupta which shows that it must have been in his dominion. The southern boundary ran from Eran to Jubbalpore and thence along the Vindhya range; the *ātavika rājas*, forest kings, of this region were also Samudra Gupta's 'servants' as stated in the Allahabad inscription. Samudra Gupta appears to have recognized and acted up to Kauṭilya's distinction between *dharma-vijaya* (to be distinguished from Aśoka's *dhamma-vijaya*) which is satisfied with an acknowledgement of suzerainty, and *lobha-vijaya* and *asura-vijaya* which deprive the conquered ruler of land and wealth, and even of his wife, children and life. Samudra Gupta's conquests in their wide range were therefore necessarily of different degrees as shown by the Allahabad inscription: (1) kings who were killed and whose dominions were annexed to Samudra Gupta's empire, (2) kings who were defeated, taken prisoners and then liberated and reinstated as vassals, (3) the frontier States, kingdoms and republics, which anticipated his conquest by offering submission and personal homage beforehand.

Southern Expedition

In his expedition to the south, Samudra Gupta encountered no fewer than twelve kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, but these were all defeated, captured and then liberated.[1] His march lay through the eastern and southern parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and along the east coast. Whether he actually reached Kāñchī, the Pallava capital, is uncertain. This was a campaign involving fully 3000 miles of marching, which cannot have occupied less than three years, and the furthest limit of which lands one more than 1,200 miles from one's base. The record of this march as indicated in the

[1] They were: Mahendra of Kosala, i.e. South Kosala, comprising the districts of Bilaspur, Rajput and Sambalpur in M.P.; Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra or the Jeypore forest in Orissa; Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla or the Colair lake; Mahendragiri of Pishtapura (Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī district); Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra (Kotturu near Tuni, E. Godāvarī), Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (Vizagapatam district); Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī, obviously a Pallava ruler; Nīlarāja of Avamukta (not identified); Hastivarman of Vengi certainly the Sālankāyana king of that name; Ugrasena of Palakka, probably a vassal of the Pallava king in the Nellore district; Kuvera of Devarāshṭra, i.e. Yelamanchili in the Vizagapatam district; and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura (unidentified).

inscription is fairly complete and makes Samudra Gupta an invincible hero who returned to the capital laden with loot from all the treasures of the south. Although there was no extension of territory in the south under Gupta rule, the raid caused enough unsettlement in South India and had many indirect consequences for the politics of that region.

Samudra Gupta's Relations with Other Rulers

The inscription mentions some kings who showed their respect to the Gupta emperor by personal surrender, by the gift of virgins in marriage as a tribute (*kanyopāyanadāna*) and by petitioning for a charter with the Garuḍa-seal (Gupta seal) for the acknowledgement of their respective territories. Among them were the Kushāṇa and Śaka rulers of the west and north-west and those of Siṁhala and other islands. It is difficult to decide how much of this is true history and how much of it is only court poetry. So far as Siṁhala (Ceylon), is concerned, a Buddhist king sent two monks and his brother to visit the monastery which king Aśoka had built by the sacred Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gayā. They returned complaining that they had literally found no place at the holy shrine wherein to lay their heads. The king of Ceylon Meghavarṇa by name, therefore, sent an embassy to Samudra Gupta asking leave to found a rest-house for the use of pious pilgrims, and sent with it rich jewels and costly gifts. These were fully accepted by Samudra Gupta and the permission was given. The decision to build a magnificent monastery close to the sacred tree was duly engraved on a copper plate, and, in due time, carried out by the erection of what was described two centuries later by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang as having three stories, six halls, three towers, and accommodation for a thousand monks.

Kidāra kept friendly relations with the Guptas and a type of Kushāṇa coins with the names of Samudra and Chandra on them may be taken as evidence of Gupta suzerainty over them. The Western Satraps may also well have courted the friendship of the powerful Gupta emperor. The reference to islands other than Ceylon may well be taken to be Hindu colonial kingdoms of Malaysia and perhaps Indo-China also. A gold coin of Chandra Gupta II was found in Java and as attested by Fa-Hien there was constant intercourse between India and the kingdoms of the East Indies.

Samudra Gupta performed a horse sacrifice to proclaim his imperial power, and no one had a better justification for it than he. A small number of gold coins or rather medals bearing an appropriate legend and the effigy of a horse before the altar, and a rudely carved stone figure of a horse found in Northern Oudh and now in the Lucknow museum, are memorials of the sacrifice.

Samudra Gupta made himself master of a wide empire which extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jumna and the Chambal on the west, and included the most populous and fertile countries of Ganges valley. But wider than the sphere of his direct domain and authority was the sphere of his influence or suzerainty as seen from the range of his international alliances and relations. Countries beyond the seas recognized his eminence as warrior and statesman.

His Versatility

There are several types of Samudra Gupta's coins which are the first to bear metrical legends. These coins mark the height of ancient technical skill in the art of coinage, and depict the emperor as a tall, deep-chested well-built person of dignified bearing. Samudra Gupta is represented on his coins as a man of versatility. On some coins he is represented as seated on a couch and playing the *vīnā* (lute). Among his accomplishments was the art of poetry. Being a scholar, he loved the society of the learned. Though an orthodox Hindu he patronized the Buddhist author Vasubandhu and studied Buddhism under him. The rhetorician Vāmana states that he even appointed Vasubandhu as his minister (A.D. 800).

The exact year of Samudra Gupta's death is not known. The earliest known date for his son and successor Chandra Gupta II is 380. Samudra Gupta had a long reign and must have certainly lived to an advanced age. His death may be tentatively assigned to about A.D. 375. His glory consists in having inaugurated the Golden Age of Indian history and his worthy successor Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya carried still further his example of conquest and benevolent rule.

CHANDRA GUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA: Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta by Dattadevī, succeeded to the throne of the Guptas. Samudra Gupta appears to have had other sons too, but Chandra Gupta II was specially selected as the most worthy of the

crown. Later in life he took the additional title of Vikramāditya (Sun of Valour). It is associated by tradition with that of the Rājā of Ujjain who established the Vikrama era in 58–57 B.C. It is difficult to decide how much of the glory contained in Vikrama legends should go to the legendary hero and how much to this historical Gupta king who was also known as Deva Gupta.

Some passages from a lost drama of Viśākhadatta by name *Devīchandraguptam* have led to much discussion. They mention Rāma Gupta, (the elder brother of Chandra Gupta) who made an ignoble peace with a Śaka ruler agreeing to surrender his queen Dhruvadevī in order to save himself. On hearing this Chandra Gupta disguised himself as the queen and did away with the enemy. Subsequently he killed his elder brother and appropriated his kingdom and queen to himself. This story with variations is repeated in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and some Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. This has given rise to the theory that Rāma Gupta was the immediate successor of Samudra Gupta and that the Kācha coins already mentioned are really his and that the Śaka ruler with whom an ignoble peace was made was Piro, the Kidāra-Kushāna ruler of the Punjab. This story is incredible in parts and the mere mention of Rāma Gupta as Rājā in a drama is not enough to give Rāma Gupta a place in the imperial succession. Therefore until much stronger evidence is forthcoming Chandra Gupta must be taken to have succeeded his father. A more plausible version of the story may be that Rāma Gupta was a viceroy on the frontier under his father and that he failed miserably in a conflict with Piro. As for a younger brother marrying his elder brother's widow, this, though certainly unusual, is not altogether unknown in theory or practice.

Chandra Gupta's principal military achievement was the conquest of Mālwa, Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwār, territories which had been ruled for several centuries by Śaka chiefs. Chandra Gupta must have felt that the continued independence of the Śaka Satraps of the west was a detraction from the political unity of Āryāvarta and an insult to the honour of his country. So he undertook a series of campaigns after first securing the friendship of the Vākāṭakas of Berar by a dynastic alliance. Chandra Gupta gave his daughter Prabhāvatī by his wife Kubera Nāgā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. Unfortunately, however,

Rudrasena died prematurely. However, Prabhavatī during her regency for her minor son aided her father in his campaigns. An inscription at Udayagiri states that Vīrasena, a native of Paṭaliputra and 'minister of peace and war' under Chandra Gupta II, followed the king to Udayagiri while he was seeking to conquer the whole world. In the period between A.D. 388–97 the series of *Kshatrapa* coins comes to an end giving place to coins of similar design issued by Chandra Gupta II.

The last of the Western Satraps was Rudrasena, son of Satyasiṁha who appears to have been killed in battle. The annexation of the territory of the Satraps not only extended the Gupta empire, but also brought exceptional wealth as thereby the Guptas gained access to ports such as Bharo (Broach), Sopara (Kandal) and several others which were carrying on a roaring trade with the countries of the West. The sea-borne commerce with Europe brought Chandra Gupta II in close contact with Europe through Egypt. Incidentally the king's court in this period came under the influence of European ideas which came with the goods brought by the Alexandrian merchants. It was Chandra Gupta's conquest of Ujjain which is greatly responsible for the association of his exploits with those of the legendary hero Vikramaditya of Ujjain of the first century B.C. The title Vikramaditya was borne by several other Gupta rulers and perhaps the cycle of Vikrama legends reflects the whole of the Gupta age as well as the events of the first century B.C. rather than the achievement of an individual monarch as is ordinarily believed.

An iron pillar now standing near Kutb Minar in Delhi has a Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters. In this record there is reference to a king Chandra who defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vanga, and having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu, conquered the Vāhlikas. Perhaps this Chandra is identical with Chandra Gupta II for none of the other suggestions offered is half as good as this In that case we must assume that the Gupta emperor crossed the rivers of the Punjab and Indus itself and carried arms beyond the Hindu Kush to Balkh. Some would locate Vāhlika in the Beas valley bordering on Kashmir, but even then Chandra Gupta's achievements would have been notable. That he fought also in Vanga as well as in the north-west should be noted. Some Kushana coins bear the name of Chandra on them indicating his supremacy in the north-western frontier.

At the time of Chandra Gupta II Ayodhyā and Ujjain became secondary capitals.

Chandra Gupta II introduced a currency in silver and copper. His gold coins show the pomp, power and prosperity of his empire. They represent him as handling a bow like the epic heroes and bear on the reverse a goddess seated on a couchant lion. In others he is shown as slaying a lion instead of a tiger as in his father's coins. The lion on the coins probably indicates the conquest of Gujarāt where lions were found. The last known date of Chandra Gupta II is A.D. 412–13 and three years later, his son by Dhruvadevī, Kumāra Gupta was on the throne. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien travelled his empire and his account bears ample testimony to its prosperity, peace and efficient rule. But Fa-hien was so absorbed in his pursuit of Buddhist studies that he did not even record the name of the emperor.

KUMĀRA GUPTA I: About A.D. 414 Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son named Kumāra Gupta who ruled the empire for nearly forty years. Details of the events of his reign are not on record. He must have had to his credit several military successes to justify his performance of the *aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice). He introduced new types of gold coins. One among them figures Kārttikeya (Kumāra) riding on his peacock on the reverse, and the king feeding a peacock on the obverse. He assumed the title of Mahendrāditya. His inscriptions give us the names of some of the governors who ruled over Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal), Eran, Oudh and Daśapura (Mandasor). The province of Eran was under Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, perhaps a son of the king. Towards the end of his reign it became necessary for him to put up a tough fight for the preservation of the empire from the attacks of powerful enemies. Till very recently these enemies were identified with Pushyamitras, a Vindhyan tribe of probably Iranian extraction, on the basis of the Bhitari stone pillar inscription. But according to a new interpretation the inscription contains no reference to Pushyamitras but only a mention of the enemies in battle; and they could have been only the Huns, who came in stronger numbers in the reign of Skanda Gupta, son and successor of Kumāra.

The Huns

The Ephthalites or White Huns were cousins of the barbarian Huns who invaded eastern Europe in A.D. 375 and settled in Bactria in 425, after doing away with the remnants of Kushān power in that area. The Huns or Hunas crossed over to the Kabul-Kāpisa region and descended on Gandhāra at the same time keeping up a war against the Sassanian rulers of Persia. These Hūnas were, according to Gibbon's description, a race of reckless reiving riders, whose origin he described thus:

> 'A fabulous origin was assigned worthy of their form and manners that the witches of Scythia, who for their foul and deadly practices had been driven from society, had united in the desert with infernal spirits, and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction.'

The first Huna attack was when Kumara Gupta was alive though very old. The imperial armies of the Guptas suffered disastrous defeats, and the stability of the imperial dynasty was endangered. But prince Skanda Gupta by his energy and ability restored the fortunes of the family by repelling the invaders. The aged Kumara Gupta died while the crown-prince was still in the field in A.D. 454 or 455. The inscription on the pillar of victory at Bhitari describes how he galloped into the courtyard of the palace at Ayodhya to inform his mother of his victory over the barbarians, 'just as Krishna, having slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Devaki'. Skanda Gupta succeeded to the throne and commemorated his success in the Huna war by building a magnificent temple to Vishnu. India no doubt was saved, but it was only for a time. Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing attribute the first foundation at Nālandā to a Sakrāditya; if this name can be an alternative of Mahendrāditya, Kumāra Gupta I could well be regarded among the earliest of the royal patrons of the great Nālandā monastery.

SKANDA GUPTA: Skanda Gupta Vikramaditya is also known as Kramaditya. He ruled from A.D. 455 to 467. There seems to have been a disputed succession, the details of which are not known. His inscription at Junagadh says that the goddess of sovereignty chose him as her husband discarding all the other princes. One of his gold coins depicts the king as standing with a bow in one hand

and an arrow in the other with a Garuḍa standard in front of him, to his right is Lakshmī facing the king with a lotus in her left and the fillet of royalty in her right hand.

Immediately after his accession Skanda appointed governors in all the provinces. One of them was Parṇadatta of Surāshṭra. His son was Chakrapālita, who was the town magistrate of Junagaḍh. Both the father and son obtained celebrity by restoring the embankment of the Sudarśana Lake which had once more given way in a storm.

At the beginning of Skanda Gupta's reign there was more fighting against the Huns. The heavy expenses involved in the wars led to a depreciation of the currency. Gold coins were not issued as freely as before and there was also a fall in the purity of gold. However, numerous types of silver coins were abundant. It is doubtful if Mālwa continued to be an integral part of the Gupta empire from about the close of Kumāra Gupta's reign, for the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena say that Mālwa obeyed his commands. Despite the Hun trouble and the defection of Mālwa, the Gupta empire continued to be intact to the end of Skanda Gupta's reign. He is described as the lord of a hundred kings and his reign is described as characterized by calm.

THE FALL OF THE GUPTAS: After the death of Skanda Gupta the history of the imperial Guptas becomes confused. The Hun invasions continued with greater strength and frequency. Once again foreign rulers installed themselves in India for a time. But it is doubtful whether the Hun invasion was the main cause of the downfall of the Gupta empire. The confusion within the empire due to the mighty vassals and accession dispute was no less important than the foreign attacks.

Skanda Gupta's brother was Puru Gupta (Puru Gupta according to some), who might have been one of the rivals of Skanda in the beginning. Some think that Puru ruled Magadha contemporaneously with Skanda, but it is more likely that he took the throne after Skanda's death.

There appears Kumāra Gupta II in A.D. 473 who might have been the son of Skanda displaced by Puru or a son of Puru, who occupied the throne after him. In any case the reigns of all these kings could not have lasted more than ten years, perhaps up to

A.D. 477. Undoubtedly there was a considerable decline of the imperial power.

But with the accession of Budha Gupta, son of Puru, there appears to have been a recovery, for his empire extended from Mālwa to Bengal. In Kāthiāwār the Maitrakas were feeling their way to independence but still continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas in a general way till at least A.D. 545, if not later. Mighty vassals arose and the unity of the empire was kept up more in name and form than in reality. For instance, there was one Mahārāja Surasmichandra in 484 ruling over the extensive territory between the Jumna and the Narmadā rivers. Mahārāja Mātṛi-Vishnu was the governor of Eran under him. To the east lay the territory of Parivrājaka Mahārājas, Hastin (A.D. 474–517) and Saṁkshobha (518–28) who owed allegiance to the Guptas in general terms, though not naming any individual king. Budha Gupta died about A.D. 500 and there followed a disputed succession. We hear of Vainya Gupta (A.D. 506) in Samataṭa (E. Bengal) and Nālandā and a Bhānu Gupta (A.D. 510–11) in Eran. Vainya adopted imperial titles and issued gold coins and might have been a son of Budha Gupta. Bhānu Gupta seems to have ruled over the western half of the empire. He fought a famous battle probably against Toràmāna in which his general Goparāja died and his wife committed *satī*. This battle resulted in the liberation of Eran and Mālwa from Toramāna's rúle; but the place of Bhānu Gupta in the imperial line is unknown. The reigns of Narasiṁha Gupta (son of Puru), his son Kumāra Gupta III and grandson Vishṇu Gupta may be placed between A.D. 500 and 550, a period which definitely shows the decline and downfall of the empire. It is not clear whether Narasiṁha ruled immediately after his brother Budha Gupta or followed Bhānu Gupta. This Narasiṁha assumed the title of Bālāditya as his coins show. Undoubtedly he was the Bāláditya, who according to Hiuen Tsang, patronized Buddhism by building a great Sanghārāma at Nālandā and led a confederacy to fight against and defeat the terrible Hūna chieftain Mihirakula.

Source Materials of Toramāna and Mihirakula: Sung-Yun, a Chinese ambassador, visited Udyāna and Gandhāra in A.D. 520. He says that two generations had passed since White Huns (Ye-thas) had established themselves in these parts. According to him the Hūna king was cruel and vindictive and did not believe in the Law

of the Buddha. The king was a worshipper of demons and was engaged in hostilities with Kashmir for over three years. Later about A.D. 547 Cosmas Indicopleustes (Indian Navigator) speaks of the White Huns in the north and of their ruler Gollas, who oppressed the people and forced them to pay tribute. From him we learn that the Indus separated all the countries of India from the Huns. His account may refer to events of about A.D. 530. Besides these, there are two inscriptions of Mahārāja Toramāna in Eran and at Kura (Salt range in the Punjab) and one of his sons Mihirakula at Gwalior dated in his fifteenth regnal year. Mihirakula was also called Mihiragula (Gollas of Cosmas) and Mihiradatta. The Jaina work called *Kuvalayamālā* (778) mentions Toramāna as ruler of Uttarāpatha and Hiuen Tsang gives a detailed account of Mihirakula and his tyrannical rule as well as his overthrow by Bālāditya, but he places these events some centuries before A.D. 633, the date of his visit to Śākala, the capital of Mihirakula, whereas they were in fact just a century old. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also mentions Toramāna and Mihirakula, but the narration given there has little relation to known facts. Some writers hold the view, too subtle to be mentioned here, that Toramāna and Mihirakula were not themselves Huns, but Kushāṇa chieftains who led the Hun hordes.

TORAMĀNA AND MIHIRAKULA: At the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Toramāna starting from the base in the Punjab carried his victorious arms up to Mālwa. His success was short-lived because of his defeat at the hands of Bhānu Gupta. Mihirakula revived the ambitious plans of his father and achieved a fair measure of success as the Gwalior inscription of his fifteenth year (c. A.D. 530) and the statements of Cosmas and Hiuen Tsang indicate. He was the king of Gandhāra to whom Sung-Yun paid his respects in 520. Mihirakula being a worshipper of Śiva was ferociously opposed to Buddhism. He seems to have reduced even Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya to a condition of vassalage for a time. Forces of disruption during this time gained an impetus, and there were battles everywhere as indicated in the inscriptions of new dynasties like the Maukharis and the Later Guptas.

YAŚODHARMAN: In this period of confusion Yaśodharman of Mālwa stands out prominently. He is without predecessor or successor.

At Mandasor, his capital, he has left a long Sanskrit *praśasti* in duplicate on two stone pillars which affirm that he conquered countries which even the Guptas and Hūnas had not conquered, and that the princes of all India (from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean and from the Himalayas to Mount Mahendra) paid obeisance to him. He claims to have led a confederacy to deal a crushing blow to Mihirakula's power. There is another inscription of his (dated A.D. 533–34) also at Mandasor which shows that his victory over Mihirakula might have been at this time or earlier. According to Hiuen Tsang it was Bālāditya that finally destroyed Mihirakula's power. Certainly the Maukharis had a share in it. Probably all these powers co-operated in the overthrow of the cruel tyrant Mihirakula. After his defeat Mihirakula found that his brother had usurped his place in Śākala. He took refuge in Kashmir where he was kindly received by the king, but Mihirakula wickedly rebelled against his benefactor and seized his throne. He then attacked Gandhāra and slew its ruler, a Hun, but he did not long enjoy his ill-gotten possessions and died about A.D. 542.

Up to the defeat of Mihirakula, Yaśodharman behaved respectfully to the Gupta emperor Narasiṁha Gupta. After the liberation of India from the Huns, puffed up with pride, he started on a rebellious career. His part, in this period of history, weakened the power of the Guptas, who had long served as a bound of unity to the whole of Northern India. We do not know how the career of Yaśodharman ended. The Gupta empire continued to have a feeble existence till about A.D. 550. Valabhī (Gujarāt) and Bengal acknowledged its paramouncy to the end. The effective rule of the last three emperors was however confined to Magadha and east of it.

LATER GUPTAS: Notable among the dynasties that rose to power after the fall of the Gupta empire were the new line called the 'Later Guptas of Magadha', the Maukharis and the Maitrakas. All these began as feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and declared their independence about A.D. 550. These Later Guptas, though they ruled in Magadha till about the eighth century, were not genealogically related to the Imperial Guptas. North of the Ganges was the kingdom of the Maukharis; Kānya-Kubja, modern Kanauj, was its capital. There were several marriage alliances between the Later Guptas and the Maukharis, but still they were at constant

war. The Maitrakas belonged to a line of Gupta feudatories in Gujarāt.

The first two Later Gupta monarchs Kṛishṇa-gupta and Harsha-gupta have remained as only names. The third Jīvita-gupta is said to have fought in the Himalayan region and on the sea-shore, probably campaigns undertaken on behalf of the Gupta Imperial suzerain. The fourth ruler of the line was Kumāra-gupta, who fought the fourth Maukhari king Īśānavarman (c. A.D. 554) and defeated him. He must have done this on his own accord for a share in the spoils of the vanishing empire of the Guptas. He advanced as far as Prayāga, where he died.

A Chinese Buddhist Mission: In the reign of either Jīvita-gupta or Kumāra-gupta there arrived in Magadha a Chinese Buddhist Mission. This was sent out in A.D. 539 by the first Liang emperor of China, Wu-ti or Hsiao-Yen, an ardent Buddhist. The object of this mission was to collect original Mahāyāna texts and secure the services of a competent scholar to translate them. This mission was well received and the learned Paramārtha went to China carrying with him many books which he afterwards translated into Chinese. Paramārtha reached China in 546 and died there in 569 at the age of seventy. This mission reveals two things at the same time. First that Nālandā was recognized internationally as a great seat of learning, and secondly, that political changes had little effect on the progress of cultural activity.

It may, in passing, be mentioned here that Bodhidharma, the son of a king of Southern India reached China in 520 and became the first patriarch of Chinese Buddhism in the reign of Wu-ti (502–49). After a short stay at Canton, he settled at Lo Yang, and his miracles were the favourite theme with Chinese artists.

Maukharis: The Maukharis claimed descent from Aśvapati of epic fame. Indeed the family (*vaṁśa*) of Maukharis was of great antiquity as is evidenced by a seal that has been found at Gayā. This seal bears an inscription *mokhalinām* (of the Maukharis) in Mauryan Brāhmī characters. In the age of the Guptas there were two lines of rulers from this family. The first comprised three feudatory chiefs of Gayā of uncertain date. The more important line came up in the districts of Jaunpur and Bara Banki between the Ganges and the Gogra in the Uttar Pradesh. The first three

kings married princesses from the Later Gupta line and called themselves Mahārājas. The fourth of this line named Īśānavarman was a *Mahārājādhirāja* and was ruling in A.D. 554. He might have had a share in the destruction of Mihirakula's power. His coins are like those of Toramāna, and Kumāragupta claims to have defeated him, but he in his turn claims victories over the Gauḍas (Western Bengal), the Andhras (Vishṇukundins) and the Śūlikas. We do not know who the Śūlikas were; perhaps they were Chālukyas. We reserve the further history of Maukharis for the next chapter.

MAITRAKAS: Bhaṭārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, was the founder of a dynasty called the Maitrakas. Towards the close of the fifth century he established himself at Valabhī in the east of the peninsula in Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār). The Maitraka dynasty lasted till about A.D. 770 when it was overthrown by Arab invaders from Sind. The Maitrakas appear in India along with the Huns or a little later. In all probability they were allied to the Huns. At first they were perhaps worshippers of the sun. Coming to India they became patrons of brāhmanism and Buddhism. Bhaṭārka calls himself *Senāpati* and his descendants were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas to the middle of the sixth century. The third king Dronasiṁha Mahārāja was consecrated in the presence of his suzerain whose name is not given. We cannot therefore say whether it was Yaśodharman or Gupta monarch. In a later chapter dealing with Harshavardhana we shall hear more of the Maitrakas.

Political History (Deccan and South India)

The death of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi in A.D. 199 marked the decline and dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire. In the early part of the third century the scions of the imperial family were ruling in different parts of the empire. But the rise of the Chūṭus in the western and southern districts, of the Ābhīras in the Nāsik area, and of the Ikshvākus in the east, and the relentless pressure of the Śakas of Ujjain gradually extirpated the branches of the imperial Sātavāhana family. Thus the Deccan came to be partitioned among the Ābhīras, the Chūṭus and the Ikshvākus. In the south-east came the Pallavas. Wide regions of Madhya Pradesh that appear to have been under a branch of the imperial family in the early half of the

third century came later under the occupation of the Vākāṭakas, who became the dominant power in the Deccan in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

THE CHŪṬUS: The Chūṭus of Banavāsi (capital of Kuntala) were the most powerful of the immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas. The Chūṭu and Sātavāhana families were connected by matrimonial ties. The ancestors of the Chūṭu kings were, no doubt, feudatories of the Sātavāhanas (*mahārathis* and *mahābhojas*). The Chūṭu kings who ruled Mahārāshṭra and Kuntala took the usual royal title of *rājan*. Their coins and inscriptions are found in North Canara and Chitaldurg, Anantapur and Cuddapah, and Kaṇheri, near Bombay in the north.

Some consider the Chūṭus to be a branch of the Sātavāhanas, while others postulate a Nāga origin for them. They were supplanted by the Pallavas.

THE ĀBHĪRAS: The Ābhīras were certainly foreigners and are mentioned in association with the śūdras in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*. They seem to have come to India shortly before or along with the Śakas from some part of eastern Iran. The Traikūṭakas, a name derived from the Trikūṭa hill in Aparānta, were related in some unknown manner to the Ābhīras. They appear to have later appropriated most of the territories of the Ābhīras, which according to the Purāṇas lay in the north-western region of the Deccan, including northern Konkan as far as Broach.

Although the Purāṇas refer to ten Ābhīra kings ruling for 67 years, we know of only one named Īśvarasena, who perhaps was the founder of the family. The Ābhīras are at first found to have figured as generals under the Śaka satraps of Western India.

Rājā Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, is mentioned in a Nāsik inscription. He flourished some time after the death of Yajña Śātakarṇi, probably about the middle of the third century. He seems to have started the era of A.D. 248–49. The Kalachuris, originally of the Māhishmatī region on the Narmadā, possibly used this era after their conquest of areas formerly belonging to Ābhīra kingdom, so that it has come to be called the Kalachuri or the Chedi era. It is uncertain whether the Ābhīras mentioned in the Allahabad pillar as a people subdued by Samudra Gupta about the middle of the fourth century were those of the North-Western

Deccan. Probably the reference is to some other principality of the Ābhīras of the Central or Western India. An inscription of A.D. 279 (thirtieth year) of Ābhīra Vasusheṇa has been found recently at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

THE IKSHVĀKUS: In the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* the Ikshvākus in Dakshiṇa Kosala are mentioned among the Aryan tribes which for a time conquered portions of the Deccan. The Ikshvākus ruled in the Kṛishṇā-Guntur region immediately after the fall of the Sātavāhanas to whom they had been feudatories. It is at present impossible to determine if these Ikshvākus were a branch of the celebrated Ikshvāku family of Ayodhyā. They are called Śrīpārvatīyas (rulers of Srīparvata) and Āndhrabhṛityas (servants of the Andhras) in the *Purāṇas* which say that seven kings of the line ruled for fifty-two years in all. Their capital seems to have been Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley of the Nallamalai range which was known in early times as Śrīparvata.

Vāsishṭhīputa Srī Chāntamūla, the founder of the line, was a staunch follower of the brāhmanical faith and performed the *aśvamedha* and some other Vedic sacrifices including the *vājapeya*. But his son and successor Vīrapurisadāta heavily leaned towards Buddhism, repudiating his father's religious policy. He ruled at least up to his twentieth regnal year about the third quarter of the third century. In his time the position of the Ikshvāku ruling house was strengthened by matrimonial alliances. He married a princess of the Kshatrapa family of Ujjain and gave his daughter in marriage to a Chūṭu prince. The big *stūpas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and many *vihāras* and *maṇḍapas* were constructed in his time. There was a short Ābhīra interregnum (A.D. 275–80) after his reign. Then came Ehuvala Chāntamūla, son of Vīrapurisadāta, who is the best known member of the family. He was also a Buddhist and there were close relations between Andhra and Ceylonese Buddhism in his time.

The Ikshvākus were followed by the Bṛihatphalāyanas (a *gotra* name) of whom only one king, Jayavarman, is known. Nothing is known about the relations of the Bṛihatphalāyanas with the Sātavāhanas, Ikshvākus and Pallavas. Towards the end of the third century Jayavarman appears to have ruled for some time as an independent monarch shaking off the yoke of the Ikshvākus. But very soon the Ikshvākus and possibly also the Bṛihatphalāyanas

were subdued by the Pallavas of Kāñchī who are known to have extended their power about that time over Āndhrapatha and Kuntala.

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the excavations of 1955-56, some lead coins of two Ikshvāku kings, Vīrapurushadatta and Śāntamūla, were found; they imitate one of the types of the Sātavāhanas, showing an elephant with trunk upraised on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. The fragmentary legend is above the elephant.

PALLAVAS: The Pallavas seem to have little to do with Pahlavas. Like their contemporaries the Chūṭus and Kadambas, the Pallavas appear to have been rulers of North Indian origin who found new homes for themselves in the south and adapted local traditions to their own use. Instances of such adaptations are found in the endowment of Chūṭukala Śātakarni, ruler of Banavāsi, to the shrine of the god of Malavalli and in a similar action by the Kadamba ruler who succeeded him. A little later, the Kadambas declared their devotion to Svāmī Mahāsena, i.e. Subrahmaṇya and Kadamba tree which Tamil tradition regarded as sacred to him. Much in the same way must have arisen the name Pallava (sprout) as the dynastic name. The term Pallava is undoubtedly a Prākṛit-Sanskrit rendering of Tondai, the name of the land in which the Pallava capital lay, and of the former rulers, Tondaimāns. 'Tondai is also the name of a creeper, and later tradition makes an eponymous ancestor of Pallava, a son of Aśvatthāmā and a nymph, so called because at birth he was cradled in a litter of sprouts.' There is an epigraphic reference to the marriage of Aśvatthāmā, a descendant of the *gotrarshi* (Bharadvāja) with the *apsaras* Madani. But the Velurpālayam inscription avers that an early member of the dynasty, named Virakurcha obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess. Though these are legends, they point to the north Indian origin of the Pallavas. The Pallavas may have been originally provincial rulers under the Later Sātavāhanas and risen to power in the Kāñchī region at the expense of the Nāgas, who, according to Ptolemy, were ruling there about the second quarter of the second century A.D.

The earliest Pallava king known is Siṁhavarman whose stone inscription in Prākṛit has been recently discovered in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district. The characters of this inscription

closely resemble those of the Ikshvāku inscriptions. Siṁhavarman like all his successors belonged to the *Bharadvājagotra*. After some time we get Skandavarman (son of Śivaskandavarman and grand son of Siṁhavarman) who started as a Yuvarāja and then became a *dharma-mahādhirāja*. He performed the *agnishṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices and had Kāñchī for his capital. His kingdom extended to the Kṛishṇā in the north and to the Arabian Sea on the west.

Skandavarman's son was Buddhavarman who as *yuvarāja* took an active part in the administration as his father had done. Buddhavarman had a son by name Buddhyankura by his queen Chārudevī. Skandavarman's time may be taken to be the latter part of the third or early fourth century A.D. when Prākṛit was still the language of official documents in the South.

The next Pallava ruler we hear of is Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī. He along with his feudatory Ugrasena of Palakka resisted Samudra Gupta's inroad into the Pallava territory. Kumāravishṇu (c. A.D. 323–50) who started a new line of rulers was a contemporary of Vishṇugopa and perhaps also his close relative. This new line of rulers continued to rule till about A.D. 500 or a little after. The charters of these rulers are all in Sanskrit and on copper-plates, recording donations, but they give little information of historical value. As most of them are issued from places other than Kāñchī some writers surmise that the Pallavas must have lost their hold on Kāñchī for a time. There are others that postulate different branches of the family ruling from different centres. Such genealogy of the Pallava kings of this period as is constructed on the basis of the sychronism between Pallava and Ganga rulers of the time and on the manuscript of a Jaina cosmological work called the *Lokavibhāga* (completed in A.D. 458) is not altogether free from genuine doubts.

ŚĀLANKĀYANAS: Vengīpura is identified with Benagouran in the country of the Salakenoi (Śālankāyanas) mentioned by Ptolemy. If this is accepted the antiquity of the city is carried back to the second century A.D. Doubtless Mosala answers to the Masalia or the Maisolia of the classical writers and should be identifiep with the Musulipatam region.

One of the opponents of Samudra Gupta in the Andhra country was Hastivarman of Vengi, perhaps the same as Pedda-vegi near Ellore in the Kṛishnā district. His family is known by its *gotra* name

Śālankāyanas. The Śālankāyanas may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Sātavāhanas. But it is clear that they rose to power at the expense of the Bṛihatphalāyanas and the Pallavas.

Devavarman, a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva) known from his Ellore grant in Prākṛit issued in his thirteenth regnal year, was the earliest member of the Śālankāyana line. He took the title Bhaṭṭāraka indicative of his independent position, performed the *aśvamedha* and patronized brāhmins. His relation to Hastivarman is not known.

Hastivarman (c. A.D. 350) was followed by his son Nandivarman I (A.D. 375). Then came Nandivarman's son, Hastivarman II and his son Skandâvarman, followed by Nandivarman's second son Chandravarman (400) and grandson Nandivarman II (430), the last known king of the line.

Either Śaivism or Vaishṇavism was preferred by individual Śālankāyana kings. But all of them claim to have been devoted to the god Chitraratha-Svāmin, probably their family diety. Like the Pallavas, they had the bull crest.

The Śālankāyanas held sway over West Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā districts, perhaps also with some adjoining regions. They appear to have been finally subdued by the Vishṇukuṇḍins towards the close of the fifth century or at the beginning of the sixth century.

MĀṬHARAS AND VISHṆUKUṆḌINS: After the disintegration of the Chedi empire founded by Khāravela, the ancient Kalinga country was split up into a number of small States, whose history is obscure. The ruling lines mentioned are Pitṛibhaktas, Māṭharas and Vāsishṭhas. Seven kings belonging to the Māṭharakula with names ending in *-varman* ruled from A.D. 375 to 500. When Pitṛibhaktas were ruling from Siṁhapura in Central Kalinga, the Māṭharas had their capital at Pishṭapura in the south. The history of Kalinga in the fifth century was marked by the struggle for supremacy between these two houses of rulers. Several new powers also rose. Among all these powers were those who have claimed the title *Kalingādhipati* (lord of the entire Kalinga country); ultimately, the Māṭharakula gave place to the Eastern Gangas in the north. The southern part of the Kalinga came under the Vishṇukuṇḍins whose rule followed that of the Śālankāyanas in the Andhra country.

The Vishṇukuṇḍins acknowledged the lord of Śrī Parvata as their family deity. Mādhavavarman I (c. A.D. 440–460) of this line, is said to have performed eleven *aśvamedhas* and countless *agnishṭomas*. A descendant of his, Mādhavavarman III is also described to have performed an identical number of Vedic sacrifices. This has led to a conflict of views among scholars regarding the genealogy of Vishṇukuṇḍins, the details of which are not necessary here. On the whole the statement about the sacrifices must be accepted with great reserve.

Mādhavavarman I had a Vākāṭaka princess, probably a granddaughter of Harishena, as his queen. His grandson Indrabhaṭṭāraka (A.D. 480–515) came into conflict with Mādhavavarman II of the collateral line, and after defeating him in battle, allowed him to rule over a part of the kingdom with the title 'the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains'. He also enlarged his kingdom at the expense of the Eastern Ganga Indravarman.

Mādhavavarman II (556–616) was perhaps the greatest ruler of the line. He had the title *Janāśraya* which means 'refuge of the people'. He crossed the Godāvarī and seized parts of Kalinga.

In the time of Pulakeśin II Vengīdeśa was in the hands of Vishṇukuṇḍins. They resisted Pulakeśin's inroad but were defeated. However, Vengīdeśa continued to be in the sphere of the influence of Vishṇukuṇḍins for some time more.

'Lendulūra seems to have been the chief city of some of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings. It has been identified with Dendulūru near Ellore, only five miles to the south-east of Pedda-vegi the modern representative of Vengīpura.'[2]

VĀKĀṬAKAS:

Chronology: The only reliable clue in determining the chronology of the Vākāṭakas of Berar and Madhya Pradesh is the marriage of the princess Prabhāvatīguptā, a daughter of the emperor Chandra Gupta II (c. A.D. 375–414) with Rudrasena II, the sixth king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Based on this and on the *Purāṇic* tradition of king Pravīra identified with Pravarasena I (A.D. 280–340), the son and successor of Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the line, the chronology of the Vākāṭakas has been worked out by scholars. Vindhyaśakti's reign is tentatively dated from A.D. 255 or 250 to A.D. 280 or 275.

[2] G. Yazdani (Ed), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 60.

The Home of the Vākāṭakas

We are not yet able to determine with certainty the original home of the Vākāṭakas. Several theories put forward in this connection are unconvincing. For the present we may accept the suggestion that the nucleus of the original Vākāṭaka principality must have been somewhere in the Eastern Madhya Pradesh or in Berar. The *Purāṇas* mention Purikā in Berar as the early capital of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. They also testify to the expansion of the Vākāṭaka power up to Vidiśā beyond the Vindhyas. The name Vindhyaśakti suggests the establishment of the rule of the founder in the Vindhyan territory.

VINDHYAŚAKTI (A.D. 255–280): Vindhyaśakti was a brāhmin of Vishṇuvṛiddha *gotra*. This was not the first time that brāhmins took up the role of the Kshatriyas. Before the Vākāṭakas, the Śungas, the Kāṇvas, and the Sātavāhanas had done it and soon the Kadambas were to emulate their example.

The military exploits of Vindhyaśakti resulted in the annexation of the districts of Betul, Itarsi and Hoshangabad to his kingdom, which probably comprised a portion of Berar only at the beginning. He did not assume any regal titles during his life time, probably because he received no formal religious consecration. He seems to have been greatly interested in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, the construction of temples, wells and *serais* and the endowment of schools and colleges. Vindhyaśakti was succeeded by his son Pravarasena I who by his more glorious exploits completely eclipsed those of his father.

PRAVARASENA I (A.D. 280–340): He was the only Vākāṭaka ruler who assumed the title of *Samrat* (Emperor). He made extensive conquests in all directions. During his rule the Vākāṭaka empire included the whole of Madhya Pradesh and Berar, Mālwa and Northern Mahārāshṭra, a considerable portion of the modern Andhra Pradesh and portions of South Kosala or Chattisgarh. He performed four Aśvamedhas and a Vājapeya. The disintegration of the Sātavāhana empire rendered it easy for Pravarasena to make the small kingdoms that sprang up accept his overlordship. His sphere of influence extended over Mālwa and Gujarāt, Andhradeśa and Southern Kosala. After the downfall of the Sātavāhana empire, it was Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty that welded the Deccan

into a powerful State whose strength and resources were much greater than those of any other kingdom in the north or the south.

RUDRASENA I (A.D. 340–360): Pravarasena had four sons who were made governors in different parts of the empire. Of them the eldest Gautamīputra predeceased his father and his son Rudrasena I (A.D. 340–365), who succeeded his grandfather, had to face the opposition of his uncles, two of whom remain unknown. He overcame two of his uncles with the aid of his maternal grandfather, Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva Nāga family of Padmāvatī. But the third uncle, Sarvasena continued his independent rule and became the founder of the Bāsīm (Vastagulma) branch of the Vākāṭakas.

We may in passing mention that the theory that Samudra Gupta overthrew and killed the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I is untenable. The forswearing of the title of *samrāt* or *mahārājādhirāja* by Rudrasena I and his successors does not indicate their feudatory status but only shows that being orthodox brāhmins they felt that they should not use the imperial title because they had not performed the *vājapeya*. Among the political reasons that may have induced them to do so may be mentioned the weakening of the power and resources of the Vākāṭakas due to division of their empire into four sub-States and the rise of the Guptas to imperial status, with whom the Vākāṭakas were soon to make a matrimonial alliance.

Rudrasena I was on the whole a weak ruler under whom the power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas declined. He was a staunch Śaivite and is always described as a devotee of Mahābhairava in the Vākāṭaka records.

PṚITHIVĪSHEṆA I: Rudrasena I was succeeded by his son Pṛithivīsheṇa I. His reign seems to have been a peaceful and prosperous one. It was at one time supposed that Kuntala was conquered by Pṛithivīsheṇa but a revised reading of the Ajantā inscription in cave XVI shows that it was king Vindhyasena of the Bāsīm branch who conquered this province. Pṛithivīsheṇa I assisted him in his conquest of a part of Kuntala and Southern Mahārāshṭra. He seems to have maintained cordial relation with the Bāsīm branch of the Vākāṭaka line. The latter appears to have recognized

his overlordship in a general way while enjoying full internal administrative autonomy.

Rudrasena II: (390–395 A.D.)

Rudrasena II, the son of Pṛithivīsheṇa married Prabhāvatī-guptā daughter of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya. He died prematurely after a short reign of five years and his Gupta queen became regent for her sons.

The Regency of Prabhāvatī-guptā: Though a young and inexperienced widow of twenty-five she courageously took the reigns of administration as regent for her infant son and steered the ship of State safely. Her contemporaries were Vindhyasena and Pravarasena II of the Bāsīm branch. She aided her father in his conquest of Mālwa and Gujarāt and relied exclusively on his help in her regency. Divākarasena, her first son, died during her regency which appears to have ended in A.D. 410 when her second son Dāmodarasena or Pravarasena (410–45) came of age.

Pravarasena II was a man of literary tastes and is credited with the authorship of the Prākṛit poem *Setubandha* which Kālidāsa is supposed to have revised. He was a worshipper of Vishṇu. He founded a new capital Pravarapura, perhaps Pavanar in Wardha district to which he moved in the later part of his reign. His earlier capital was Nandi-Vardhana near Ramtek some thirty miles to the north of Nagpur.

Narendrasena, the crown-prince, married Ajitabhaṭṭārikā, a Kadamba princess, perhaps to strengthen the position of his house. The name of the father of the Kadamba princess is not known, but very probably he was Kakutsthavarman who is known to have married his daughters in Gupta and 'other royal families'. This marriage shows that during his time there were cordial relations among the Kadambas, the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas. His rule lasted nearly thirty years and he was succeeded by his son Narendrasena in A.D. 445.

Narendrasena (445–465): We have no records of the Narendrasena's reign. We have to rely upon a few expressions in his son's Balaghat plates for the history of his times. Narendrasena's bitter enemy was Bhavadattavarman of the Nala family ruling in Bastar region. Bhavadattavarman temporarily succeeded in occupying a

large part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and penetrating up to Nandi-Vardhana. But Narendrasena not only succeeded in driving his enemy out, but took advantage of the difficulties of the imperial Guptas due to Hun inroads to enter Mālwa and occupy a part, if not the whole of it. Mekalā and Kosala passed under his rule for a time. Narendrasena was a worthy efficient ruler. His relations with the branch family ruling at Bāsīm seem to have been normally peaceful and cordial.

His son Pṛithivīsheṇa II (465–485) is the last known king of the main line. He had to retrieve the fortunes of his family twice, the enemies being certainly the Nalas and perhaps also the Traikūṭakas of Southern Gujarāt. It seems that he left no sons to succeed him and the leadership of the Vākāṭaka family passed to king Harisheṇa of the Bāsīm branch.

Harisheṇa (480–515): He was the most ambitious and powerful ruler of the Bāsīm line. As has already been indicated he became ruler over the territories of the Bāsīm line as well as those previously held by the senior Vākāṭaka dynasty. His empire, which included Gujarāt, Mālwa, Southern Kosala and Kuntala besides the home territory in Berar and M.P. and the northern part of quondam Hyderabad State, was thus wider in extent than that of Pravarasena I. Such expansion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom became possible because during the period when Harisheṇa ruled there was great confusion owing to the disintegration of the Gupta empire. Harisheṇa stepped in at the opportune time to establish his own sovereignty over territories that slipped out of Gupta control as is actually claimed in the Ajantā record. Harishena probably conquered the Traikūṭaka territory. That was the time when the Vishṇukuṇḍins were slowly rising to power; probably the second ruler of this house, king Vikramendra may have thought it discreet to recognize the suzerainty of Harisheṇa. He however strengthened the relation by marrying his son Mādhavavarman I to a Vākāṭaka princess, probably a grand-daughter of Harishena. The Vākāṭaka kingdom was at the zenith of its influence, prestige and power at the death of Harisheṇa. The Vākāṭaka power came to an end between A.D. 515 and 550 after which the Deccan passed under the sway of the Chālukyas. During the weak rule of the successor (or successors) of Harisheṇa, the Kadambas of Karnāṭaka, the Kalachuris of northern Mahārāshṭra, the Nalas of the Bastar State managed to absorb

most of the Vākāṭaka territory. However, none of these powers was able to build up an empire embracing the whole of the Deccan. How the Chālukyas managed to defeat each of these powers in turn and build up their empire will be narrated in a later chapter.

KADAMBAS: The Kadambas were a brāhmin family of the Mānavya *gotra* claiming descent from Hārīti. They rose to power in the south-west of the Deccan about the middle of the fourth century when the Pallava power had been weakened by Samudra Gupta's invasion.

The historical origin of the Kadambas is given in the Tālagunda (Shimoga district, Mysore) pillar inscription of Kakutsthavarman (430–450), the fifth Kadamba sovereign. We do not know why they called themselves Kadambas. But it is said that because the Kadamba tree grew near their house they were called Kadambas. Tamil literature refers to one Imayavaramban Neḍuñjeral Ādan of the second half of the second century A.D. as having destroyed the Kadamba tree, the guardian tree of his enemies, and made a war-drum out of its trunk. ('Ten Tens', Second Ten by Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanār.) It is not clear whether the Kadamba dynasty who ruled some centuries later in Banavāsi and other places had any connection with this enemy of Śeral Ādan. According to the story given in the Tālagunda pillar inscription Mayūraśarman (345–370) went to Kāñchī, the Pallava capital, for his Vedic studies where he was insulted by a Pallava horseman. In consequence of this quarrel Mayūraśarman resolved to pursue a martial career. He overpowered the Pallava officials on the northern frontier and entrenched himself in the forests round about Śrīśailam for levying tribute from the Bṛihadbāṇas and other Pallava feudatories. The Pallavas failing to put him down, made peace with him and conceded him the sovereignty of some territory along the west coast round about Vaijayantī also known as Banavāsi (c. A.D. 345).

The Kadamba dynasty consisted of thirteen rulers, who may roughly be assigned the period (345–610). Mayūraśarman's son Kangavarman (370–395) offered a fairly successful resistance to the Vākāṭaka invasion by Vindhyaśakti II of the Bāsīm branch, but he lost some territory to him. The Kadamba records show that Pālāśikā (Halsi) in the Belgaum district became a secondary capital of the Kadambas. The Kadambas of the later age had for their chief cities Pānumgal or Hangal in the Dharwar district and Gopakapaṭṭina or modern Goa.

Kakutsthavarman (430–450) was one of the great rulers of the line. He gave his daughters in marriage to princes of many important royal families including the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and Western Gangas. The Guptas are supposed to have been Vaiśyas and as the Kadambas were brāhmins these would be *pratiloma* marriages.

Śāntivarman and His Successors (450–475): Śāntivarman, son of Kakutsthavarman met the danger from the Pallavas, not of Kāñchī but some other branch, by making the southern part of the kingdom a separate charge under his younger brother Kṛishṇavarman I, who performed a horse sacrifice but lost his life in Pallava war. Kṛishṇavarman's son Vishṇuvarman was obliged to accept investiture from the enemy.

Śāntivarman's son Mṛigeśavarman fought successfully against the Pallavas and Gangas. He was a scholar and an expert in breeding horses and elephants. He was favourably disposed towards Jainism and built Jain temples at Pālāśikā in memory of his father. His son Ravivarman restored the unity of the Kadamba kingdom by killing Vishṇuvarman in battle and driving out the Pallava aggressor, Chaṇḍadaṇḍa by name. Ravivarman was followed by his son Harivarman in 538. He was a man of peace but had to face the aggression of Pulakeśin I, the rising Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi.

The feud between the elder and younger branches of the Kadambas was renewed by Kṛishṇavarman II who actually invaded Vaijayantī and put an end to the rule of Harivarman of the older branch. Either Kṛishṇavarman II himself or his son Ajavarman must have been ruling Banavāsi at the time of its conquest by Kīrtivarman I, the son of Pulakeśin I.

Western Gangas: Between the Kadamba kingdom on the west and the Pallava on the east lay the Western Gangas in the southern part of Mysore country. This region has come to be called the Gangavāḍi. The founder of the family was Kongaṇivarman who belonged to the Kāṇvāyana *gotra*. He had the title *Dharma-mahārāja* which implies independent status. But a later tradition says that he was anointed apparently by the Pallavas of Kāñchī for the conquest of the Baṇas, his neighbours to the north-east. Kongaṇivarman may be placed about A.D. 400. He had for his capital Kolār and his crest was the elephant. Talakāḍ on the Kāverī situated near the hostile frontier of the Kadambas became the capital later.

Konganivarman's son and successor was Mādhava I Mahādhirāja (A.D. 425). He was proficient in the science of politics. There is a doubtful tradition that he was the author of a gloss on the *Dattakasūtra,* a treatise on erotics which Dattaka is said to have composed at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra.

Mādhava I was succeeded by his son Āryavarman (c. A.D. 450). He was a great warrior and scholar who was anointed by the Pallava Siṁhavarman I of Kāñchī. This appears to have been a result of the feud between Āryavarman and his younger brother Kṛishṇavarman. On appeal to Siṁhavarman I, he virtually divided the kingdom between the two brothers. According to the later inscriptions Āryavarman is called Harivarman who removed his capital to Talakāḍ. The brothers named their sons Siṁhavarman and the division of the country continued under them also. Āryavarman's son was Mādhava II (Siṁhavarman) who was anointed by the Pallava Skandavarman. His queen was a sister of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman I. The child of this union was Avinīta, who was called to the throne as a baby (about A.D. 500). Avinīta had a long life and his reign extended far beyond the chronological limit of this chapter. The Gangas ruled a greater part of Mysore from the second to the eleventh century. A branch of the Gangas ruled in Orissa for about 1,000 years from the sixth to the sixteenth century.

TAMIL COUNTRY: For the period under review the Tamil country has practically no history. After the Śangam age there is a long historical night and at the dawn of a new day towards the later half of the sixth century A.D. we find a tribe named Kalabhras holding sway everywhere having upset 'numberless *adhirājas*'. The origin of the Kalabhras is shrouded in mystery. They are usually described as evil kings (*kali-araśan*) and regarded as enemies of civilization. We learn from the Buddhist books of Buddhadatta, that Achchutavikkanta (Achyuta-vikrānta) of the Kalabbakula (Kalabhrakula) ruled in the Chola country and patronized Buddhism liberally. This accounts partly for the general hostility to the Kalabhras. According to late literary tradition in Tamil Achyuta-vikrānta kept in confinement the three crowned kings of the Tamil land, Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya. Amitasāgara, a Jaina grammarian of Tamil (tenth century A.D.), cites some songs about

him. There is no doubt that Achchuta was a Buddhist. The Kalabhra rule came to an end when in the middle of sixth century there was a simultaneous resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas.

Government and Society

The Disappearance of Republican States: At the beginning of the fourth century there were several republican States, but at the close of it they had disappeared almost completely. The reason for this is to be sought more in the tendency for offices to become hereditary under the influence of monarchical institutions than in the hostility of Gupta imperialism to those States. It has already been noted that the marriage of Kumāradevī of the republican Licchavis with the Gupta king of Magadha led to a merger of their States. This may be taken as a typical example of what happened all over Northern India in the fourth century A.D. Details available to the historian are too few to help him to present a clear picture of the actual working of the republican constitutions.

Monarchies: The extent to which the term *rāshṭra* or *deśa* may be regarded as the equivalent of the abstract idea of the State as employed in the West is at present difficult to decide. But it is clear that our ancient theorists comprehended many of the elements that compose the State and are central to a definition of sovereignty. The scriptures present the human and secular view of kingship as well as that of elevating it to divine stature. It should be noted that the Hindu king never enjoyed the immunities that accompanied the European concept of the divine right of kings. Any king who had the slightest claim to an imperial position might have, after the fashion of the Kushāṇas, used high sounding titles, but the king was never looked upon as god; his functions were, however, compared to those of the gods.

Inscriptions bear clear testimony to the observance in practice of the precepts regarding the education and training of princes, the need for self-discipline in the monarch, and for industry and devotion to the welfare of the subjects on his part. The king was responsible for *dharma* which included the system of social duties, good custom, the Vedic tradition and the example of the virtuous.

The narrative of political history provides instances of kings who strove to live up to this ideal.

The eldest son of the ruling king was generally recognized as *Yuvarāja* (heir apparent) and put in charge of important duties. There were, however, departures from this, as in the case of Samudra Gupta's choice of Chandra Gupta II, for safeguarding the interests of the State. The employment of other princes of the royal blood in important official posts was common but at times it resulted in strife or disruption. Women could become rulers or regents but instances are rare: Kumāradevī of the Licchavis and the Vākāṭaka queen, Prabhāvatī-guptā and possibly also Chārudevī, wife of *Yuvarāja* Buddhavarman (Pallava) who issues a grant by herself may be cited.

Administration

The king was the mainspring of the administration. All officers, even the highest ministers and generals, held office at his pleasure. There were secretaries to note down the king's oral orders, put them into proper shape and forward them to concerned officers for being carried out. The government was thus personal, but by no means autocratic. Almost all the functions of government, other than defence and foreign relations were decentralized as far as possible.

There was practically no concentration of authority at the centre; authority was really located in caste system, guilds, religious tradition, the teaching and example of the sages, and the village council, as well as in provincial and central governments. There was, however, intervention by the central government when these organizations were unable to settle internal disputes.

Neither Kauṭilya's exaltation of royal edicts above other sources of law, nor the Nāradasmṛiti's unrestricted absolutism of the king is repeated by other writers on polity. This is not referred to in the *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*, the Tamil works or other treatises and commentaries on polity. Śukra insists that recommendations made by the ministers should be accepted by the king. Thus references to absolute powers of the king tended to fall into desuetude.

Deśa, *bhukti* and *vishaya* were apparently the designations of administrative divisions of the Gupta empire in the descending order of their extent. There were provincial governors who controlled the general administration and supervised the activities of the feudatories in each province. Gupta inscriptions do not give sufficient

information on many aspects of administration and so it is not possible to reconstruct a complete account of taxation and finance, army organization and so on. But the administrative efficiency of the Guptas must have been very high to be still regarded as a model of good government in much later times.

The most salient feature of the Gupta rule is personal liberty. The subject was left largely to follow his own intentions and was allowed ample freedom for creative activity. That the people were generally happy is the impression we get from Fa-hien's account of India.

FA-HIEN'S OBSERVATIONS: Fa-hien left China in 399 for India in order to procure the authentic texts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (the basket of discipline), a part of the Buddhist canon. He reached India by the valley of the Swat, Taxila and Peshawar. He spent about ten years (A.D. 401–410) in the Gupta empire and his observations though coloured by his dominant interest in Buddhism are of great value to an understanding of the period.

He observed rich and populous monasteries to which students of Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna were attracted from all countries. On his route from the frontier to Pāṭaliputra he found Buddhism flourishing in the valley of the Jumna. At Mathurā he counted as many as twenty monasteries with about 3,000 monks. The government appeared to him to be lenient. The people were free to come and go without passports. Taxes were based on the richness of each locality. Soldiers and officials received their regular salaries. Offences were punished only by fines; capital punishment was rare and even mutilation was confined only to cases of obstinate rebellion. Public morality was high, and unlike Hiuen Tsang at a later time, he was never molested in the course of his long journey in India. In Magadha he found many rich towns and there were lodging houses for travellers. There were hospitals maintained by the rich. He writes as if Buddhist customs were universally observed, and says: 'They do not kill animals, and do not drink wine or eat onions or garlic, there are neither butchers' shops nor taverns in the market place'. Though *ahiṁsā* was becoming deep-rooted in the Indian mind, it is not improbable that departures from the rules observed by Fa-hien were many. The *chaṇḍāla* was looked down upon for the impurity of his habits, and he had to warn people of his approach by striking a piece of wood on the ground.

The available evidence shows that the Vākāṭaka empire in the Deccan was more united and centralized than was the case with the Sātavāhanas. The Vākāṭakas generally continued the administrative systems and practices of the Sātavāhanas. Ministers are rarely referred to in the Vākāṭaka records but the Ajantā record indicates that some of the ministers held hereditary offices and that all of them were usually well trained in the sciences of politics and warfare. The Prime Minister was given the title of *Sarvādhyaksha.*

The Prākṛit charters of the early Pallavas give some details worthy of note, and these are repeated generally with variations in the Kadamba and Ganga charters as well, the Ganga kingdom being, however, the smallest and its organization the simplest of them all. *Vishaya*, *rāshṭra* and *bhoga* were the names of the territorial divisions in the descending order. Different classes of district officials are mentioned, but the exact scope of their functions cannot be madė out.

There is evidence of a strong military and police organization. The manufacture of salt and sugar was a royal monopoly. Land was the main source of revenue and import duty was another. Draught cattle, milk, grass, firewood and vegetables had to be furnished gratis by the villagers to royal officers on tour. Forced labour was in use. Land given to learned brāhmins (*brahmadeya*) was usually exempted from all taxes and imposts and interference by royal officials and constabulary. But it is interesting to note that even the brāhmin donees of the copper plate grants were not permitted to be a law to themselves. Specific conditions were laid down in some of the grants; if these were unfulfilled, the State had the right to resume the grant without any moral or spiritual compunction.

Social Condition: The caste system was still fluid in character and inter-caste marriages among royal families have already been noticed. Such marriages might have been practised, though only exceptionally, among the common folk. Inter-marriages undoubtedly played a great part in securing the absorption of foreign tribals like the Hūnas in Hindu society. They must have naturally led to interdining. As regards food, the *smṛitis* of the period forbid only eating with śūdras, but even here Yājñavalkya makes an exception in favour of one's farmer, barber, milkman and family friend.

Professions were not strictly determined by caste. Brāhmins took to arms, trade and architecture. There were several brāhmin dynasties of rulers, brāhmins were commanders of armies and officials in the various grades of the civil administration of the land. The army was no longer confined to the kshatriyas; it was open to the vaiśyas and śūdras as well. There were Kshatriyas who practised trade and the chief officers of the guild of oilmen are expressly described as kshatriyas in a fifth century record. The old rule that the śūdras should be content to serve the twice born was no longer prevalent in practice. They became traders, artisans and agriculturists and the law books of the time allow it. However, the brāhmins and kshatriyas were still the natural aristocracy of the land and enjoyed social pre-eminence.

The joint family was the unit of society. Sometimes members of two or three generations of the family lived under the same roof. When the family divided, the property was shared equally among the sons. The preferential share of the eldest son was no longer insisted on so much as before. The widow got a life-interest in her husband's share if the property was divided at the time of his death, otherwise she was entitled only to a maintenance in the family. In this period women appear to have suffered a set-back. They could not move about freely; the age of marriage became lower. Pre-puberty marriage being common, women were excluded from initiation into Vedic studies (*upanayana*). *Satī* was very rare, almost the only recorded instance in the age being that of Goparāja's wife in A.D. 510.

Slavery was known but it was so mild in its incidence that it escaped the notice of a foreigner travelling in the country.

Food, Dress and Pastimes

Although Fa-hien says that no living thing was killed in the country, meat-eating must have been common for the *smṛitis* of the time enjoin it at *śrāddha*. Intoxicating drinks were also in use; the rich drank imported drinks and the poor indigenous drinks. The dress of the people particularly in the north was affected by foreign models. The coats, overcoats and trousers and caps introduced by Scythians became fashionable among Indian kings. The effigies of Gupta emperors on their coins bear testimony to the changing fashion in dress. There were, however, many who stuck to the national dress of a *dhoti*, held by a sash and an upper garment

with a head-dress for ceremonial occasions. Women appear to have been conservative for they did not imitate the jackets, blouses and frocks of the Scythian women. They were, however, used by danseuses. Cotton was the common stuff for garments, silk being exception.

A fair idea of the variety and gracefulness of the ornaments worn by women can be had from the sculptures and painting of the time. Particularly striking are the different patterns of necklaces of gold and pearls and of zones (*mekhalās*) that were in vogue in those days. Men too wore rings for ears and fingers and armlets (*keyūras*) and other ornaments. The Ajantā paintings show graceful fashions of hair-dressing of the time, so do the terra-cotta figures. The use of paints, pastes and lipsticks was not unknown.

Dice and chess were favourite indoor games; hunting, ram-fights and cock-fights were popular. Children and women played with balls (*kanduka*). Fairs, shows, and dramas added colour to life in the country.

Trade and Industry

These were organized in guilds as ever in India. Some guilds combined banking operations, so as to secure working capital for themselves. The affairs of the guild were managed by a president and a small executive committee. At Basarh scores of seals and sealings of the end of the fourth century A.D. have been found. These were the belongings of a joint guild of bankers, traders and transport merchants with branches in towns and cities all over northern India. These seals show that every time an article or letter was despatched under a seal, the seal of the private individual was also used in addition to the common seal of the guild. There is a reference to a guild of weavers who migrated from Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt) to Daśapura (Mandasor), they erected a temple of the Sun there in A.D. 437. We understand that some of the members of the guild were well versed in folk lore, some in astrology and some in warfare. It is clear that in an emergency a big guild could raise militia from its own members and employees for the protection of its merchandise and other property.

The Vaiśya community was prosperous. Its leaders were prominent in the town and district councils. The principal articles of internal trade were cloth of many varieties, food grains, spices, salt, bullion, and precious stones. Important trade centres were

connected by roads; river traffic was also well organized along the great rivers. 'There were brisk commercial relations with the foreign countries on the west, by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea as well as the land routes converging on Palmyra and Petra. Ships big enough to carry 500 men on the high seas were engaged in the trade with the colonies in the East. Indian embassies visited the Roman empire in the reigns of Aurelian, Constantine, Julian and Justinian, and Alexandria became an important meeting place for Indians and Romans. Some Brāhmins visited that city in A.D. 470 and lodged in the house of Consul Severus. Hindu temples in the upper Euphrates valley which owed their existence to an Indian colony in that region were destroyed by the zealous St. Gregory early in our period in A.D. 304, in spite of the heroic defence put up by the Indians'.[3]

Education and Literature

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE GUPTAS: The Gupta period is often compared to the Periclean age of Greece or the Elizabethan age of England. It was indeed a Golden Age of Florescence. There was a phenomenal intellectual and artistic activity in the age which may well be regarded as the culmination of Indian efforts of the previous periods. Among the factors that contributed to the glory of this period must be mentioned the peace that prevailed and the vast resources which the Gupta emperors had at their disposal to give a fillip to the educational, literary and artistic progress of the country, the influence of which was felt long after the decadence of the Gupta empire. It still continues to revive happy memories of the past.

Education

We get no authentic details of the methods of elementary education that prevailed in the Gupta period. It is clear that training in the technical arts went on in the homes of the artisans. The monuments, including monolithic columns, sculptures, paintings and inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to the great skill attained in the useful and fine arts in the Gupta period. The celebrated iron pillar at Delhi, erected by Kumāra Gupta I in A.D. 415 in honour of his father, testifies to the efficient metallurgy of the time. It is

[3] K. A. N. Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, pp. 170–71.

about 24 ft. in height, 16 ins. in diameter and weighs about six tons. This pillar in spite of exposure to rain and sun for over 1,500 years does not betrary any noticeable sign of rusting or corrosion. Even today there are comparatively few foundries in the world where a similar mass of metal could be handled. There is another colossal pillar broken into three pieces belonging to the same period at Dhar in Central India.

We have authentic information about higher education both secular and religious. Numerous grants to learned brāhmins have been found all over the country. The recipients of these grants were expected to maintain and develop the traditional learning and culture by imparting it to the rising generation of scholars. They also indicate appreciation by the donors of the character and attainments of the teachers of those days. The brāhmins of the age were generally wedded to plain living and high thinking and faithfully discharged the trust that society placed in them. Most of the *agrahāra* villages were centres of higher education. Big cities and holy places like Banares, Mathurā, Nāsik and Kāñchī were reputed places of learning. Kāñchī especially was a celebrated centre of Hindu and Buddhist learning. Mayūrasarman went to the Ghaṭikā (college) there for getting the final touch put on his Vedic studies; and Dharmapāla, the head of the famous university of Nālandā in the sixth century, hailed from this city. In this period Taxila seems to have declined in importance because of the impact of foreign rule. Nālandā and Valabhī were rising into great prominence and gaining an international position for themselves, which they held for a long time after the Gupta age. The curricula of studies in these universities included *Vedas*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas*, *Smṛitis*, *Grammar*, *Logic* and *all Systems of Philosophy*, *astronomy* and *astrology*.

Sanskrit

The Gupta age witnessed a dominance of Sanskrit, which was generally recognized as the State language and the language of culture. The future of the language was assured by the work of 'The three Munis' (Pāṇini, Kātyāyana or Vararuchi, and Patañjali) which made it a rich, accurate and flexible medium of thought and expression. At a time when people tended to develop different languages, Sanskrit gained importance as the *lingua franca*. It became the language of the Mahāyānists. Although the Hīnayānists,

Buddhists and Jains continued to use Prākṛit, they had to change over to Sanskrit in recognition of the force of the new trend. The imperial Guptas, though they were Vaiśyas, showed their love of Sanskrit not only by making it the official language of their extensive empire but by enjoining the use of it even by the queens and princesses of their household. As a result of their patronage there was a remarkable efflorescence in Sanskrit literature.

Kālidāsa

The towering genius of the age is Kālidāsa. He is recognized as one of the world's greatest poets. It is unfortunate that we do not have sufficient details of his life; even his date cannot be settled decisively. Tradition associates the nine gems of Sanskrit literature with Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the most brilliant among them being Kālidāsa, 'the prince of Sanskrit poets and dramatists'. The description of the monarch fits the Gupta emperor Chandra Gupta II very well, but some scholars associate Kālidāsa with the legendary Vikramāditya of the first century B.C., on the ground that Aśvaghosha borrowed from Kālidāsa and that *Mālavikāgnimitra* places Kālidāsa near the age of the Śungas rather than in the Gupta times. But the political geography of Raghu's *digvijaya* in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, particularly the location of the Hūnas on the Oxus (Vankshu), the location of the abode of the banished Yaksha in the *Meghadūta* at Rāmagiri in Central India, and the name of the poem *Kumārasambhava*, which recalled the birth of Kumāra Gupta I as the son of Vikramāditya, are all best explained by placing the poet in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period, towards the close of the reign of Chandra Gupta II and in that of Kumāra Gupta I. The detailed knowledge of the geography and folklore of Mālwa displayed by Kālidāsa indicates that he might have been a native of that region. That he revised the Prākṛit poem *Setubandha* of Pravarasena II Vākāṭaka may well be correct.

Kālidāsa's chief poems are the *Raghuvaṁśa*, or 'story of the Race of Raghu', the *Kumārasambhava* or 'Birth of the War-god', the *Ṛitusaṁhāra* or 'Cycle of Seasons', and the *Meghadūta* or 'Cloud Messenger', a lyrical gem which won the admiration of Goethe. The dramas of the period pale into insignificance before those of Kālidāsa who is described as the Indian Shakespeare. Of Kālidāsa's three plays *Mālavikāgnimitra* or 'The Friendship of Mālavikā and Agnimitra', *Vikramorvasī* or 'Urvasī won by valour', and *Śakuntalā*;

the last is recognized on all hands to be the greatest of all the classical Sanskrit dramas. Vivid portraiture, compact and elegant expression and an ardent love of Nature, mark his poems and dramas.

Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta

Śūdraka's *Mṛicchakaṭika* (The Toy-cart of Clay) is a superb social drama, notable for the fine humour of some of its scenes and the deep pathos of others. He describes himself as a king but history does not mention him as such.

Viśākhadatta was fond of political themes for his plays. His *Mudrā-Rākshasa* deals with the political revolution that inaugurated the Mauryan empire. The other play of Viśākhadatta is *Debī-Chandraguptam* known from only citations in rhetorical works.

Other Poets

Towards the close of the period came Bhāravi, the author of *Kirātārjunīya* (the hunter and Arjuna). This is an epic poem in which Śiva appears before Arjuna as a hunter in response to his penance and bestows on him *pāśupatāstra*. *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇa-vadha* of Bhaṭṭi illustrates the rules of grammar, while narrating the life of Rāma.

Only less famous than Kālidāsa as a lyrical, and erotic writer was Bhartṛihari, whose *Three Śatakas* or 'Centuries' are full of charming epigrams on policy, love and renunciation. *Vākyapadīya*, a work on grammar, is doubtfully ascribed to him.

The language of the inscriptions of the period has claims to literary merit; the most notable poets among their authors being Harisheṇa, author of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudra Gupta, Vāsula the panegyrist of Yaśodharman, Vatsabhaṭṭi of the Mandasor *praśasti* of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman of Mālwa, and Kubja of the Talgunda inscription of the Kadambas who evinces a remarkable mastery over complicated metres.

The Purāṇas and Other Works

The Purāṇas received their final shape in this period. The *Smṛitis* of Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Kātyāyana and Bṛihaspati most probably belonged to this period. Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* summarizes Kauṭilya's earlier work on the subject. *Chandra-Vyākaraṇa* written

by Chandragomin of Bengal has been recovered from a Tibetan translation. Amarasiṁha was another writer who wrote the most popular lexicon, *Amarakosha*.

Mathematics and Astronomy

Āryabhaṭa was a great mathematician who was born in A.D. 476 at Pāṭaliputra. He systematized the earlier algebraic knowledge of the Hindus. In his *Āryabhaṭīya* he described the principle of the place value of the first nine numbers and the use of the zero. His value for π is far more accurate than any suggested before. His works show similar progress in Algebra and Trigonometry. He was well acquainted with the contemporary Greek astronomy of Alexandria and with the methods of procedure in India. He made researches in astronomy and came to independent conclusions. He explained the true cause of eclipses and the methods of calculating them precisely. All these he did when he was only twenty-three years of age. Hindu astronomers had discovered that heavenly bodies were spherical and shone by reflected light. They were aware of the diurnal motion of the earth on its axis and had calculated its diameter.

A name second only to that of Āryabhaṭa in Indian astronomy was Varāhamihira. His *Pañchasiddhāntikā* describes the five systems of astronomy that were in use in his time. He also wrote *Bṛihajjātaka* and *Laghu-jātaka*, works on astrology, and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, a cyclopaedia of the technical sciences like architecture, metallurgy, physiognomy, physiography and so on. Varāhamihira pays a tribute to Greek astronomers by saying that they deserve as much respect as our own ṛishis. It must be pointed out that, in all cases of such borrowings in astronomy, the Hindus took care to test what they received and arrived at independent results usually regarded as more reliable.

Medicine

The *Ashṭānga-saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa, a systematic summary of Charaka (c. sixth to fourth century B.C. ?) and Susruta (early Christian era); the *Navanītakam*, an anonymous manual of recipes, discovered in Eastern Turkestan and known as the Bower manuscript from its discoverer, and the *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya, a treatise on the diseases of elephants and their treatment, show the progress in medicine during the period.

By the first and second century A.D. surgery was a well-developed art in India. Many instruments were devised of which 127 are mentioned. Ray in his *History of Hindu Chemistry* shows that the Hindu was the first in the world to advocate the internal use of mercury. It is mentioned by Varāhamihira along with iron. The Hindu surgeons performed lithotomy and could remove the external matter accidentally introduced into the body, e.g. iron, stones, etc.

Philosophy

Sabarasvāmin's great *Bhāshya* on the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras* comes early in our period. In his hands *Mīmāṁsā* is elevated from mere ritualistics into a complete system of philosophy. Another great philosopher belonging to the early part of this period is Upavarsha. Early in the fourth century Īśvarakṛishṇa in his *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* formulated the Sāṁkhya philosophy. About the same time came *Vyāsa-Bhāshya* on the *Yoga-sūtras* of Patañjali. Towards the close of the fourth century should be placed the *Nyāyabhāshya* of Vātsyāyana. The *Bhāshya* of Praśastapāda on *Vaiśeshika sūtras* came a little later. The basic tenet of Vaiśeshika held in common with Jainism and some schools of Buddhism was about nature is atomic.

Buddhism counts many celebrated Hīnayāna authors like Buddhaghosha, Buddhadatta, and Vasubandhu. The *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra and the *Divyāvadāna* also belonged to it. Great Mahāyāna teachers like Asanga, Vasubandhu and Dinnāga lived in this period. The polemic zest of these authors in their refutation of rival systems anticipated much of the method and thought of the great teachers of Advaita philosophy in the next age, Gauḍapāda and Śaṁkara.

In this age began a long philosophical debate in which all schools without exception took part. This debate continued for many centuries till about the end of the eighteenth century A.D. The Jaina canon was once more put in order by councils of Mathurā and Valabhī in A.D. 313 and by another council in Valabhī in A.D. 453. Commentaries on the sacred texts known as *niryuktis* and *chūrṇīs* came to be written by different writers. The original writers on doctrine, Umāsvāti and Siddhasena, wrote in Sanskrit. The former wrote *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* and the latter *Nyāyāvatāra*.

In the Deccan and South India: The Vākāṭaka period, roughly from A.D. 250–550, coincides with the golden and creative period of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Not far from the boundary of the kingdom had lived a little earlier the famous Mahāyāna philosopher, Nāgārjuna, at Nāgārjunakonda on the bank of the Kṛishnā. By founding the Śūnyavāda he infused a new life into Buddhism and helped the eventual development of the Advaita school in the Hindu Vedānta. A number of books were written in Sanskrit and Prākṛit on various subjects during the Vākāṭaka period, but very few of them can be definitely assigned to authors belonging to the Deccan. It is very likely that Kālidāsa lived for some time in the Vākāṭaka court and we may well presume that part of his *Meghadūta* was composed there. The only work, that can be definitely ascribed to the Deccan of the Vākāṭaka age, is the Prākṛit poem *Setubandha* to which a reference has already been made.

In the Tamil country Jainism was very prominent. According to tradition Vajranandi was the founder of a new *sangha* in Madura (c. A.D. 470). Some of the minor treatises in poems were written in this period. The most celebrated among them is the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar. These books together with some later works of a similar nature have come to be grouped in course of time as the *Eighteen Minor Works* (*Padineṇkīlk-kaṇakku*), perhaps because of the shortness of the stanzas employed in them.

Religion and Art

In this period Hinduism slowly and peacefully gained a larger place in the affections of the people as against Buddhism or Jainism. All these religions competed for popular patronage adopting pomp and display in the conduct of the daily worship in temples and of their periodical *yātras* and festivals. Hinduism, which at the start imitated Buddhist models, soon outstripped Buddhism and Jainism in capturing the imagination of the people. Even the colourful features of Mahāyāna could not hold their own against the new developments in Hinduism. Although there were differences among these rival religions it must be said that the Gupta period was marked by a spirit of tolerance and harmony in social relations. This is quite in contrast to the occurrences in the succeeding epoch. There are instances of Hindu rulers patronizing Jain and Buddhist authors and institutions. Some of the women of the Ikshvāku family

belonging to Buddhism gave endowments to brāhmins. The characteristic feature of the development of Hinduism in this period was a successful attempt at a synthesis between the Vedic religion of sacrifice and the new developments of theistic *bhakti*. Members of the same family often followed different religions according to their individual bents, for example, the first three rulers of Valabhī were *Māheśvaras*, the fourth a *Bhāgavata*, and the fifth an *Ādityabhakta* (Sun-worshipper). The inscriptions of the time afford many other similar instances.

There is evidence to show that *Purāṇic* Hinduism was growing in popularity. The Bhāraśiva-Nāgas of Padmāvatī performed ten *aśvamedhas* indeed, but carried on their persons the emblems of Śiva, and not the *yūpa*. Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II believed that he owned his prosperity to god Chakrapāṇi.

The Guptas were Vaishṇavites, and Vaishṇavism seems to have been generally more in vogue than Śaivism. This was the time when in the south the first three Alvars, Poygai, Pudam and Pey, popularized the creed by their simple devotional songs in Tamil. The inscriptions of the time mention frequently Vishṇu temples, and among the *avatāras* those of Varāha and Kṛishṇa provided themes for sculpture and art. In this age Rāma is not so much in evidence as Kṛishṇa. Śiva was represented in human form as on Kushāṇa coins and by means of *lingas* which sometimes bear one or four faces. The Pāśupata founded by Lakulīśa (c. A.D. 150) and characterized by extreme ascetic practices was becoming popular. There is a sculpture in Mathurā depicting a devotee offering his own head to Śiva. This motif is often repeated in Pallava sculptures of the next epoch. Images of *Mahishāsuramardaṇī* have been found in Udayagiri and Bhumra in Central India.

Popular religion included worship of Yakshas and Nāgas. Pilgrimages to holy places scattered all over India were common. The daily life of the orthodox house-holder included the three *sandhyā* prayers besides the five *mahāyajñas*, and the rites and ceremonies (*saṁskāras*) at critical points of life like birth, marriage, and so on. The people in general observed *vratas*, ceremonial fasts, and other observances on prescribed days or for particular objects. The strongholds of Buddhism in this period were Kashmir, Afghanistan and the Punjab. Other important centres were Sārnāth, Pāhārpur, Ajantā, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Kāñchī and Nālandā. Mathurā and Bodh Gayā continued to be important

centres of Buddhism. Buddhist schools and temples in the Western Ghats continued to be occupied and attracted patrons up to the fifth century A.D. The practice of admitting nuns into the order was no longer allowed in Buddhaghosha's time (c. A.D. 500).

GUPTA ART AND ARCHITECTURE: Gupta Art and Architecture have suffered severely from the ravages of time and of the Hun and Muslim raiders, with the result that only a few specimens have survived. Those that have been preserved clearly show the high level of excellence which the allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting attained during the Gupta period. One reason why so much has perished is because the buildings were mostly of painted and lacquered wood incapable of withstanding the ravages of time.

Gupta architecture is represented by many brick temples in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. That of Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district is the most notable for its well-preserved and moulded bricks of excellent design. The temple has a pyramidal roof and its walls are decorated with terra-cotta panels representing mythological scenes. Stone temples of the age are few; they are unpretentious flat-roofed structures without steeples of any kind. The characteristics of Gupta temples are flat-roofs, short pillars and massive square capitals. This is the period when temples containing the images of gods and those of the Buddha began to make their appearance. The earliest of these are the little Hindu shrines at Sāñchī, Eran and Tigowa. The masonry of these temples is excellent, the stones being finely dressed and held together with no mortar. The Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh forms a transition to the later style with high *śikharas*. Its sculptured panels were the most superb of their kind. The plan of the temple derived its main feature from the *stūpa* adapted to the requirements of the Hindu temple.

In the south the earliest known temple-complexes in brick have been excavated recently (1959) at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. They comprise shrines with *ardha* and *mahā-maṇḍapas* in one axial line, *prākāra*, *gopura*, *dhvajastambha*, etc. even at this early date. The main shrines are generally apsidal, though square in one or two instances—an indication that temple forms were common to all creeds. The Kapoteśvara temple at Chezārala (fourth century A.D.) is a Hindu temple with an apsidal plan, because it is a converted Buddhist *chaitya*.

The Dhamek *stūpa* at Sārnāth belongs to this period or a little later. It is 128 ft. in height and has four niches for Buddha images at the cardinal points. Its decorative work comprises scrolls, and geometric patterns which have evoked high praise.

Ajantā takes the next place in rock architecture of the time. Vihāra caves XVI and XVII came into existence in the last quarter of the fifth century at the instance of a minister and feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Harisheṇa. The Vākāṭakas made notable contributions to the gallery of cave temples and paintings of Ajantā.

Sculpture and Painting

In the realm of sculpture and painting Gupta art marks the highest reach of the Indian genius. Its influence radiated all over India and beyond. Its keynote is balance and freedom from convention. It is thoroughly Indian in spirit and 'strikes the mean between the riotous naturalism of the earlier schools and the bizarre symbolism of mediaeval art'. It is marked by classic restraint, a highly developed taste and deep aesthetic feeling. Its ideal was the combination of beauty and virtue. The narrative paintings at Ajantā reveal several aspects of contemporary life and depict charming and delicate scenes of home and palace life, toilet and sports, festivities and processions. The Great Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi in Cave I is regarded as 'the very acme in Asiatic pictorial art'. It belongs to the group of latest paintings of the series, perhaps of the early seventh century. The paintings in the Bagh caves in Mālwa form an extension of the Ajantā school to secular themes like the musical dance (*hallīsaka*) acted by a troupe of women led by a man. Among the fine sculptures of the age, the seated preaching Buddha of Sārnāth, the standing Buddha of Mathurā, and the colossal copper statue of Buddha, 7½ ft. in height, from Sultanganj (now in the Birmingham Museum) are the leading examples which fully conform to the artistic canons of this enlightened age. As Smith observes the physical beauty of the figures, the gracious dignity of their attitude and the refined restraint of the treatment are qualities not to be found elsewhere in Indian sculpture in the same degree. These Buddha images are quite independent of all foreign influences and are the fruits of the maturity of the Indian art in harmony with its aesthetic and spiritual ideals. The same features may be observed in the Hindu images like the Mukha-linga from

Khoh and the Vishṇu from Mathurā. The great Varāha at Udayagiri (c. A.D. 400) is a masterpiece of powerful execution in which the volume of the main image is enhanced by the contrast to the lesser dimensions of the scenes of the background. The Deogarh temple contains many effective sculptures of episodes from the Rāma and Kṛishṇa legends. Other notable panels such as *Gajendra moksha*, Vishṇu reclining on Ananta, undoubtedly rank among the best specimens of Hindu sculpture. The carvings on the *stūpas* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Ghantasāla, Gummididurru and Goli are of the earlier date carrying on the traditions of Amarāvatī under Ikshvāku patronage.

Terra-cotta

There was a mass production from moulds of well-modelled terra-cotta plaques and figurines which served to decorate house-fronts and interior, and provided toys for children. Terra-cotta was also used for making life-size sculptures of deities in brick temples, and their baking must have presented technical problems of some difficulty, but these were successfully tackled by the potters of the age. Feminine figurines in terra-cotta found in different places are marvellous for their varied types of beauty. Some of them at least seem to have been painted with appropriate colours, red, pink, yellow and white being most common.

Numismatic Art

Samudra Gupta issued no less than eight types of gold coinage of great artistic value. Referring to the coin, which shows Samudra Gupta with the *Vīṇā* on the obverse and Lakshmī on the reverse, Brown says: 'the excellent modelling of the king's figure, the skilful delineation of the features, the careful attention to details and the general ornateness of the design in the best specimens constitute this type as the highest expression of Gupta numismatic art'

The Expansion of India

The most fascinating topic in the history of Ancient India is the spread of Indian culture in Central and South-East Asia. We have seen that even as early as the second century B.C. Central Asia became a focus of Indian culture. There is no doubt that in the early centuries of the Christian era the ancient culture of India

began to make a significant impression on the civilization of South-East Asia. By the end of the Gupta period the whole region of South-East Asia had been deeply influenced by Indian thought and custom especially in Indian religion. It is therefore appropriate that, at this stage, we should briefly consider the expansion of India across the sea into Indonesia and Indo-China.

The active study of the expansion of India into greater India began only in the opening years of the twentieth century. The discoveries made by several international archaeological missions to Central Asia are at present being reported from time to time, and the history of Greater India is still being built up

CENTRAL ASIA: We have already referred to the existence of an Indian colony in the Upper Euphrates valley in about the second century B.C. There is a legendary account of the colonization of Khotan by Kunāla, the son of Aśoka. But evidence of such an early spread of Indian culture in Central Asia has not yet been unearthed. It is, however, certain that by the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the whole of Eastern Turkestan from Kashgar up to the frontier of China had become thoroughly Indianized. Among the different kingdoms that sprang up in Central Asia, Khotan in the south and Kuchi in the north were the most important centres of the diffusion of Indian culture.

Khotan

The Indian element in the population of Khotan and the other neighbouring southern kingdoms was stronger than in the north. Trade had led to the establishment of several colonies and a Prākṛit dialect similar to that of North-Western Prākṛit was current. The spread of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era accelerated the process of Indianization. An Indian script came into use in most of these kingdoms. It was at first Kharoshṭhī and from the Gupta time North Indian Brāhmī came into use.

The Gomativihāra of Khotan was a famous centre of Buddhist studies. Fa-hien spent some time in this great monastery on his way to India about A.D. 400. He attests to the fact that Sanskrit was the language of culture in many places. There is evidence of many bilingual Buddhist texts in which Sanskrit originals are accompanied by translations into the local idioms of which no

other traces are yet known. The discovery of what is known as the Bower manuscript testifies to the currency of Indian medical texts of the early Gupta period which were translated into local languages especially that of Kuchi. Relics of Indian painting and sculpture show the expansion of the Gandhāra school and the influence of the Gupta art. Fa-hien says that there were 3,000 monks in the Gomativihāra. Besides this there were fourteen large monasteries and many smaller ones in Khotan. There was an annual procession of images like the Indian *ratha-jātrās* in which Gomativihāra had the first place. Fa-hien describes the splendours of the 'King's New Monastery' which took 80 years to build and was 250 ft. high; yet this was only second to Gomativihāra monastery. At Khotan have been found Buddhist-Sanskrit manuscripts which were not to be found anywhere else. There were several flourishing centres of Indian Buddhist culture in Khotan till the eighth century A.D.

Kuchi

Kuchi in the north was an equally important centre of the diffusion of Indian culture. This was inhabited by a white race who spoke an Indo-European language named variously by scholars, Tokharian, Kuchean, Arsi, etc. The people adopted Buddhism earlier. At the beginning of the fourth century there were many *stūpas* and temples in the country. The members of the royal family were all worshippers of the Buddha. The kings adopted Indian names like Svarṇate, Svarṇapushpa and Haripushpa. Indian music was known in Kuchi and from there it was taken to China. A very prominent figure in the cultural history of Kuchi was Kumārajīva. His father was Kumārayana who came of a family of ministers in India. Leaving India he came to Kuchi, became the *guru* of its king and married Jīvā, the king's sister. The name Kumārajīva is therefore a combination of the names of his parents. Kumārajīva was a great scholar who was well-versed in Buddhist and brāhmanical philosophy. He settled in the king's monastery in Kuchi. During the Chinese invasion in A.D. 383 he was taken prisoner and sent to China. There he became a leader of a band of scholars. He translated over 100 Sanskrit texts in a few years and died in 412, leaving his disciples to carry on his tradition. Through his influence several scholars from Kashmir went to China.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA (INDONESIA AND INDO-CHINA): Sea-borne trade between India and south-east Asian lands was of very high antiquity. For reasons not clearly known Hindus in great number began to settle in these lands about the beginning of the Christian era. This ultimately led to the rise of numerous kingdoms all over Indonesia and Indo-China. An imposing mass of archaeological evidence is now available to prove the existence of Indian settlements and the wide spread of Indian culture there, both Hindu and Buddhist.

That it was trade that first attracted Indians to the Eastern lands is clear from names of places like Takkola (market for cardamoms), Karpūradvīpa (the island of camphor), and Nārikeladvīpa (coconut island). The lure of gold is suggested by such names as Kanakapuri in Dvīpāntara (Malaya) and Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumātrā). The earliest inscriptions of Indo-China, Borneo, Java and Malaya as well as Burma are in the Sanskrit language and in Brāhmī characters of definitely South-Indian variety. Buddha images in the early Amarāvatī style of the second century A.D. have been found in different sites all over the area. Agastya legends and Agastya cult were widely prevalent. All this is clear proof that the earliest emigrants came from the east coast of South India. Other parts of India joined later in the movement. Javanese legends show immigration from Gujarāt. The influence of Gupta artistic style in the later sculptures of these lands and inscriptions in the Nāgarī script of the late eighth century show the close contact of Java with Bengal and Nālandā in the period of Pāla rule.

THE CHARACTER OF COLONIZATION: The Hindu kingdoms that rose in South-East Asia had no political connection with the mother country. The population of these States did not consist predominantly of Hindu emigrants but of indigenous society, more or less completely Hinduized. The peaceful and sympathetic methods of Hindu colonists were in striking contrast to the Chinese policy of conquest and annexation and to the severity and exploitation inherent in modern colonization.

Their inscriptions are in Sanskrit hardly differing from those of any Indian State. The Hindu epics and *purāṇas* still contribute the themes for the theatre, dances, and shadow plays and the marionette shows of Indo-China, Malaya and Java. The influence

of *Dharmaśāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* on the polity of these lands is clearly traceable. Their languages have been enriched by contact with Sanskrit. The scripts of all their languages are adaptations of Indian writing. The kings peformed vedic sacrifices; they used the Śaka era and the luni-solar calendar. Tangible results of ancient Indian contact may be seen in their monuments and temples. Till very recently at Phnom Penh in Cambodia and at Bangkok in Siam brāhmins of a very mixed descent followed Buddhism and wore the *śikhā* and *upavita*, and worshipped an assortment of Hindu and Buddhist images. In Thailand, Cambodia and Laos Buddhism of the older form has replaced Hinduism; in Java and the islands, Islam is the successor. Even though the Javanese have embraced Islam they are tolerant by nature, unlike Muslims elsewhere and this is undoubtedly due to the abiding influence of Hinduism on the character of the people. Though only the people of the island of Bali and some groups of Chams have still retained Hinduism as well as the Sanskrit language, the influence of Hindu India is much in evidence in the culture and language of Indonesia and Malaya even at the present day.

The Mainland of South-East Asia: One of the earliest kingdoms which arose in Cambodia in the first century A.D. and came to include Cochin-China was called Fu-nan by the Chinese. According to tradition Fu-nan was founded by Kauṇḍinya, an Indian brāhmin who married the princess of the land and thus secured for himself a wife and a kingdom. A Sanskrit inscription from the kingdom of Champā to the east of Cambodia says that Kauṇḍinya got the kingdom in a different way. Kambuja (Cambodia) according to tradition was established by Kambu Svāyaṃbhūva after whom the country was named Kambuja. Some of its famous rulers bore names ending in Varman as in South India; examples are Jayavarman, Yaśovarman, and Sūryavarman. In the heyday of her greatness, the empire included Cambodia and Siam and other neighbouring lands. The most important monuments of the kingdom of Kambuja are those known today as Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat. The former was the capital of Kambuja and holds in its centre a temple known as the Bayon. The temple of Angkor Vat built earlier is considered to be the largest religious building in the world. Champā, the south-eastern part of what is now known as Viet-nam, was founded by the South Indians in the second

century A.D. It was a maritime kingdom named after its capital and had a number of sea ports. It was an orthodox Hindu kingdom and the dominant religion was Śaivism though other religions enjoyed full freedom. Champā was an independent kingdom from the end of the second century A.D. but passed under Fu-nan for a time. Later monarchs of Champā claimed descent from Maharshi Bhṛigu. In Siam (Thailand) there were States which followed Hindu culture. Indian scholars played an important part in evolving the script of the country. The law books of Siam were framed on the basis of the Hindu *dharmaśāstra* and the temples of its capital, Bangkok, were adorned with sculptures depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyana*.

MALAYA AND INDONESIA: The States of the Malaya Peninsula that were overrun by Fan-che-man of Fu-nan were already Hinduized. Lankāśuka, a name which survives as that of a tributary of the upper reach of the Perak river, was founded about the beginning of the second century A.D. Its king was Bhagadatta in A.D. 505. Tāmbralinga was another kingdom with its centre at Ligor on the Bay of Bandon. Takola was an important port on the Bay of Bengal. It was perhaps the same as either the modern Takau-pa or a little to the south of it. Kedah and Perak are rich in early archaeological finds of Hindu and Buddhist antiquities. The prevalence of Mahāyāna Buddhism of South Indian origin in Malaya in the fifth and sixth century A.D. is attested by a Sanskrit record found near Kedah.

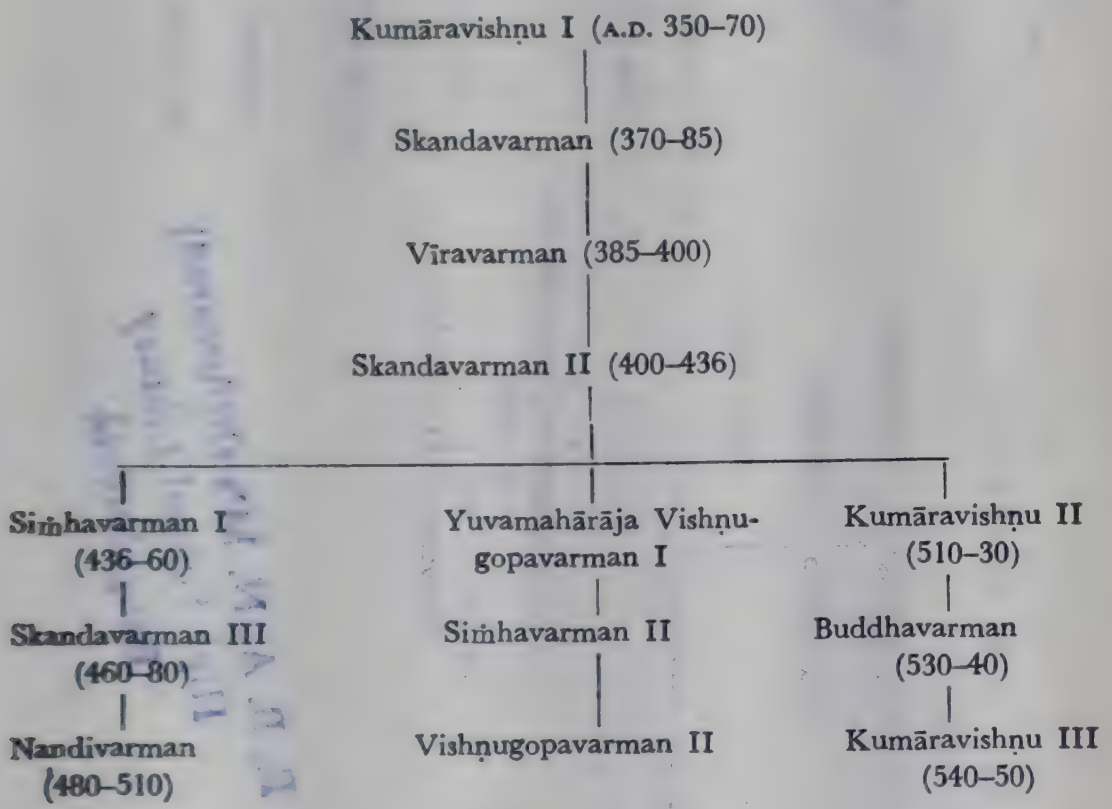
The existence of Indianized kingdoms in Java and Borneo is attested by inscriptions from the fifth century onwards. The inscriptions (A.D. 400) in eastern Borneo record the conquests of king Mūlavarman who is compared to Yudhishṭhira. He performed vedic sacrifices with the aid of brāhmins specially invited to whom he made rich gifts. A rich find of nine gold and silver images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of a later age was recently made in Sambas in West Borneo. There is now reason to believe that the island to which the storm-tossed ship of Fa-hien drifted on his voyage from Ceylon was not Java but Borneo. In West Java was the kingdom of Tārumā on the site of Batavia. The kingdom continued to exist till it was absorbed by Śrī Vijaya, the maritime empire which rose on the island of Sumātrā in the seventh century A.D. and continued to flourish in great strength till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In Chopo, it is said that one Guṇavarman a prince of Kashmir turned monk, converted the queen mother and the king to Buddhism before he left for China on the invitation of the emperor (c. A.D. 430–31). Chopo was either Java or possibly West Borneo.

Burma is geographically nearer to India than any other south-east Asian country. In this country there is evidence of the existence of Buddhist kingdom of Śrī Kshetra (modern Prome) but no trace of Indian culture has been found till the sixth century. Here at Mosza and Maungun have been found fragments of the Pāli canon engraved on gold plates, stone and terra-cotta in the southern characters of about A.D. 500. Śrī Kshetra controlled the lower Irrawaddi and was ruled by a Tibeto-Burman people called Pyu. To the south-east of this in the valley of the Menam in modern Thailand was another Buddhist kingdom ruled by the Mons. This was called Dvāravatī after the name of its capital.

GENEALOGIES

I. PALLAVAS OF THE SANSKRIT CHARTERS



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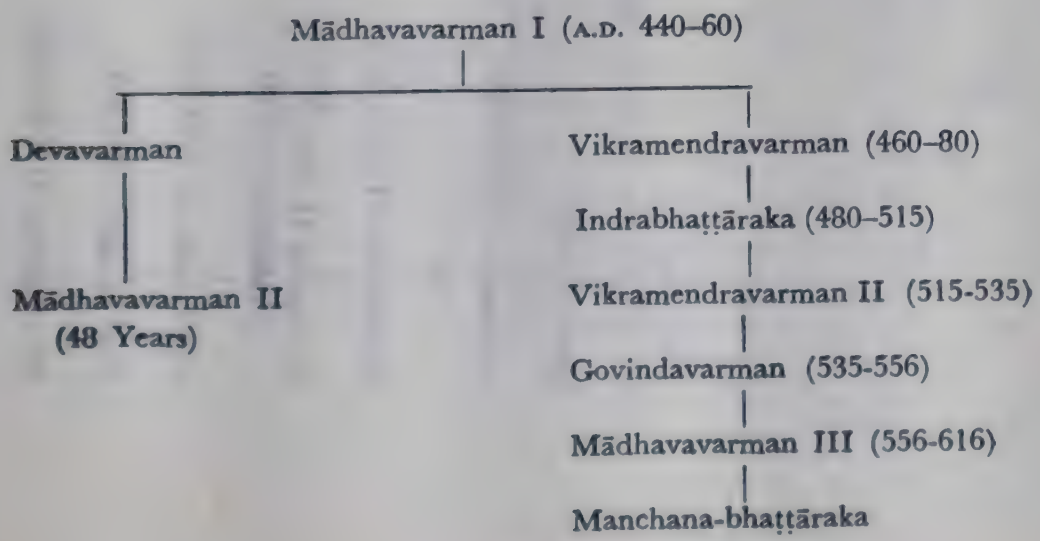

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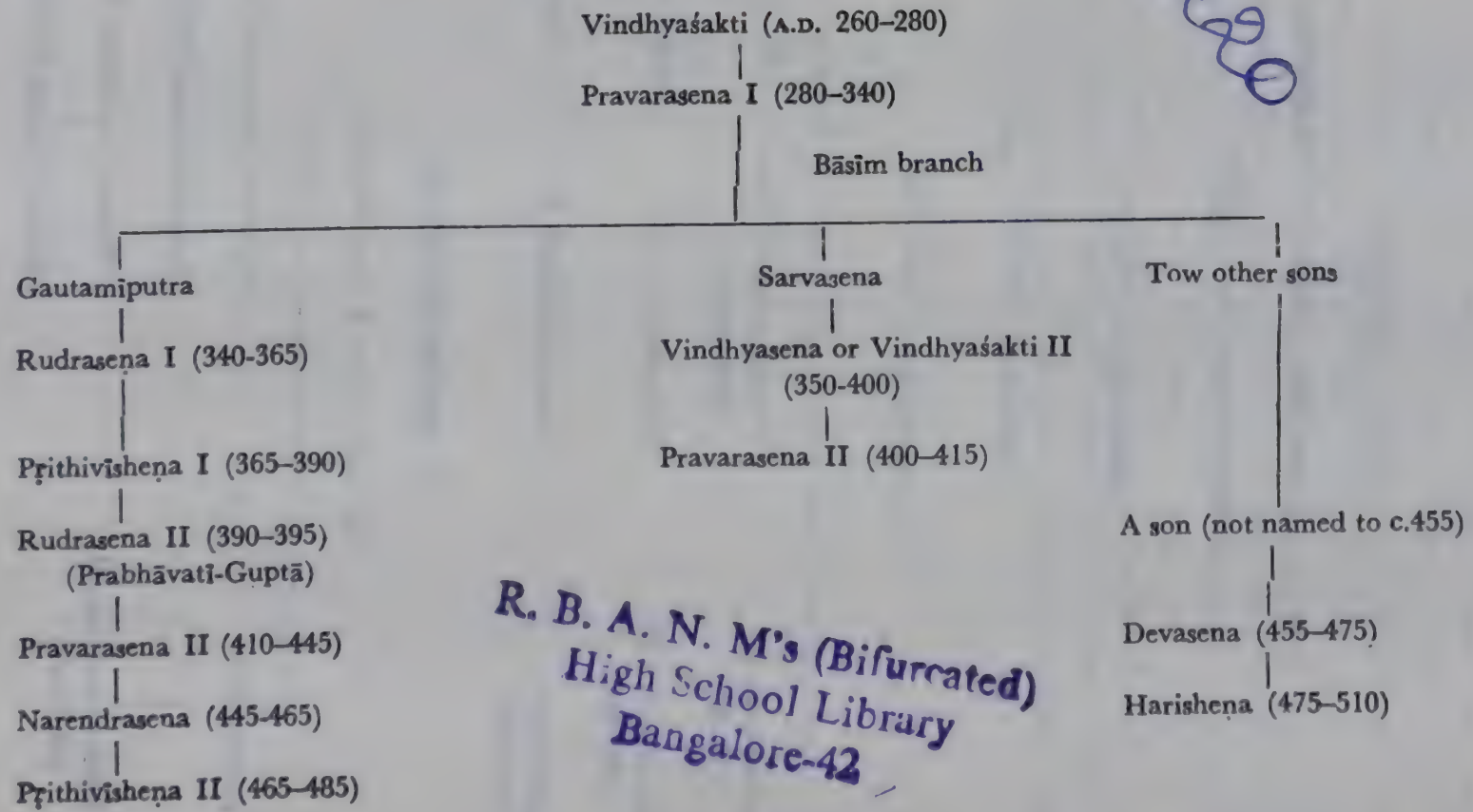

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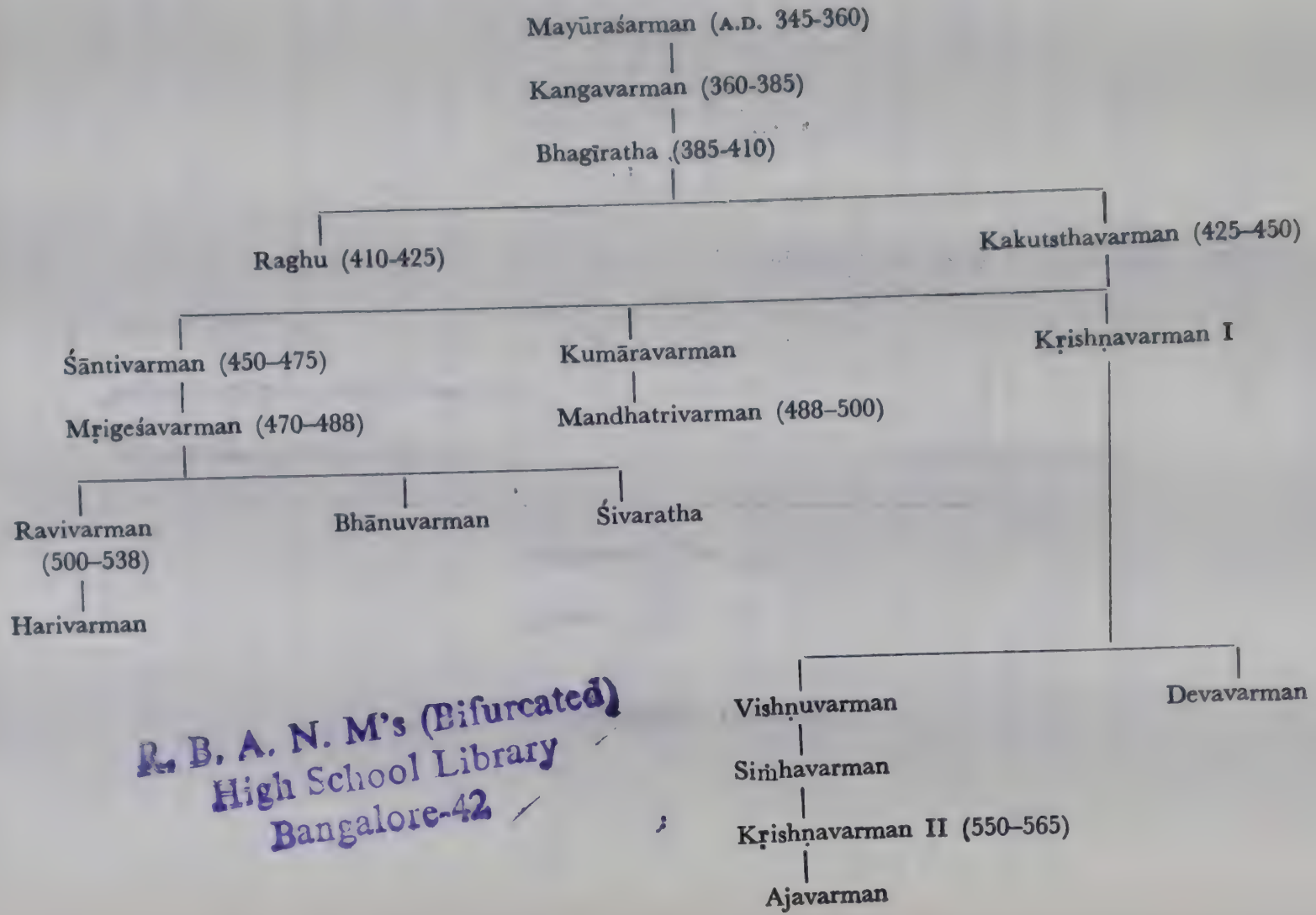
IV. KADAMBAS



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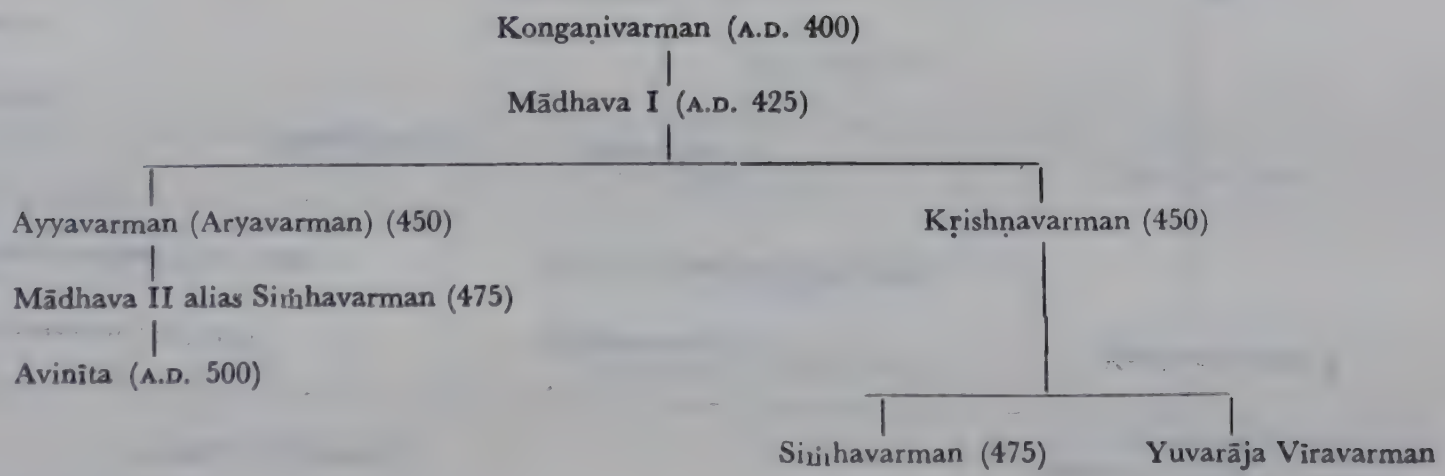
V. WESTERN GANGAS



CHAPTER VIII

NORTHERN INDIA (A.D. 550–1200)

Political Trends After the Fall of the Gupta Empire

For over six centuries after the decline of the Gupta empire Northern India was divided into a number of independent Hindu kingdoms. Certain it is that no trace of a paramount power is to be found in the scant records of the later half of the sixth century. The Later Guptas and Maukharis continued their supremacy over Magadha for a time. Dāmodara Gupta lost his life in a battle with Sarvavarman (Maukhari). The empire of Harshavardhana (A.D. 606–647), for a time maintained unity over a large part of Northern India, but Harsha left no one to succeed him and his empire crumbled after his death.

Rājput dynasties of mixed foreign and Indian descent set up different kingdoms and among them the kingdom of Gurjara-Pratihāras attained an imperial status. In the east the Pālas of Bengal aspired for imperial state and celebrity as patrons of Buddhist religion and art. Kashmir also competed for the setting up of an empire of its own.

The constant wars among the competing powers resulted in political instability and disorder in the Northern Kingdoms. The history of South India in this period makes more interesting reading. Powerful kingdoms came up in the Deccan and farther South. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi establish the political unity of the Deccan in the sixth century, though some time later they break up into two or three semi-independent States; a similar pattern follows under Rāshṭrakūtas in the eighth century, while the South of the Tungabhadrā is shared by the Great Pallavas of Kāñchī and the Pāṇḍyas farther south. And after the long stretch of time when the nothern States were exhausting themselves in mutual conflicts even in the face of the threat from Islamic Turkish invaders, two large powerful States sprang up in the south in the tenth century

A.D., one that of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the other that of the Cholas. In spite of the constant wars between them, they ensured the benefits of order and good government over a large part of the country. The south made significant contributions to the development of religious and philosophical thought. Its contributions to architecture and art were equally important.

This chapter deals with the age of Harsha and the History of the North Indian Kingdoms up to A.D. 1200. The history of the south up to A.D. 1300 will be narrated in the next chapter. In each case the advent of Islam is taken as the rough dividing line.

SOURCES: While the historian is unable to peep through the dark clouds that gathered in the later half of the sixth century, he finds himself in a better position at the beginning of the seventh century. First and foremost he has the detailed account of Hiuen Tsang's travels which, in spite of a few incredible exaggerations, provides him with a wealth of reliable information. Next he has the *Harshacharita* written by Bāṇa who lived at the court of Harsha. Bāṇa was an accurate observer of men and things and the high value of his work for historical purposes is now generally recognized. That the *Harshacharita* partakes more of the character of a historical romance than a steady, straightforward chronicle of events is true; but even so, the information at hand is fuller and more precise than that which has been forthcoming hitherto, excepting, perhaps, in regard to the great Maurya kings. Besides these two, the biography of Hiuen Tsang by his friend Hwui-li and the inscriptions of the time enable the historian to form a fairly accurate picture of Harshavardhana and his times.

The Age of Harshavardhana—A.D. 550–650

The principality of Thāneśar (Sthanvīśvara, Thaneśvara) on the Sarasvatī, at the eastern extremity of the Punjab, guards the main gateway from the North-West into India proper. From the days of the Guptas it had been growing in importance as a frontier post. At end of the sixth century A.D., the Huns remained entrenched in the upper Indus valley and Thāneśar was governed by a dynasty which claimed descent from a

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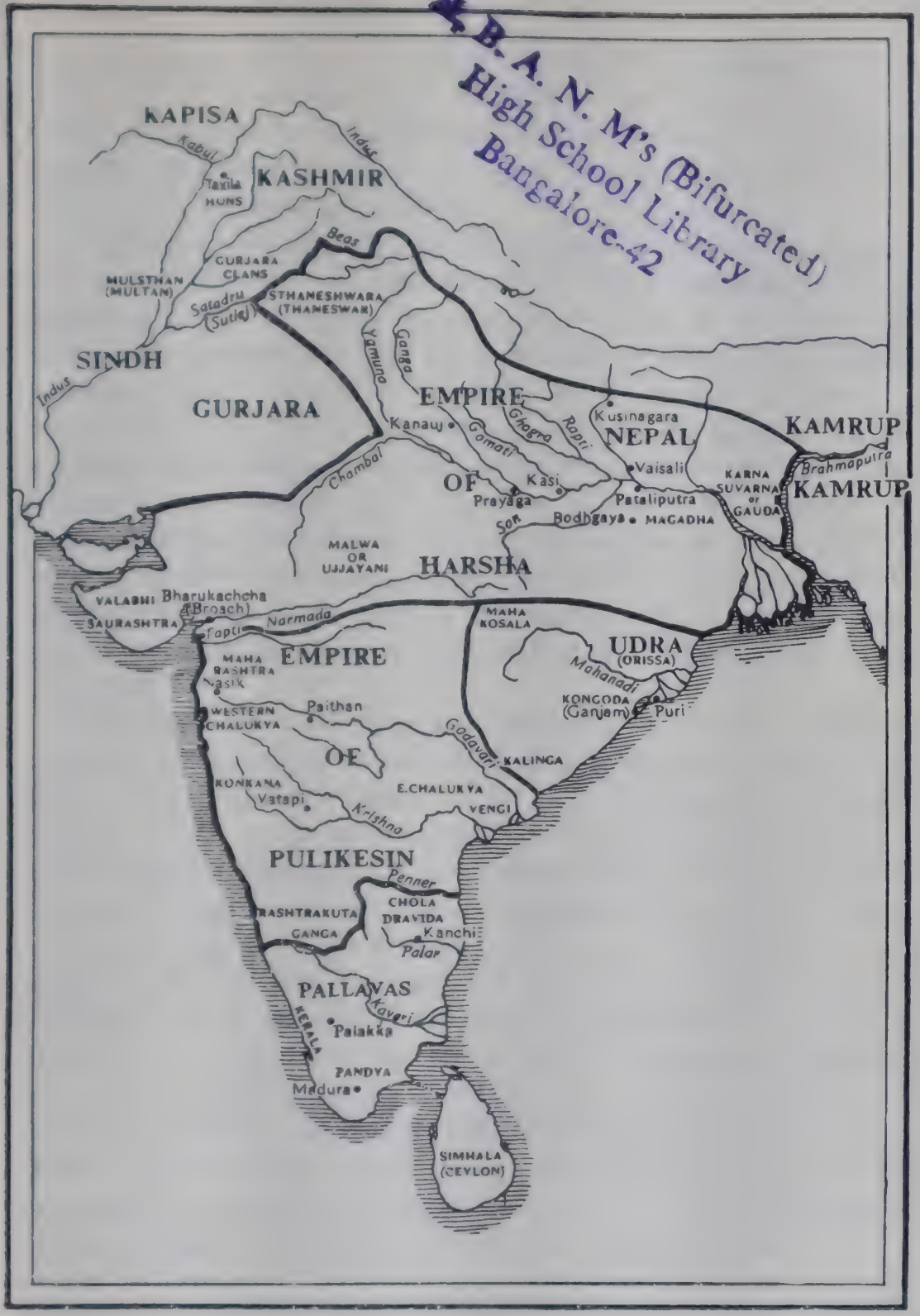

INDIA IN A.D. 640

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Pushpabhūti, a Vaiśya of indigenous origin according to Hiuen Tsang or of a Rājput clan of Vaiśya or Vaiśyas of foreign origin mentioned in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. Āditya-vardhana of the family married Mahāsena-guptā of the later Gupta family and had a son named Prabhākara-vardhana.

Prabhākara was the first in the dynasty to assume an imperial title, after having won considerable military successes over his neighbours—the Gurjaras, Mālavas and Lātas, in the latter part of the sixth century. He had two sons Rājyavardhana and Harsha-vardhana and a daughter Rājyaśrī, by his queen Yaśomatī. At a very young age (13 or 14), Rājyaśrī became the queen of Graha-varman, the Maukhari ruler of Kanauj. Prabhākara sent the Crown Prince Rājyavardhana at the head of a large army against the Hūnas and Harshavardhana followed his brother at some distance with a cavalry force. On hearing the news of his father's illness, Harsha hurriedly rode back to the capital only to see his father pass away and his mother dying before her husband as a *Satī* (A.D. 606).

Rājyavardhana who returned victorious from his campaign took the throne of his father. Almost immediately he heard that Grahavarman had been slain by the king of Mālwa and Rājyaśrī kept a prisoner 'with iron fetters kissing her feet'. The location of Mālwa and the identity of its king whom Bāṇa calls Devagupta are not clear. Rājyavardhana left the capital with a strong cavalry force to avenge his sister's wrong. The king of Mālwa was easily defeated. But his ally Śaśānka of Bengal enticed Rājyavardhana with promises of friendship offering his daughter in marriage to Harsha, according to one account or with the purpose of arbitrating between him and the King of Mālwa according to another, and most treacherously assassinated Rājyavardhana. Harsha learnt of these occurrences and was further informed that his sister had escaped from prison and sought refuge in the forest. Leaving his cousin, Bhaṇḍi to pursue and punish Śaśānka, Harsha went in search of his sister. The story of the recovery of his widowed sister as narrated by Bāṇa is full of incident and romance. The rescue was but just in time, for Rājyaśrī—a most attractive and learned young lady—was about to throw herself into fire in the pathless forest of the Vindhyan region, when her brother, led to her retreat by a Buddhist monk, arrived upon the scene.

King Harsha (A.D. 606–647)

His Accession

The Harsha era starts in A.D. 606 which is proof of the data of his having succeeded his ill-fated brother, Rājyavardhana. Śaśānka appears to have escaped with little loss after his wicked act and to have ruled Bengal up to A.D. 619, after which probably Bengal became subject to Harsha. Hiuen Tsang mentions that Harsha was reluctant to accept the responsibilities of kingship. His reluctance was probably with reference to Kanauj, not to Thānesar. We do not know when exactly Harsha turned to Buddhism. It must have been after successful wars of conquest for about six years after his accession to the throne. According to Hiuen Tsang, Harsha was invited to accept the throne of Kanauj by a great meeting of the nobles and dignitaries of the kingdom, probably because the murdered king left no heir and Rājyaśrī, the widowed queen, played an important part in the affairs of the State. Soon after these events Harsha moved his capital from Thānesar to Kanauj.

Harsha's Wars and Conquests

The dissensions among the petty States that rose consequent on the break-up of the Gupta empire created a situation that called for a sovereign, who, in accordance with the ancient Kshatriya ideal, could bring the entire country under the umbrella of one authority. As Hiuen Tsang says, Harsha with his army of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 horses and 50,000 infantry 'went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient; the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unhelmeted'. In about six years he brought 'the Five Indies under his allegiance', and became the Lord Paramount of the north. The Five Indies are stated to be Svarāshṭra (Punjab), Kanyākubja, Gauḍa (Bengal), Mithilā and Orissa. That Harsha spent many more years out of his forty-two in bloody warfare is clear. He met with but one check in A.D. 620 when he made an attempt to invade the Deccan. He suffered a defeat at the hands of Chālukya Pulakeśin II, 'the paramount Lord of the South' and had to retire discomfited.

According to Bāṇa, he seems to have subdued Sindh and a land of snowy mountains (probably Nepal). The king of Assam, an enemy of Śaśānka, was Harsha's ally from the beginning. Between A.D. 633 and 641 Harsha attacked Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, the Maitraka

ruler of Valabhī, whom Hiuen Tsang calls Dhruvabhaṭa. For a time Dhruvasena sought the protection of the Gūrjara prince, an ally of Pulakeśin II, but then made peace with Harsha. Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to him and allowed him to continue his rule in a semi-independent capacity not only over Valabhī, but also over the neighbouring kingdom of Mo-la-p's (Western Mālwa) and its dependencies Ānandapura, Cutch and Surāshṭra or Southern Kāthiāwār.

Opinions differ as to Harsha's conquest of Nepal. From the fact that an era mentioned in the Nepalese inscriptions of the times can be taken as the era of Harsha we may say that Harsha probably subdued Nepal.

Jālandhar in East Punjab was the boundary of Harsha's empire on the north-west, for the escort sent by Harsha with Hiuen Tsang on his way back to China stopped there and others took charge of the pilgrim. Kongoda (Ganjam) was the last region attacked by Harsha in A.D. 643. Pūrṇavarman of Magadha, the last of the race of Aśoka, was one of Harsha's vassals. Pūrṇavarman is reputed to have brought back to life the Bodhi tree, cut down and burnt to its roots by Śaśānka, by watering its roots with the milk of hundred cows. Kumāra Bhāskara Varman, the ruler of Assam (Prāgjyotisha), was an ally of Harsha and an enemy of his neighbour Śaśānka, ruler of Bengal.

Harsha's Administration

Harsha relied more on personal supervision than on the assistance of an organized bureaucracy for the efficient rule of his vast empire. Hiuen Tsang says: 'The king made visits of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing long at any place, but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn; but he did not go abroad during the three months of rain-season retreat'. There seems to have been a Council of ministers, *Mantri-parishad* who wielded real power on occasions.

The officers, according to Hiuen Tsang, received their salaries in kind, in grants of land and were paid according to their work. But the soldiers were paid in cash. The government was honestly administered. The Penal Code was, however, severe. Treason against the king was punished by life-long imprisonment. 'For offences against social morality, and disloyal and unfilial conduct the punishment is either mutilation of limbs or deportation of the

offender to another country or into wilderness'. Trial by ordeal was also in vogue.

There were no large demands upon the liberties or the resources of the people. Taxation was light, a sixth of the crops being the land revenue. Light duties at ferries and barrier stations were levied. The existence of a Department of Records and Archives shows the enlightened character of the administration. Violent crime was rare but travelling was not safe as in Fa-hien's time. Hiuen himself was the victim of brigandage more than once.

HARSHA AND BUDDHISM: It was written of Harsha's father: 'He offered daily to the Sun a bunch of red lotuses set in a pure vessel of ruby, and tinged, like his own heart, with the same hue'. His brother and sister were ardent Hīnayāna Buddhists. The eclecticism of the royal family was a reflection of the peoples' beliefs of the time. Harsha, perhaps because of his trials and hardships in his early years, developed strong leanings towards Mahāyāna Buddhism after he had come in contact with Hiuen Tsang.

Though the Chinese traveller counted nearly 200,000 Buddhist monks, Buddhism was clearly on the wane yielding place tc *Purāṇic* Hinduism. Jainism was prevalent only in places like Vaiśāli and Eastern Bengal. There is evidence to show that religious disputations often tended to degenerate into violent quarrels. Harsha had to save the reputation of Hiuen Tsang only by laying down terms of contests with him which were not altogether fair to his opponents. Hiuen Tsang says that Harsha forbade the killing of any living creature or the use of meat as food throughout his empire on pain of death. This seems to be an exaggeration of the king's attempt to minimize the slaughter of animals.

Assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga

In honour of Hiuen Tsang, Master of the Law, the King held a splendid assembly at Kanauj in March A.D. 643. This was attended by twenty tributary rājās, of whom were the king of Assam (Bhāskaravarman) from the extreme east and Dhruvabhaṭa of Balabhī from the extreme west. There was a large concourse of Buddhists, Brāhmins and Jains including a thousand learned monks from Nālandā. A golden image of the Buddha of the statûre of king Harsha was installed in a tower 100 feet high and a smaller image, three feet in height, was carried in procession everyday. It is said

that the king carried in person the canopy upheld over the golden statuette of the Buddha. As the procession moved along, golden blossoms, pearls and other rare gems were scattered by the king on all sides in honour of the Three Jewels—*the Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. According to Hiuen Tsang, the monastery suddenly caught fire which was extinguished by the mere sight of good Harsha. His story relating to the rush of a mad Hindu fanatic to slay the 'favourer of Buddhists' followed by the immediate exile of five hundred Brāhmins for high treason may legitimately be doubted.

This assembly at Kanauj was followed by another at Prayāga (Allahabad) where every five years Harsha, in accordance with ancient custom, held distribution of alms. This was Harsha's sixth *Mahāmokshaparishad* as it was called. The ceremonials lasted for seventy-five days during which the Buddha, the Sun and Śiva were worshipped on different days. The proceedings were opened by a magnificent procession of feudatory princes and ended with a forty days' distribution of alms to the poor and needy, to Buddhists, brāhmaṇas and other sectarians comprehensively described as 'heretics' by Hiuen Tsang. At the end of it all Harsha had to borrow a second-hand suit from his sister for his own use. Here again the hint of unreality provokes the question: 'Did Harsha return to his palace to find his wardrobe much the same as ever?'

Hiuen Tsang's Departure

There is no doubt that the history of India is greatly indebted to Hiuen Tsang. He put off his return journey to China because he had been specially invited to the Prayāga assembly. Soon after it, he started on his homeward journey, suitably escorted. After a leisurely journey of six months, he reached Jālandhar, where he stayed about a month. With fresh escort he resumed his journey. Crossing with difficulty the Salt Range and the Indus he reached China by way of the Pamirs and Khotan in A.D. 645. In spite of losses due to accident and robbery, he took with him to China 150 pieces of Buddha's bodily relics; many images of the teacher in gold, silver and sandalwood; and 657 volumes of manuscripts, carried upon 20 horses. With the aid of a staff of scholars he was able to complete the translation into Chinese of about seventy-four Buddhist works. He worked hard till A.D. 661. After a complete rest of about three years he died in 664 'leaving behind him a

reputation for learning and piety surpassing that of any other Buddhist doctor'.

An Estimate of Harsha

Soon after Hiuen Tsang's departure Harsha died at the end of 646 or early the next year. Harsha was indisputably Lord Paramount of the north. His rule was excellent and the Chinese pilgrim is loud in praise of it. With all his leanings towards Buddhism, Harsha was not hostile towards other faiths and communities. His large-hearted liberality expressed itself in manifold works of public utility such as the erection of hospices (*puṇyaśālās*) providing food and drink and medical aid for travellers.

Harsha—Literature

A religious and charitable man, Harsha was also a great lover and patron of learning. He was himself a poet and a dramatist. It is suggested that Harsha was himself the author of the Banskhera plate and Madhuban charter perhaps in collaboration with Bāṇa. He wrote two Buddhist poems *Aṣhṭamahā-śrīchaitya-stotra* (A Hymn to the Eight Great *Chaityas*) and *Suprabhāta-stotra* (A hymn of the Dawn addressed to the Buddha). Some scholars hold that the second of these poems was written by Śrī Harshadeva of Kashmir (eleventh century). Harsha was the author of three dramas, *Nāgānanda* (the joy of the serpents), *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* (romantic comedies). Among the authors patronized by Harsha, Bāṇa was the most distinguished. Besides the *Harshacharita*, he wrote the prose romance *Kādambarī* (which he did not live to finish) which was completed by his son. His prose is unsurpassed at its best. Rawlinson's observation is typical of the Western scholar's view. 'Bāṇa's prose is the extreme example of highly polished and ornate Sanskrit; his endless compound words and his fantastic similes are triumphs, but make little appeal to western taste.'

Bhartṛihari, poet and grammarian, author of *Vākyapadīya* belongs to this period. In wit, elegance and versatility he was typical of the culture of the period, as can be seen from his three *śatakas* (centuries) on Policy, Love and Renunciation.

Regions Beyond the Limits of Harsha's Empire: The observations of Hiuen Tsang on the regions beyond the limits of Harsha's empire may briefly be noticed at this stage.

Kashmir was the dominant power and had reduced the kingdoms of Takils and Salt Range (Siṁhapura) and other States like Uraśa (Hazra), Rājapurī (the ancient Abhisāra) to a dependent position.

The Punjab between the Indus and the Beas was one kingdom. Śākala (Sialkot) called Tseh-Kia or Chech-ka by Hiuen Tsang was its capital, Multan which held the Sun-god in special honour and Po-ta-to (Jammu) were dependencies of this State.

Sind was under a Śūdra king who was a Buddhist. Sihras Rai, the king of Sind, was defeated and slain by the Arab invaders of Makran, Baluchistan (A.D. 644). His son Sāhasī met the same fate two years later. Then the sceptre passed to a brāhmin minister Chach who ruled for forty years or so. His son Dahir was defeated and slain by Muhammad-Kasim, the Arab invader of Sind, (712). After this the Hindu kingdom of Sind ceased to exist.

It will be quite in place to note here that Muhammed the Prophet, founder of Islam was born in Mecca on the tenth November A.D. 570. By a curious coincidence the date on which he began his teaching and that of king Harsha's coronation are very nearly synchronous. Before Harsha died the whole of Persia as far east as Herat was added to the Arab empire.

In A.D. 712 Islam penetrated into the Indus basin. For the first time, since Alexander the Great, the Indus again formed part of a Mediterranean empire and Islam tried to build up its sea-power.

A Medley of Petty States: From the early decades of the seventh century B.C. up to A.D. 1200 the history of India appears to have been mostly that of individuals who have dominated her imagination and have often left her helpless at their death to fall back into a medley of petty kingdoms, frequently at war with one another. When the strong, centralizing magnetic force of Harsha was withdrawn the whole of Northern India fell into disorder and famine made matters worse. Pulakeśin II Chālukya died five years before Harsha. Narasiṁhavarman, the Pallava king of Kāñchī, who had defeated and slain Pulakeśin (A.D. 642) became the paramount sovereign of the peninsula. This story will be told in the next chapter, from a southern point of view.

Relations with China and Tibet: Harsha had maintained diplomatic relations with China in his life time. The Chinese emperor T'si-tsung (A.D. 627–649) who had married a daughter of Aṁśuvarman, king of Nepal, feudatory of Harsha's, sent in 646 a mission to India under Wang-hiuen-tse. This mission reached India only after the death of Harsha. Arjuna or Aruṇāśva, (A-to-na-chues) King of Ti-na-fu-ti (Tirhut) plundered Wang-hiuen-tse's goods and killed or imprisoned the men of his escort. Wang-hiuen-tse succeeded in escaping to Napal which had by then been subjugated by the Tibetan king Srong-tsan Gampa, son-in-law of the Chinese emperor. The Tibetan king equipped Wang-hiuen-tse with a force of 1,200 picked Tibetan soldiers and a Nepalese contingent of 7,000 cavalry. With this force the Chinese envoy defeated the Indian army, slaughtered many in the process, captured Arjuna and deported him to China, where he died. The country together with 580 walled towns submitted to Wang-hiuen-tse. Tirhut remained subject to Tibet until A.D. 703.

Magadha: In Magadha, the Later Guptas renewed the Gupta empire on a smaller scale after the death of Harsha. Ādityasenagupta ruled over Magadha at least up to A.D. 672. He assumed imperial titles and claimed to rule up to the seas and performed the horse sacrifice. His successors continued to rule with similar titles. Jīvitagupta II was probably ruling over both Magadha and Bengal at the time of the invasion of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (730–740).

Bengal and Assam

Bengal: In ancient times, Bengal was known as Vanga or Gauḍa. The country was doubtless a part of the Gupta empire, its conquest being mentioned in the iron pillar inscription of Chandra. The presence of Gupta viceroys of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) is attested by several copper plates. Some copper plate grants of the second half of the sixth century give the names of a few rulers; their imperial titles with the names are found: Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāra. These rulers seem to have taken the place of the Guptas. Samāchāra, a Śaivite, certainly preceded Śaśānka, but the conjecture that he was the father of Śaśānka is unsupported by evidence.

Śaśānka

Saśānka has already been mentioned, as the murderer of Rājyavardhana and as a fanatical Śaivite who almost destroyed the Tree of Widsom at Gaya. He has the notoriety of having cast into the Ganges at Patna the slab bearing the footprints of the Buddha, which, according to Hiuen Tsang, miraculously returned to its place. He enlarged his dominion to the foot of the mountains in in the north, to Assam, and beyond the Mahānadī in Orissa. Assuming the title of Mahārājādhirāja, he reduced Mādhavarāja of Kongoda (Ganjam) to vassalage. Some of Śaśānka's conquests in the neighbourhood of Assam passed to Kumāra of Assam, while the rest fell to Harsha. Curiously enough, Hiuen Tsang does not mention Śaśānka as a ruler at all.

After Harsha, a part of Bengal came under the sway of the Later Guptas, Ādityasena and his successors. In the second half of the seventh century the dynasty of Khaḍgas ruled as independent sovereigns in Samataṭa (eastern and southern Bengal). Though they were good Buddhists, their seal bearing the effigy of the bull shows close association of Śaivism and Buddhism, a characteristic feature of the colonial kingdoms of the east.

Ādiśūra

Tradition preserves the memory of a king Ādiśūra who invited from Kanauj five brāhmins and five kāyasthas to revive orthodox Hindu customs and many notable families of Bengal trace their origin from them. In spite of the doubts cast on the historicity of Ādiśūra, he appears really to have belonged to a family of local *rājās* ruling Gauḍa and the neighbourhood. He may be placed about A.D. 700. The brāhmins were summoned not because of the absence of a local brāhmin community but because of the necessity to keep in touch with the centre of Indo-Aryan culture.

In 730–40 an unnamed king of Gauḍa was killed by Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

THE PĀLA DYNASTY: In A.D. 750–60, there was anarchy in Bengal, and the great men of the land terminated it by electing Gopāla as the king of Bengal and Bihar. Gopāla soon restored order and the dynasty which he founded has come to be designated the Pāla, because the names of all its kings end in *Pāla* which means 'Protector'. Gopāla extended his power to Magadha (South Bihar) and

reigned for forty-five years. He founded a great monastery at Uddandapura (Odantapurī), the existing town of Bihar, at times the capital of the later Pālas. The Bhaumas of northern Orissa, ardent Buddhists, became the vassals of the Pālas from the time of Gopāla.

Dharmapāla

Gopāla's son, Dharmapāla reigned for 64 years and laid the foundations of the greatness of the Pāla dynasty. He carried his arms far beyond the limit of Bengal and Bihar. The Tibetan historian, Tāranātha says that Dharmapāla's rule extended from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and from Jālandhar to Vindhyas. Soon after A.D. 800 and before the thirty-second year of his reign he was strong enough to dethrone Indrāyudha of Kanauj and install Chakrāyudha in his place. This revolutionary change in kingship is said to have been effected in the presence of all the kings of Western Hindustan, Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra. This indicates the extent of influence of the Bengal monarch. Dharmapāla, like all the members of his house, was a zealous Buddhist and founded the monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Somapur (Pāhārpur). The Buddhism of the Pālas was a corrupt form of Mahāyāna doctrine, which was very different from the religion or philosophy taught by the Buddha.

Devapāla

Devapāla, the third monarch of the dynasty, was a nephew of Dharmapāla and the most powerful of the Pālas. Some time during his reign of 48 years he made Mudgagivi (Monghyr) his capital. His general Lavasena conquered Assam and Orissa. From the Nālandā copper plate issued in the thirty-ninth year of his reign we learn that he was in close relation with Śrīvijaya, the maritime empire of Sumatra and that a gift of some villages was made to a new monastery erected at Nālandā by the then reigning king of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). In the second half of the tenth century, Bengal was partly occupied by a tribe of hillmen known as Kāmbojas. Mahīpāla I (970–1030) expelled them. At the beginning of his reign he ruled over only Samataṭa. He had the strange experience of being attacked by Rājendra Chola I about A.D. 1023. Mahīpāla is the best remembered of all the Pāla rulers and songs in his honour are still popular. In his reign a Buddhist Mission

headed by Dharmapāla was sent to Tibet (A.D. 1013). He did much to restore Buddhism to a position of honour in that country which had suffered persecution during the previous century. Nayapāla succeeded Mahīpāla and in 1038 another Buddhist Mission headed by Atiśa was sent to Tibet. Atiśa continued the work of Dharmapāla in strengthening Buddhism in Tibet. Nayapāla's son had three sons named Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla threw his brothers in prison and misgoverned the country. Divya or Divyoka of the Chāshikaivarta or Māhishya tribe rose in rebellion, killed Mahīpāla and took possession of the country. Divya was succeeded by his nephew Bhīma. Rāmapāla escaped from prison, gathered an army with the help of Rāshṭrakūṭa, defeated and killed Bhīma and took possession of his ancestral throne. *Rāmacharita* by Sandhyākara Nandī preserves the memory of the romantic career of Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla conquered north Bihar and probably also Assam. Tāranātha and others treat him as the very last ruler. According to the inscriptions, Indradyumnapāla was the last Pāla ruler.

The Pālas were one of the longest lived dynasties of Indian history. They held Bihar right to the end until it fell to the Muslims. Their power was temporarily shaken by the Kāmboja usurpation and Māhishya rebellion. Towards the end of the twelfth century, they lost nearly the whole of Bengal to the Senas. No buildings of the Pāla Age seem to have survived. But the memory of the kings is preserved by the great tanks and lakes excavated by them. They were great patrons of Buddhism. During their time sculpture in both stone and metal was practised with remarkable success. Pāla art is remarkable in itself and for its influence outside the Pāla dominion including the Hindu colonies of the far east.

SENAS: The Senas were by origin kshatriyas of the Karṇāṭaka. Because they had been brāhmins before, they were called 'Brahmakshatriyas'. Having settled in northern Orissa they gradually extended their kingdom to the north at the expense of the Pālas. Either Sāmantasena or his son, Hemantasena was the founder of the line. The next ruler was Vijayasena who made himself independent either late in the eleventh century or early in the twelfth century. He wrested a large part of Bengal from the Pālas. In his long reign of forty years he was on friendly terms with Anantavarman Choḍaganga (1076–1147) of Kalinga. Vijayasena's son was

Vallālasena (1108–1119). He was the famous Ballāl Sen of Bengal tradition who reorganized the caste system and introduced 'kulīnism' among the brāhmins, vaidyas and kāyasthas. The Senas being ardent Hindus were hostile to the Pālas. Ballāl Sena's Hinduism was of the *Tāntric* kind. He is said to have sent brāhmin missionaries to several neighbouring countries including Nepal and Bhutan. His son Lakshmaṇasena succeeded him in 1119 and founded an era, over which there is conflict of views. Lakshmaṇasena patronized Jayadeva, the author of *Gītagovinda*, a lyrical poem written for the 'mysteries' of the Vaishṇava cult. He was also the patron of Dhoyī who wrote *Pavanadūta*, an amorous message from a lady in Malaya in Southern India to Lakshmaṇasena in his palace of Vijayanagar. This poem is on the model of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. Lakshmaṇasena had three sons about whom nothing is clearly known. The last capital of the Senas was Nudiah (Nuddea) at the Bhāgīrathī in the upper part of the Ganges about 60 miles north of Calcutta. Their seal was an image of Sadāśiva with ten arms.

Assam: The ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa (Assam) was much larger than the modern Assam. Its capital was Prāgjyotisha. Assam was paying tribute to the Gupta emperors. In early A.D. 643, Bhāskaravarman of Assam invited Hiuen Tsang to his capital. According to the Chinese traveller, Bhāskara or Kumāra was a brāhmin. The ending of the name, *Varman* shows that Bhāskara was a *brahmakshatri*. Bhāskara induced Hiuen Tsang to translate the work of Lao-tse into Sanskrit for the benefit of the Indians. For many centuries, after Bhāskaravarman, nothing is known of Assam except that it was a part of Pāla dominions.

The Ahoms, a Shan tribe, invaded Assam in about A.D. 1228 and established a dynasty which lasted until British occupation in 1825. Assam is notable for its unique success in maintaining its independence against Muslim attacks.

Kanauj up to A.D. 816

Kanauj, which now is a petty Muslim country town in the Farukhabad district of the Uttar Pradesh, was in ancient times the celebrated capital of the Pañchāla kingdom. It is found frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Patañjali also mentions it. At the time of Fa-hien's visit in about A.D. 404 it was a small city with

only two Hīnayāna monasteries and one *stūpa*. Perhaps the greatness of Kanauj grew under the Guptas. But it acquired real greatness only from the time when Harsha made it his capital. Hiuen Tsang found it a flourishing Buddhist centre with a hundred monasteries in which lived about 10,000 monks of both the schools of Buddhism. There were also about two hundred Hindu temples. Kanauj was then a well-fortified city, extending about four miles on the east bank of the Ganges. The people were generally well-to-do. Silk was in common use for dress and learning and the arts were popular.

Nothing is known of Kanauj after the death of Harsha until A.D. 730, when Yaśovarman, who may have been a Maukhari king, was ruling there. Yaśovarman was a famous monarch who sent an embassy to China in A.D. 731. His invasion of Bengal formed the subject of the Prākṛit poem *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpatirāja, a court poet. The famous dramatist Bhavabhūti, author of *Mālatī Mādhava*, *Uttara-Rāmacharita* and *Mahāvīracharita* adorned his court; the first is an imaginative play and the other two dramatized episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Gauḍavaho* vividly describes Yaśovarman's victory over the king of Bengal. An undated inscription from Nālandā mentions a certain Mālāda, son of a well known *tikina* (Sanskritized form of *tekin*, a Turk or Hun title). This *tikina* was guardian of the frontiers, governor of the north and minister of Yaśovarman. He was the son of a 'barbarian'. It is said that Mālāda was converted to Buddhism and that he made offerings to the temple built by *Mahānṛipa* Bālāditya at Nālandā. Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, king of Kashmir. We know nothing of Yaśovarman's successors. Yaśovarman is said to have been of the lunar race (Vākpati) and according to Jain sources he was a descendant of Chandragupta. After Yaśovarman, three kings appear to have ruled over Kanauj, but their mutual relations are not known. The first of them is Vajrāyudha, whom Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* calls king of Pañchāla. He was defeated and dethroned by Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir, the grandson of Lalitāditya. The next ruler Indrāyudha was dethroned (A.D. 810) by Dharmapāla of Bengal and Chakrāyudha installed in his place (page 250). Chakrāyudha was overthrown in 816 by Nāgabhaṭa, the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler of Bhinmal (Rājputāna).

The deposition of four rulers of Kanauj in the period A.D. 740–810, by hostile powers shows the disturbed condition of Northern India

in that age. Kanauj, till it finally fell to Muhammad of Ghor in 1194, played an important role in the history of Northern India, as its cultural centre.

Gurjaras and Rājputs (Northern Group)

ORIGIN OF THE RĀJPUTS: The origin of the Rājputs, who for several centuries held western Hindustan under their control, has been the subject of a great deal of discussion and speculation. Some writers claim that they are the purest of the Kshatriyas, while others point to a foreign origin for many of the Rājput families or to a considerable mixture of foreign blood. They are considered to have descended from the Gurjara, Hūna and other alien tribes who came to India across the North-west Frontier in the fifth and sixth centuries. Any claim for racial purity, whatever be the criterion on which it is based, is in our opinion a figment of imagination. There seems to be much wisdom in an old Indian saying which forbids a probe into the origins of *ṛishis*, rivers and cows. Most Hindu families take pride in tracing their descent to some ancient *ṛishis* or to a legendary hero, even as some English families do in tracing their descent to some Norman Baron. However purposeless such an enquiry may be, the historian feels it incumbent on him to make it.

In the discussion relating to the origin of the Rājputs it is well to bear in mind some facts of history. The Bulgars, the Hungarians and the Finns, who with varying degrees of readiness accepted Christianity, were not denied fellowship with the old established European races, in spite of their having borne, in language and physical type, distinct marks of an 'oriental and savage' origin.

In India, according to ancient notions, everyone who became the ruler of a kingdom, sooner or later won recognition as a kshatriya. The theory of regarding foreign rulers as degenerate kshatriyas has already been mentioned. We have also seen that brāhmins who became kings came to be called *brahmakshatris*. In later times, Śivājī, who came of a family of cultivators gained recognition as a kshatriya after some purificatory ceremonies on the eve of his coronation. Thus it is that kshatriyas came into existence in several ways.

The marriages of a Sātavāhana and of an Ikshvāku ruler with Śaka princesses from the family of Western Satraps is well attested.

Perhaps there were several other alliances of a similar nature. Instances such as the presence of a *tikina* in the service of Yaśovarman, (A.D. 730) a Tomara chief by name Jāula in the Punjab (A.D. 900) and a Hūna queen Āvalladevī of Chandel Karṇadeva (A.D. 1000) show the persistence of foreign ethnic groups in India, which while retaining their identity formed part of Indian society.

According to legend there came into being *four* fire-born clans—Pawār (Paramāra), Parihār (Pratihāra), Chauhān (Chāhumāna), and Solanki (Chaulukya). The story goes that four heroes came out of the sacrificial fire-pit of sage Vasishṭha on Mount Ābu. These were the ancestors of the chief Rājput clans. This story is contained in *Chand Raisa*, but it must have been known much earlier, for it is mentioned in an early Tamil poem included in the *Puranānurū*. The allegorical interpretation given to the legend by Crooke may well be right. He says that the legend 'represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in Southern Rājputāna, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system'. Whatever may be the truth about the origin of the Rājputs, there is no gainsaying the fact that they are born soldiers. To this day, the pride of ancestry is the Rājput's most cherished inheritance. He still scorns to turn his lance into ploughshare. Indeed their history yields more pure romance than that of any other people in the world. The chivalry of Europe seems strained and artificial beside the stern straightforward code of honour by which the early Rājputs regulated their dealings alike with women and with other men.

PRATIHĀRAS: Historically the most important of the four fire-born clans were the Pratihāras. They are believed to be of Gurjara stock. The geographical name Gujarāt is derived from Gurjara. The dynastic lists of Gurjara rulers do not carry us farther back than A.D. 500. They are first mentioned in the Aihole inscription A.D. 634 of the time of Pulakeśin II and in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa. Hiuen Tsang's Ku-che-lo is doubtless the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal about fifty miles to the north-west of Mount Ābu. We know very little of this dynasty of Bhinmal. The Chāpas become more important after the foundation of the kingdom of Valabhī, with its capital at Anahillapura (Anhilvad).

The Gurjara-pratihāras or simply Pratihāras ruled from the eighth century to the beginning of the eleventh century. Early

in their career, they attained an imperial status. They claimed their descent from Lakshmaṇa, the brother and *Pratihāra* (door-keeper) of Rāma. But the fact is that the name was derived from one of the kings of the line holding the office of Pratihāra, a high dignity, in the court of an early Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. The early capital of these rulers is not known, though Smith takes it to be Bhinmal, apparently because it was the capital of a Gurjara kingdom in Hiuen Tsang's day. Really the Gurjaras were a mobile tribe who settled in different places.

Nāgabhaṭa I (A.D. 650) was the founder of the line. He claims to have destroyed the armies of a powerful *mleccha* king, who was probably the Muslim ruler in Sind. From 756 to nearly the close of the tenth century there have been twelve Pratihāra rulers. The fourth king of the line was Vatsarāja (775–800), a grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa. He waged a successful war with Bengal, but was defeated and exiled for a time by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva. Vatsarāja met another reverse from Dharmapāla of Bengal who installed Chakrāyudha at Kanauj. His son, Nāgabhaṭa II (800–833) drove Chakrāyudha out of Kanauj about A.D. 816 and made the city his capital. He lost Mālwa to Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. However, he made up for it by his subsequent success in the north. His grandnephew, Mihira, better known by his title Bhoja was a very powerful ruler who enjoyed a reign of half a century (840–890). He had also the titles Prabhāsa and Ādivarsha. In his time the empire of Kanauj was bounded by the Sutlej on the north-west, the Wahinda (Hakrā) on the west beyond which lay the Muslim kingdom of Sind, and the Narmadā which separated the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory from it in the south-west. On the east it bordered on the realm of Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar, which Bhoja invaded successfully; on the south there was the rising kingdom of the Chandels of Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhand), which perhaps acknowledged Bhoja's suzerainty. An unhappy war with Śaṁkaravarman of Kashmir (833–902) was the only untoward event in Bhoja's glorious reign. There is no means of forming an estimate of his system of government.

Bhoja's son and successor Mahendrapāla I (A.D. 890–908) preserved the extensive empire he inherited from his father. His teacher (Guru) was the famous poet, dramatist and critic Rājaśekhara, author of *Karpūramañjarī* and some other works. Mahīpāla, his second son, succeeded his elder brother Bhoja II in A.D. 910 and

ruled till 940. He was a worshipper of the Sun and his seal carried the image of Bhagavatī. In 916 Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III attacked him with a great force and took Kanauj. But Māhipāla got back his kingdom with the aid of the Chandels' king and possibly others also. He regained mastery of Kanauj, the Doab, Benares, Gwalior and probably even distant Kāthiāwār, which was definitely lost only in 916 when the loyal Chāpas gave place to the Chālukyas. The Chandels and Chedis became independent in the region between the Jumna and the Narmadā. The dramatist Kshemīśvara in his *Chaṇḍakauśika* says that his patron Mahīpāla overcame the Karṇāṭas, and Rājaśekhara designates him 'King of Āryāvarta'. But the Pratihāra empire does not seem to have fully recovered from the blow it received at the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. In the late half of the tenth century Pratihāra power was greatly shaken. The Pratihāras lost Gujarāt by the rise of the Chaulukya kingdom of Anhilvara (961). Muñja (974–995), the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā, also became independent.

GĀHAḌVĀLAS: In the later half of the tenth century, when the Pratihāra authority weakened, there was commotion followed by the rise of the new imperial family known as the Gāhaḍvāla (Gaharwar). Towards 1090 Chandradeva, the third king of the Gaharwar clan, took Kanauj, and established his authority over Benares and Ayodhyā, perhaps also over Delhi which had been founded a century earlier. This dynasty lasted till its extinction in the invasions of Shihab-ud-din in A.D. 1194. The imperial status which they held made it necessary for them to meet the Muslim challenge. Their inscriptions make mention of a levy called *Turushkadaṇḍa*. This has been severally interpreted as a tax on aromatic seeds, a tax for meeting the cost of the war against Muslims or for paying tribute to them, and as a tax imposed on resident Muslims in the kingdom. Govindachandra, the grandson of Chandradeva, was perhaps the greatest king of the line. His reign included the years A.D. 1104 and 1155. There are numerous grants and coins showing that under him Kanauj became once more a power of importance. One of the charters dated 1128 shows that the king worshipped the Sun, Śiva, and Vāsudeva and made rice oblations in the fire. In appreciation of the great Buddhist monk and scholar, Śākyarakshita of Utkala and his disciple, Vāgīśvararakshita of the Chola country, the king gave six villages to the congregation

of Śākyabhikshus living in the monastery of Jetavana. His queen Kumāradevī was a descendant on her mother's side of the Pālas of Bengal. Her father was a king of Piṭhī, probably Pithapuram in the Godāvarī district. Some say she was the daughter of Devarakshita of South Bihar. She was an ardent Buddhist. Govindachandra's grandson was Jayachandra, renowned in popular Hindi literature as Rājā Jaichand, whose daughter was carried off by the gallant Rai Pithora of Ajmer. The Muslim historians call him king of Benares, perhaps, because it was his capital. Shihab-ud-din defeated his army with great slaughter at Chandāwar near the Jumna at the Etawah district; the king himself fell in battle, and after pillaging Benares, the invader returned with a vast booty loaded on 1,400 camels. The Chandella princes of Mahoba took the place of the Gāhaḍvālas in Kanauj. They ruled in obscurity for eight generations.

The Rathors of Jodhpur claimed descent from Jaichand through a boy who escaped massacre. Probably after the Muslim conquest of Kanauj the bulk of the Gāhaḍvāl clan migrated in the deserts of Marwar in Rājputāna, where the new State came up.

Chāhumānas: From A.D. 700 Rājput chiefs of the Chāhumāna or Chauhan family are known to have ruled in Sāmbhar (Śākambharī) near the lake of that name to the north of Ajmer. There were also other branches of the family ruling at different times in different places in Northern India. Some of this clan were subject to the Governor of Ujjain under the Gurjara Mahendrapāla II, and the Chāhumānas of Broach who were vassals of Nāgabhaṭa I were nearly as old as the house of Sāmbhar. The Chāhumānas were very much like the Gurjaras, if not related to them.

Of the kings of the Sāmbhar line only two deserve mention. One of them is Vigraharāja IV who ruled in the middle of the twelfth century. He was a ruler of great distinction who made extensive additions to his dominions. But he did not conquer Delhi as is sometimes stated. Delhi continued to be under the rule of a Tomara chieftain, a descendant of Anangapāla who built the Red Fort where Kutb mosque now stands. He also removed the iron pillar of Chandra perhaps from Mathurā and set it up in A.D. 1052 on its present site as an adjunct to a group of temples which have all disappeared, their materials having been built into the adjacent

mosque and minar. Two dramas which Vigraharāja had engraved on slabs of black marble came to light in the principal mosque of Ajmer some time ago.

Vigraharāja's newphew was Pṛithvīrāja, the Rai Pithora of legend and song. He was a chivalrous lover remembered best for 'his daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaichand, the Gaharwar Rājā of Kanauj' which occurred in or about A.D. 1175. Chand Bardai, the court-poet wrote a short poem of 5,000 verses called *Pṛithīrāj-Raisa*. This has been enlarged by additions made up to Akbar's time so that it has swollen into 125,000 verses. The Sanskrit *Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya* from Kashmir composed a little before A.D. 1200 is more reliable than the Hindi epic *Pṛithīrāj-Raisa*. Pṛithvīrāja was a great warrior. He defeated the Chandella king Parmāl and took his capital Mahoba in 1182. He organized resistance against the Muslim invaders and inflicted a severe defeat in 1191 on Shihab-ud-din or Muhammad of Ghor at Tarain or Talāwari between Thānesar and Karnal. Shihab-ud-din retired humiliated only to come back next year to wreak vengeance on Pṛithvīrāja. In the second battle of Tarain, Pṛithvīrāja was captured and executed. His city of Ajmer was sacked, and the inhabitants were either massacred or enslaved. On the eve of the battle, his young wife, Saṁyuktā exhorted him to die for his country in words that deserve to be remembered:

'Sun of the Chauhans! Who has drunk so deep
Of glory and of pleasure as my lord?
And yet the destiny of all is death:
Yea, even of the Gods—and to die well
Is life immortal....Therefore draw your sword,
Smite down the foes of Hind: think not of self—
The garment of this life is frayed and worn.
Think not of me—we twain shall be as one.
Hereafter and for ever—Go, my king!'

Gurjaras and Rājputs (Southern Group)

MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ: We have already traced the history of the Maitrakas of Valabhī up to the age of Harsha. At its greatest extent their kingdom included practically the whole of Gujarāt, Kacch and Mālwa. The Maitraka sovereigns favoured Buddhism

and made endowments to several Buddhist monasteries. It is notable that one of them belonged to the monks of Mahāyāna. Valabhī was the residence of renowned Buddhist teachers in the seventh century. It rivalled Nālandā in Bihar as an intellectual centre of Buddhism. Svetāmbara Jainas held a council in Valabhī (A.D. 454 or 514) to settle their canon.

Hiuen Tsang mentions one Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya who reigned from 595 to 610 or 615 as a Buddhist king of Mo-la-p'o, Western Mālwa. Though the chronology is doubtful, we may take Śīlāditya I to be the Maitraka ruler of Valabhī and infer that Western Mālwa had become a part of Valabhī kingdom by conquest. The names and dates of the long line of kings of Valabhī who used the Gupta era are known with sufficient accuracy. The only ruler who calls himself *Chakravartin* is Dharasena IV. His camp in Broach is mentioned and Kaira district was under him. Some writers take this king to be the patron of grammarian Bhaṭṭi, but an earlier Dharasena of Valabhī cannot be ruled out. The last known monarch is Śīlāditya VII (766). Alberuni and Mertunga, the Jaina author of *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, a quasi-historical work, narrate how Valabhī was betrayed by treachery to the Muslims, who were thus enabled to enter the city by night and kill its king. After the overthrow of Valabhī its place as the chief city of Western India was taken by Anhilwara.

GURJARAS OF BROACH—THE CHĀPAS—THE CHŪḌASAMAS: The dynasty of Gurjaras established themselves in Broach at the end of the sixth century or a little later. Their power extended over southern Gujarāt, sometimes up to Tāptī. Their rule was ended by Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III. The founder of the city of Anhilwara was one Vanarāja of the Gujarāt clan known as Chāpa, Chāpotkoṭa or Chāvaḍa (746). The city retained its importance till it was superseded in the fifteenth century by Ahmadabād. The dynasty of Vanarāja counted six kings and they ruled till 974, when it gave place to the Chālukyas. By the side of the family of Vanarāja, there were other Chāpa princes, all of whom recognized the suzerainty of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. At Girnar (Junagadh), the Chūḍasamas ruled from the tenth century to about 1551. They first acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Anhilwara and later became Jagirdars of Muslim chiefs. It is the Chūḍasamas that built the famous Somanāth temple.

CHAULUKYAS: The Chaulukyas or Solankis were one of the fire-born clans of legend. They ruled in Anhillapura from 974 to the beginning of the thirteenth century and were great patrons of Jainism. Mūlarāja (974–995), the founder of the line, was a great ruler, who reduced to obedience the clans of Mount Ābu and conquered Surāshṭra. He was killed in war with the Chāhumānas by Vigraharāja II. Mūlarāja's son Chāmuṇḍarāja (996) won victories against Sindhurāja, the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā. Chāmuṇḍa's grandson, Bhīmadeva I (1022) was the enemy and conqueror of Bhoja of Dhārā; he reconstructed the temple of Somanāth after its destruction by Mahmud. Bhīmadeva's grandson, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was a famous ruler of this line. He was a great patron of letters and a Śaivite as his ancestors. He captured and imprisoned Yaśovarman of Dhārā. Though a Śaivite he patronized the Jaina writer Hemachandra. He organized discussions on religion and philosophy among the followers of different religions, anticipating Akbar's practice by nearly five centuries. He had a famous minister Pṛithvīpāla, who continued under his successor Kumārapāla. Siddharāja erected at Mount Ābu a pavillion where he set up the statues of seven of his ancestors mounted on elephants. Kumārapāla was the son of a courtesan who was adopted into the royal family for her virtue. Hemachandra converted him to Jainism. Assuming the title of *Paramārhata*, Kumārapāla imposed the rule of *ahiṁsā* on his subjects and compelled brāhmins to give up animal sacrifices. In his reign, butchers closed their stalls on receipts of three years' profits as indemnity; ascetics no longer got skins of antelopes for their use, and the tribes of hunters of Girnar died of hunger. Alcohol, dice and combats of animals were forbidden. Though an ardent Jain, he paid his worship to the Śiva temple of Somanātha, and Hemachandra did not hesitate to accompany his disciple. Kumārapāla was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla (1172–1176), who was put on the throne by the Śaiva party in preference to Pratāpamalla, son of a daughter of Kumārapāla, whom the Jains favoured. There was a Śaiva reaction in Ajayapāla's reign. It is said that Jaina monks were massacred and their temples devastated. The king had a violent death, having been stabbed by one of his servants. His son, Bhīmadeva II Abhinavasiddharāja has left inscriptions dated from 1199 to 1238. He is believed to have resisted the Muslim ruler of Ghazni about 1178. In 1195 he fought Kutb-ud-din, and drove him back as far as Ajmer in 1196; but the next

year (1197) Anhilvāra fell to the Muslims. Bhīmadeva had a mayor of the palace in the Jaina Lavaṇaprāsāda whose descendants seized the throne of Anhilvāra about 1240 and ruled to the end of the century; they are known as the Vyāghrapatis or Vāghelas.

PARAMĀRAS OF DHĀRĀ: The Paramāra dynasty was founded by Upendra or Kṛishṇarāja early in the tenth century. It began its existence as a feudatory power under the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. The Paramāras were great patrons of Sanskrit learning. Among the rulers of this dynasty, the seventh Muñja is celebrated in literature as the hero of numerous anecdotes narrated in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutunga. He patronized several Sanskrit scholars. Muñja was himself a poet whose verses are preserved in anthologies. He also distinguished himself in war and peace and fought the Huns and the king of Chedi with success. He invaded the dominions of Chālukya Taila II six times, but when he invaded the seventh time, he was captured by Taila and cast in prison. When he attempted to escape from prison, he was caught and executed in A.D. 995. The next ruler of importance in this dynasty was Bhoja who was the son of Muñja's brother, Sindhurāja. Bhoja had a long reign of over forty years (1018–1060) and earned the reputation of a model ruler. He was great both in war and peace. He fought against the Huns and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. He wrote many books on astronomy, poetics and architecture which show his versatility. He was the creator of a Sanskrit college located in a temple of Sarasvati, and its site is now occupied by a mosque in Dhārā. He had the great Bhojpur lake excavated to the south-east of Bhopal. It covered an area of more than 250 square miles and was perhaps his noblest monument. Besides being beautiful, this lake modified the climate of Mālwa and helped greatly to prevent famine. In the fifteenth century its massive embankments were cut by the order of Hoshang Shah (1405–1435) and was thus drained off. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Railway. About A.D. 1060, Bhoja fell before the combined attack of Gujarāt and Chedi, and with his fall came to an end the glory of the Paramāra dynasty. His successors continued as local rulers of little importance till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they gave place to the Tomaras who in turn were followed by Chauhans.

Chandellas and the Kings of Chedi

The Chandellas are believed to have been a clan of aboriginal chiefs related to the Gonds or Bhars who came to be recognized as kshatriyas. They reigned in the area now known as Bundelkhand which formerly was Jajākabhukti or Jejākabhukti, (Jarahuti of Alberuni), the valleys of the southern tributaries of the Jumna and the northern offshoots of the Vindhyas. Their principal towns were Chhatarpur, Mahoba (Mahotsava-nagara, modern Hamirpur), Kālañjara and Khajurāho. The later kings had the title 'Lords of Kālañjara'. This shows the importance of the fortress which together with Gwalior dominated the bounds of the Chandella kingdom on the east and west at the beginning of the eleventh century. Dhanga was one of the most powerful kings of the line. The Chandellas had close relations—dynastic and political—with their southern neighbours, the Kalachuris of Chedi. Towards A.D. 831, Nannuka carved out a principality for himself near Chhatarpur, at the expense of the Pratihāras. In this he was aided by the rulers of Kanauj who were also Pratihāras. The sixth king of the line was Harsha who assisted Mahīpāla to recover the throne of Kanauj after the invasion of Indra III Rāshṭrakūṭa in A.D. 916. Extending their power towards the Jumna which became the frontier between their territory and the kingdom of Kanauj, the Chandellas declared independence. Harsha's son Yaśovarman defeated his neighbours including the Chedi ruler and greatly strengthened his position by occupying Kālañjara. Devapāla of Kanauj ceded to him a historic image of Vishnu to be enshrined in a temple built by him at Khajurāho.

The son of Yaśovarman was king Dhanga (954–1002). He lived to be more than a hundred years of age and was the most remarkable ruler of his family. Some of the grandest temples at Khajurāho were built by him. In 990, he joined the confederacy of the Hindu kings and shared the disastrous defeat inflicted by Sabuktigin. Dhanga's kingdom extended from the Jumna to Chedi and from Gwalior to Kālañjara. His son Gaṇḍa joined the confederacy of Ānandapāl of Punjab against Mahmud of Ghazni. This was also a failure. Gaṇḍa's son Vidyādharadeva attacked Rājyapāla of Kanauj for having ignobly accepted the authority of Mahmud. But he himself, four years later, was unable to defend Kālañjara against Mahmud. The son and the grandson of Vidyādhara

recognized the suzerainty of Gāngeya and Karṇa of Chedi. It was the thirteenth king of the line, Kīrtivarman (1054) that restored the power of the Chandellas by a victory against the Chedi Karṇa and gained his independence. In his reign lived Kṛishṇamiśra, the author of the philosophical dramas called *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Rise of the Moon of Intellect). This drama is a clever exposition of the *advaita vedānta* system. Kīrtivarmadeva witnessed this drama in 1065 and ruled up to 1100. The last king worthy of note was Paramārdideva (Parmāl) who ruled from A.D. 1165 to 1203. He was defeated by Pṛithvīrāja Chauhan in 1182. In 1203 Kutb-ud-din defeated Paramārdideva and captured Kālañjara. That was the end of Chandella's autonomy. The kingdom lingered on through the thirteenth century until its annexation to the Delhi Sultanate in 1310.

CHEDIS: The Chedis appear to be a clan of hoary traditions for they are found mentioned among the sixteen great nations in an early Buddhist text.

The Chedi kingdom to the south of Bundelkhand comprised two parts. The northern part was the ancient Ḍahāla where the Ucchakalpas and Parivrājakas had ruled: it included the district of Jubalpur on the Upper Narmadā, and parts of Rewa and Panna. Its capital was Tripurī (Tewar in Jubalpur district); there are some coins bearing the name of the town in characters of the third century B.C. The southern Chedi was the Southern Kosala (Dakshiṇakosala) with its capital at Ratnapura, roughly the district of Bilaspur; it was governed by a junior branch of the house of Tripurī, which took the place of a local lunar dynasty referred to in some inscriptions. The kings of Tripurī who were Kalachuris used the mysterious Traikūṭaka era beginning from 25 September A.D. 249, and the era is also called Kalachuris era on that account. The Kalachuris are well known to the *Purāṇas*. There were Kalachuri rulers in Gujarāt in the sixth century A.D. It appears that there were several branches of these rulers ruling over different States, but it is impossible to know the connection among them. In the twelfth century there were Kalachuri rulers in the Deccan. One of the earliest rulers of Tripurī was Kokalla I. He married a Chandel princess by name Naṭṭādevī. The rulers of Tripurī were intimately connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by marriage alliances and took part in wars against the Gurjaras and Vengi. Among

the later kings of Tripurī Gāngeya and Karṇa played a very great part in the history of the north. The last princes of the line were subject to the Musulmans.

Kokalla I had eighteen children. The eldest son was Mugdha Tunga (Prasiddha Dhavala) who ruled in Tripurī. Kokalla's daughter, grand-daughter and great grand-daughter married kings and princes of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house. In 903, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Chedis appear to have fallen out. But the reasons are not quite clear. When the Chandella king Kokalla assisted Mahīpāla to oust Bhoja II of Kanauj, the Chedis did not like this for they supported the latter. The junior branch of the line of the Tripurī kings ruled the South Kosala. At first the capital was Tummāna and later Ratnapura founded by Ratnarāja, the third king of the Kosala line. Nine kings of this line in all ruled to the end of the twelfth century A.D.

The eighth king of the main line was Lakshmaṇarāja. He made expeditions in the east against Orissa, in the west against Kāthiāwār, and in the north against the Gurjaras. Even victories in Kashmir are attributed to him. He installed princes of his house on the Gaṇḍakī, the northern tributary of the Ganges. His sister Kundaladevī was the queen of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha III, and his daughter Bonthādevī married Chālukya Vikramāditya IV, father of Taila II. The twelfth ruler of the line was Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya (1015–1041). He was an able and ambitious monarch who went far towards attaining a paramount position in Northern India. Though it is not certain that his authority was recognized in the north-eastern Punjab, he turned to account the defeat sustained in 1019 by the Pratihāras of Kanauj, not only to acquire the country south of the Ganges and make Prayāga (Allahabad) one of his residences, but to extend his conquests beyond the sacred river to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. He is no doubt the Gāngeyadeva named in a Nepalese manuscript as the master of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) with several imperial titles. He had the best of a war with Bengal, and made a raid against the south. Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya's son was Karṇadeva who ruled from 1041 to 1070. He married a Hun princess named Āvalladevī. He carried forward his father's aggressive projects. He joined Bhīma of Gujarāt against Bhoja, the learned Paramāra ruler of Mālwa (A.D. 1060). He fought against the Chandella as well as the kings of the south and assumed the title *Trikalingādhipati*. In the last years of his

reign, Karṇa met with reverses. He was defeated by Kīrtivarman Chandella. In the later half of the twelfth century the Chedi dominion was reduced to its ancient limits. But even these did not remain intact as the Ratnapura line declared its independence. How this line came to disappear is not known.

The Himalayan Countries

KASHMIR: The centre of Kashmir has always been the basin of Śrīnagar, a fertile plateau through which flows the river Jhelam. The Mughuls called it the earthly paradise of India. The basin of Kashmir is a stage between the Punjab and Central Asia. The valley of the Jhelam forms a wide gap in the mountain and so the higher route by the Pīr Pānjal was generally preferred by the Mughuls. The pass, Zoji-la, to the north-east of Śrīnagar led to Tibet and Turkistan. The paths of Nepal, now generally neglected, were often used by the Chinese and Tibetans, so that Nepal served for a long time as a link between China and India. The historical geography of this region clearly shows that at no time did the Himalaya cut off India completely from the States and Civilizations of Central Asia and the Far East. Kashmir, the Kasperia of Ptolemy, from early times has been occupied by Aryan tribes and for many centuries the rulers joined in the strenuous life of Āryāvarta. The history of Hindu Kashmir from the seventh century A.D. has been recorded in ample detail in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, written in the twelfth century by a learned brāhmin named Kalhaṇa or Kalyāṇa. This has been beautifully edited and translated by Sir M. A. Stein. Kalhaṇa is really the one historian of ancient India and his metrical chronicle, *Rājatarangiṇī*, (River of Kings) is regarded as superior to the genealogies (Vaṁśāvalis) of the rest of India. Kashmir formed part of the empire of Aśoka who is said to have built the ancient city of Śrīnagar near the present capital. The complete Aryanization of Kashmir is attributed by Kalhaṇa to the son of Aśoka, Jalauka. He drove out the barbarian oppressors and introduced Aryan settlers and an Aryan system of government. Kashmir was also a province of the Kushāṇa empire and Buddhism later flourished under Kanishka and Huvishka. The former is said to have held there the third (or fourth by another reckoning) general assembly of the *sangha*. Kashmir came under the Hun tyrant,

Mihirakula, who in spite of his cruelties sought to win religious merit by building Śiva shrines and endowing monasteries. Kashmir did not apparently acknowledge the suzerainty of Harsha though he managed to take from one of the Kashmiri kings, perhaps Durlabhavardhana, the tooth of the Buddha, a precious relic. The decadence of Kashmir, politically and socially, seemed to have begun when it lost intimate touch with the rest of the Āryāvarta. Kalhaṇa mentions clearly an important principle of Indo-Aryan polity namely, the power vested in the ministerial council for checking the arbitrary conduct of the monarch. Yudhishṭhira I was expelled from the kingdom for misconduct and a new dynasty was brought in from abroad to fill the vacant throne. When one of the kings of this new dynasty ill-treated a minister named, Sandhimati, the ministerial council resented it and deposed the king and Sandhimati 'consented to the prayer of the citizens to rule the country'. These are but two of several instances recorded by Kalhaṇa. The grandson of Durlabhavardhana was Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya (733–769). He maintained constant relations with China and made Kashmir a great power. This was the time when the Arabs and the Tibetans gave trouble and the Chinese emperor Hiuen-Tsang courted the friendship of the king of Kashmir by sending a brevet of investiture in 720 to Chandrāpīḍa, the older brother of Muktāpīḍa. Muktāpīḍa fought and overthrew Yaśovarman of Kanauj (740) and also vanquished the Tibetans, Bhutias and the Turks on the Indus. He constructed the famous Mārtaṇḍa temple of the Sun which still exists in a magnificent ruin. The historian attributes many adventures to Jayāpīḍa or Vinayāditya, the grandson of Muktāpīḍa. It is believed that he overthrew Vajrāyudha of Kanauj at the end of the eighth century. Kalhaṇa dwells at some length on the cruelty and avarice of this ruler.

Avantivarman (855–883) was the first king of the Utpala dynasty, that ruled over Kashmir. His reign was remarkable for his literary activity and for beneficial schemes of drainage and irrigation. The narrative of the doings of the two kings, Śaṁkaravarman and Harsha, teems with horror. Harsha (1089–1101), 'a true Turk' though learned, created 'a prefect for destruction of the gods' (*devotpāṭanayaka*), and coined money from the images of gold, silver and bronze consecrated by his predecessors, notably the magnificent Lalitāditya. The rest of the political annals of

Kashmir is of little interest from the point of view of the history of India.

Kashmir is important in many ways. Politically, it often subjugated the upper Punjab and interfered in the affairs of Ganges valley. But it belonged as much to High Asia as to India, and had relations with China. It was the scene of interesting developments in literature, religion and philosophy. Kalhaṇa gives indications to Buddhist constructions by Lalitāditya and his contemporaries, by his successor Jayāpīḍa who was a Vaishṇava and even by the wicked queen named Diddā (980–1003). Muslims became masters in 1339–40 and Buddhism which had long been decadent, its monks taking to a married life, practically disappeared in a short time. Kashmir was the home of a separate school of Śaivism which had a philosophy very similar to that of *Advaita* as developed by Śaṁkara, but appears to have been an original development based on a revealed text the *Śaivasūtras*. Sanskrit literature found a congenial home in Kashmir at all times. There was a galaxy of poets under Avantivarman (850). Ratnākara treated of Śaivite subjects and Abhinanda put in easy verse the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. Kshemendra in the eleventh century was a famous writer. He was the author of *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*. Somadeva (1063–1081) wrote the famous *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Ocean of the Rivers of Stories). This has been the source of much folklore, of picturesque and humourous literature as well as of religious and moral virtues. Kalhaṇa (1100) is the greatest name in Indian historical literature. His ideals and methods of work would do credit to a modern historian.

Kulūta—roughly corresponding to the modern Kulu valley on the upper Beas—is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the *Kādambarī* and the *Mudrā-rākshasa*. It was the Kiu-lu-to of Hiuen Tsang where Aśoka had built a *stūpa*, and there were 20 monasteries and 1,000 monks of the Mahāyāna. The district was invaded by Tibetans (1080–1100), and the king agreed to pay tribute in dzos (a cross between the yak and the cow) and iron, and this treaty was observed till 1870. The sovereigns of Delhi recognized the chiefs of Kulūta as zamindars.

Chambā is in the upper waters of the Rāvī, to the west of Kulūta. Its old capital was at Brahmor (Brahmapura). The new capital Chambā was founded by the king Sahilla in the tenth century. Chambā was open to influences from India though it was too poor to maintain great scholars as the imperfect Sanskrit of its

inscriptions shows. Its kings were tolerant and wise rulers and Islam never made its influence felt here. The people of Chambā still worship in the temples built in the seventh century and Brahmor conserves the images of bronze which the piety of one Meruvarman set up over twelve centuries ago.

NEPAL: The modern kingdom of Nepal is an extensive territory lying along with the northern frontier of India for about five hundred miles from Kumaon on the west to Sikkim on the east. The Nepal of ancient Indian history was only a restricted valley-plain of Kathmandu about twenty miles long and fifteen miles broad. The word Nepal means 'valley'. The capital, Kathmandu, was perhaps founded in 724 by Guṇakāmadeva. On either side of the plain, east and west, there are very high mountains in the valley where in olden days there lived plundering chiefs. For a long time the valley-plain of Kathmandu was the political centre of these plundering chiefs. The people of Nepal, Newars, are peaceful cultivators who descended into the country from Tibet in olden days. The mountain clans or princes of the plain subjugated them. Nepal was cut into a number of rival principalities which were often united under powerful princes and vigorous dynasties. The country is fertile and its industry is artistic. Indo-Tibetan commerce added considerably to the material resources of the people. Nepal has remained a Hindu kingdom least affected by western or Islamic influences. The political history of Nepal is of great help in understanding some of the problems of the history of India.

The Non-Aryan population of Nepal was first Indianized by Buddhism born in the plain adjoining it. In the early decades of the fourteenth century, the people of Nepal were half-pagan and half-Buddhist, ignorant of caste and ritualism. Harisiṁhadeva (A.D. 1324) who was displaced by Muslims from his Gangetic principality went to Nepal and strengthened brāhmaṇism there. Buddhism has been steadily declining in Nepal as its monks have turned to married life and its doctrine has mingled with many local cults, some of which are of Hindu origin. The valley was certainly a part of Aśoka's empire. Samudra Gupta's Allahabad inscription (fourth century A.D.) mentions Nepal as an autonomous frontier State like Kāmarūpa or Assam, paying tribute and acknowledging suzerainty. The ruling dynasty in the sixth and seventh centuries was of Licchavi extraction. But its connection with the Licchavi of Vaiśālī is not

clearly known. According to Hiuen Tsang, the Nepalese Licchavis were pious Buddhists and scholars ranking as kshatriyas. In the seventh and eighth centuries, Tibet was a powerful State in close touch with India as well as with China. Nepal in the seventh century was a buffer State between Tibet and Harshavardhana's empire. King Aṁśuvarman (642), founder of the Ṭhākuri line, was in close touch with Tibet whose monarch Strong-tsang-Gampo was his son-in-law. The Tibetan monarch took the daughter of the emperor of China, the princess Wen-chen, for his second wife in A.D. 641. The part of Tibetan and Nepalese troops in the occurrences after Harsha's death has already been noticed (p. 248). In A.D. 703, both Nepal and Tirhut shook off the Tibetans' sovereignty. From the seventh century onwards Nepalese Buddhism was a Tāntric variety of Mahāyāna marked by the production of many images of metal with distinct characteristics of their own. Gurkhas who now rule the country conquered it in 1768. In 1815, the foreign policy of the State was under the control of the Government of India, though China often laid claims to tribute. The Nepalese libraries contain a rich store of Buddhist manuscripts which have supplied much material for the study of the various forms of the Buddhist religion and philosophy.

Art

ART: The period from the seventh century to the time of Mahmud of Ghazni was the most prolific in religious architecture. This was the time when Hindu monarchs vied with each other in the magnificence and number of their temples. Sacred halls were converted into the cities of gods, hundreds and thousands of skilled artisans were diverted from ordinary industrial pursuits to the pious labour of elaborating the embellishment of the temple service in stone, bronze and precious metals and costly fabrics. The amazing accumulations of wealth stored in Indian temple treasuries more than anything else excited the cupidity of the Mohammedan invaders and made their pious predatory raids highly profitable undertakings. These temples were founded not simply upon dogmas but upon the science of social life. The temple combined the service of God with the various works of public utility, instruction and recreation.

KHAJURĀHO: The standard type of Khajurāho temple contains a shrine room or sanctuary, an assembly hall and an entrance portico. The Khajurāho *śikhara* is curvilinear. Its upward thrust is accentuated by miniature *śikharas* emerging from the central tower. Kandariya-Mahadeo is a striking example of a feature very common in Indian art, that is the feeling of unity with Nature. The Khajurāho style made much use of carving. The temples were adorned with sculpture both outside and within and the walls have beautifully carved domical series. There are six Jain temples in the group which differ from the brāhmaṇical temples only in the elimination of window openings.

Date and locality, rather than differences of creed, are the dominating factors influencing the style of architecture and sculpture. At Khajurāho, a leading example from mediaeval Northern India, Jaina and brāhmaṇical (Śaiva and Vaishṇava) temples were erected in the typical Āryāvarta style. Situated in the former State of Chhatarpur, about a hundred miles to the south-east of Jhānsī, these temples, over thirty in number, are ranged rather unsymmetrically round the borders of an ornamental sheet of water, and together occupy a site of about a square mile. They were all built within a hundred years (A.D. 950 to 1050), and thus form a brilliant episode in the history of architecture in the North. The series owed its rise to the patronage of Chandellas and has a distinct character of its own. Each temple stands on a broad terrace of high and solid masonry and forms a compact unit of no great size, the largest being only a hundred feet in length. 'They rely for their appearance on their elegant proportions, graceful contours, and rich surface treatment'.

RĀJPUTĀNA AND CENTRAL INDIA: A development of great beauty marked the last centuries of the first millennium A.D. in parts of Rājputāna and Central India, but owing to the destruction wrought by the early Muslim invaders few examples have survived intact. It is known that materials pulled out of twenty-six temples went to the making of the Kutb mosque at Delhi and the pillars of the Ajmer mosque represent the spoils of at least fifty temples. The chief feature of this variation of the Āryāvarta style was the free use of columns carved with great richness, and exquisite marble ceilings with cusped pendants. At the small village of Osia, thirty-two miles north-west of Jodhpur, are found sixteen brāhmaṇica

and Jain temples, of which eleven temples of an early phase lie on the outskirts of the village, while the rest, rather of later date, are on a hill to the east of it. The earlier group belongs to the eighth and ninth centuries, and though rather small in size they are very elegant both in their architecture and sculpture and in the variety of their designs. Particularly charming is the temple of the Sun. In all these temples, the doorways, particularly the entrances to the shrine chamber, portray a great deal of folklore and mythology for the instruction of the unlettered. The only two examples of rock-cut temples in the northern style are those of Damnar, fifty miles south-west of Jhalrapatan and of Masrur in the Kangra district of the Punjab Himalayas.

SOLANKI ART: From the disorder and confusion attendant on the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni, the recovery was quick and the first two centuries of the second millennium, marked by comparative peace and relative material prosperity in the west under the stable rule of the Solankis and the flourishing commerce with foreign lands, witnessed the creations of a remarkable school of religious architecture in Gujarāt and in the neighbouring lands. Nature and man have wrought havoc on the finest buildings of the period, but enough remains to attest the external richness and inward feeling for form and purpose characteristic of the Solanki temples, which are as notable for their structural efficiency as for their aesthetic quality. The structures are both Jaina and Hindu, and in the early thirteenth century the two celebrated brothers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla who have been called 'the Indian Medicis' used their power and resources for encouraging the arts of Gujarāt. The Solanki temples as a whole, however, were the creation not of a small group of minds, but of the entire community moved to take an abiding personal interest in their construction, each person according to his capacity. Solanki temples regularly illustrate the growth of the style from the late tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. The earliest buildings are the four temples at Sunak, Kanoda, Delmal and Kesara, all within a radius of fifteen miles from Patan (Anhilvāra), the old Solanki capital in Gujarāt. Small temples built on a modest plan, they display in their sculptures all the characteristic richness of the style. The best preserved example is the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Sunak, its *śikhara* is entire and the building itself is the finest constructed of its kind. Of the

larger temples, equally beautiful, constructed in the eleventh century, the temple of Sūrya at Modhera in the 'Baroda State' is a typical example. Like the other great Sun temples at Mārtaṇḍ (Kashmir) and Konārak (Orissa), the temple at Modhera has suffered from vandalism and neglect; its tower is gone and its roofs are damaged; still it is a monument of great attractiveness. The temple of Vimala at Mount Ābu in Rājputāna constructed altogether of white marble and meant to conform to the usages of Jaina religion, is one of the earliest and most complete examples belonging to that creed in this region. In the twelfth century, the country remained peaceful, and maintained its commercial prosperity and architectural activity. The temple of Rudra Māla at Siddhāpur and the further restoration of the temple of Somanāth after its spoliation by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1025 were two great projects of the period. But both are in a ruined condition, and the latter having been restored more than once and then converted into a mosque has little of the original fabric intact.

The Jain temple of Tejahpāla at Mount Ābu (A.D. 1230), adjacent to and resembling the Vimala temple of two centuries earlier, shows that there was a little change in the architectural mode during the interval, though clearly the meridian of the Solanki style had been passed. Besides temples, there were built other structures of a semi-religious or civil character like *kīrtistambhas* (Pillars of fame), archways, monumental towers, city gateways, tanks and sluices, and *vāvs* or public wells, some of which lay claim to great originality of conception and skill in execution. Three temples within the rock-bound fortress of Gwalior deserve to be noted. The largest among them, the greater Sās-bāhu (mother-in-law and daughter-in-law) was finished in A.D. 1093, and the two others cannot be far removed from it in time. From these temple *maṇḍapas* it was that the builders of Indian mosques developed 'those noble central spaces surrounded by pillars and carried up in stages to the vaulted roof, a conception of rare beauty and one which gives its prevailing character to the *masjids* of Gujarāt'.

KASHMIR: In art as in other fields, Kashmir built up its own tradition. The early Buddhist phase (A.D. 200) is represented by bare foundations of square bases in three tiers, and of apsidal *chaityas* revealed by excavations of archaeologists. The later mediaeval movement comes into view with the classical monuments of the

eighth century, which mark a decisive leap forward in the methods of construction. The buildings were 'on a grand scale, constructed of immense stones wrought with astonishing precision, their surfaces finely dressed, and bonded by exact and scientific means, all showing profound experience and patient skill.' The masons of Kashmir evinced a more profound knowledge of the building art than the Indian craftsmen of the Gupta times. The Kashmir style was in many ways a continuation of the Graeco-Buddhist movement of Gandhāra, which owed something also to Central and Western Asian influence as testified by the use of cement and of dowells for bonding masonry. The earliest monuments of the classical period were Buddhist. A little later came the temples of Hinduism which have suffered less damage than the Buddhist structures. These temples had no *śikhara* and no columned hall, but only the main cella. Their chief features were recesses of niches with a trefoil arch within a high-pitched triangular pediment, the pyramidal roof, and the employment throughout of a fluted pillar with capital and entablature recalling the Doric order of the Romans. Sometimes the temple was placed in the centre of a shallow tank of water, a practice traced to the prevalence of a *nāga* cult. The reigns of Lalitāditya and of Avantivarman in the middle of the eighth and later half of the ninth centuries were the two golden periods of this brāhmaṇical architecture. The great temple of the Sun at Mārtaṇḍ is the model of all subsequent Hindu temples of Kashmir. Its design is that 'of a comprehensive central structure comprising the sanctuary standing within a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by a cellular peristyle which is entered by an imposing gateway'.

Avantivarman (855–883) built a new capital Avantipur overlooking a bend of the Jhelum, eighteen miles south east of Śrīnagar. The ruins of a Śiva temple (Avanteśvara) and a Vishṇu temple (Avantesvāmī) some distance apart, are all that is left of the city.

A provincial off-shoot of the Kashmir style which had some features linking it up with Gandhāra came up at various sites along the Salt range in North Punjab and in the North-West Frontier. The temples are square in plan and have *śikharas*, though they vary much in their architectural details.

BENGAL: Brick and wood dominated the architecture of Bengal, and hence structural remains here are scanty. The two art currents

from the Gupta and Orissa streams met and mingled in Bengal, and were brought into prominence by the patronage of the Pāla rulers, and their successors, the Senas, who continued the Pāla style in a more ornate form. No complete specimen of a pre-Muslim temple of Bengal has survived, though we may surmise on good grounds that it was in its general shape and treatment not unlike the Buddhist temple at Bodh Gayā.

It is clear that India's architects and masons devoted their greatest energies to temple building. They worked according to strict traditions and showed great energy and originality within the main standardized pattern. With the simplest technical equipment they were able to erect monuments of fantastic beauty. In sculpture as also in painting the gods were depicted on the walls of the temples and every aspect of divine and human existence symbolized.

CHAPTER IX

THE KINGDOMS OF THE PENINSULAR INDIA (A.D. 550-1300)

Introductory Remarks

THE mediaeval history of the Peninsula relates roughly to two groups of States, namely, the kingdoms of the Deccan Plateau lying between the Narmadā in the north and Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadrā in the south, and those further south. The region of Mysore is more closely connected with the Deccan Kingdoms than with the Tamil States. The history of the Tamil group of kingdoms, Pāṇḍya, Chera, Chola and Pallava may be regarded as a distinct subject. The kingdoms of these two geographical regions were closely in touch with one another but the political contacts of both these groups with those of Northern India were only a few.

Inscriptions form the main source of information. They are found engraved on stones and slabs in pillars or on copper-plates. They are written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa in the western zone and in Sanskrit and Telugu in the eastern zone, and are usually donative or dedicative in purpose. In the Tamil kingdoms they are written in Sanskrit and Tamil. Although scholars find difficulty in choosing and rejecting data from the inscriptions for various reasons, it may be said that the information yielded by inscriptions can be eked out with the aid of literature, monuments and coins to give a fairly detailed account of the several dynasties that ruled over the kingdoms. But any attempt at giving a dynastic history would make the narrative tedious. It is here proposed to highlight only those events that are meaningful to the march of events in the history of the Peninsula.

In the middle of the sixth century in the far south, the evil rule of the Kaḷabhras was put an end to by the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas who rose steadily to power thereafter. About the same time,

there arose the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who consolidated the political unity of the Deccan which had been impaired after the fall of the Sātavāhanas. The Chālukyas were the most important of the rulers that held sway in the Deccan before the foundation of Vijayanagar. In the middle of the eighth century, the Chālukyas lost their power, and a century later, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas declined. The place of Chālukyas in Western Deccan was taken by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed). There were two collateral lines of the Chālukyas: One that ruled in Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt) and the other, the Andhra country. The latter was a long-lived dynasty which merged with the Cholas in A.D. 1070. In this period, the Cholas are not heard of in the Tamil country except casually. Perhaps they lived in obscurity on the banks of the Kāverī. In the Ceded Districts, however, there was a branch of Cholas claiming descent from Karikāla of the Śangam age. Towards the close of the tenth century, the power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas waned and the main line of the Chālukyas emerged from the obscurity of two centuries and once more they filled the stage of Deccan history. They had, Kalyāṇapurī, 'the best of all the cities' for their capital, and contested with the Cholas of the Tamil land for sovereignty of India, south of the Vindhyas.

Early Chālukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas

EARLY CHĀLUKYAS: According to Bādāmi inscription of A.D. 578, the Chālukyas, like the Brāhmin dynasty of the Kadambas and Chūṭus, claimed to be Hāritīputras of Mānavyagotra. In later times, the Chālukyan kings claimed descent from the moon. There is a legend tracing the dynasty to the rulers of Ayodhyā. But all such stories have no value as factual history. The conjecture that the Chālukyas are of foreign descent is not supported by evidence. They are definitely of indigenous origin.

Pulakeśin I (the Great Lion) was the founder of the Chālukya dynasty. He converted Bādāmi in Bijapur district into a strong hill fortress in A.D. 543-44 and performed an *Aśvamedha*. Perhaps he established independence from the Kadamba rule and made himself master of the territories surrounding Vātāpi (Bādāmi). His queen was Durlabhadevī of Batpura family. He had two sons, Kīrtivarman and Mangaleśa who succeeded him on the throne.

Kīrtivarman I expanded the kingdom by wars against the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Mauryas of Konkan and the Nalas, a branch of whom had perhaps settled in Nalavāḍi in the Bellary region. The conquest of Konkan brought the port of Goa, then known as Revatidvīpa, into the empire. At the time of Kīrtivarman's death, Pulakeśin II, his son, was too young to rule and so his uncle Mangaleśa acted as regent. When Pulakeśin came of age, Mangaleśa showed no signs of giving up the regency. So Pulakeśin II left his uncle's court, gathered an army, fought and killed him in battle and proclaimed himself as king, in A.D.609-10. The reign of Pulakeśin II began and ended with wars, defensive and offensive. He subjugated the Ālupas of South Kanara, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, and the Gangas of Talakāḍ, and married a Ganga princess, the daughter of Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta. He conquered northern Konkan, and its capital Purī, the Lakshmī of the Western Ocean, on the Elephanta island near Bombay. The northern frontier was extended up to the Mahī river, and the Lāṭas, Gurjaras and Mālavas offered their submission to him. At his northern frontier he successfully opposed Harsha's attacks. On the south he was constantly struggling with the Pallava King of Kāñchī, Mahendravarman I and his son, Narasiṁhavarman I and in the east he held Kalinga power in check. About A.D. 620 the river Narmadā was recognized as the dividing line between the dominion of the Lord of the North, Harsha, and the Lord of the South, Pulakeśin II; the latter then started on a *digvijaya* on the eastern part. Southern Kosala and Kalinga submitted to him. He attacked Pishṭapura (Pithapura) and reduced it to submission. In a hard-fought battle on the banks of Kolair Lake, he broke the power of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. To the south of the Vishṇukuṇḍin territory was the Pallava kingdom which Pulakeśin invaded. Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king met him at Puḷḷalūr, fifteen miles to the north of the capital city of Kāñchī, defeated him in the battle and drove him away. The Pallavas, however, lost their northern provinces. Pulakeśin set his brother Vishṇuvardhana to rule over the Andhra country as Viceroy (A.D. 631). This was the beginning of the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengī who ruled there for nearly five centuries. Pulakeśin sent an embassy to the Persian court of Khusru II in A.D. 625-26, and perhaps the courtesy was returned. Pulakeśin invaded the Pallava kingdom a second time in the reign of

Narasiṁhavarman I Mahāmalla (A.D. 630-80), the son and successor of Mahendravarman I. The Pallava was ably assisted by a Ceylonese prince Mānavarma, and though Pulakeśin fought many battles including one at Maṇimangalam, twenty miles east of Kāñchīpuram, the expedition was a failure. Narasiṁha in his turn invaded the Chālukya kingdom and invested its capital Bādāmi. Pulakeśin lost his life in the siege (642) and his son, Vikramāditya, successfully averted the break-up of the Chālukya kingdom. In holding the Chālukya empire intact, he was assisted by his maternal grandfather, Ganga Durvinīta. The Pallava forces were expelled and the revolt of the feudatories of Chālukyas was successfully put down. Vikramāditya I proclaimed himself as king in A.D. 655, and made his loyal younger brother Jayasiṁha the Viceroy of Lāṭa in the north. Vikramāditya renewed his contest with the Pallavas allying himself with Arikesari Parānkuśa Māravarman (607-710), the fourth king of the restored Pāṇḍya line. He had also the alliance of the Gangas of Mysore in his wars against the Pallavas. Vikramāditya fought his way into the Pallava territory but Parameśwara I sent an army to take Bādāmi (Vātāpi). At Peruvaḷanallūr in the Tiruchirāpalli district, Vikramāditya I suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Parameśvaravarman.

In the reigns of Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-96) and Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) there was a lull in the conflict between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. After Vinayāditya came Vikramāditya II. In his reign, the Arab conquerors of Sind threatened to burst into the Deccan but they were effectually stopped by one Pulakeśin of Lāṭa branch and in appreciation of his service, Vikramāditya conferred on him the title, *Avanijanāśraya*, 'refuge to the people of the earth'. Then Vikramāditya continued his hostilites against the Pallavas. The inscription of Vikramāditya on a pillar in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī says that he took Kāñchī and thus avenged the Pallava occupation of Vātāpi. His son, Kīrtivarman II succeeded him and began to rule as a paramount sovereign some time in A.D. 744-45. Soon danger came to his rule from the rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Dantidurga, the founder of the main line of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyaketa, overthrew Kīrtivarman II, the last of the Chālukya kings of Bādāmi, and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi sank into obscurity for well over two centuries.

RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS: The term 'Rāshṭrakūṭas' means designated officers in charge of territorial divisions called '*Rāshṭras*'. The Rāshṭrakūṭas who ousted the Chālukyas originally belonged to Laṭṭalura, modern Lātūr, a small town in the Usmanābād District of Andhra Pradesh. The members of the family were district officers (Rāshṭrakūṭas) under the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Kannaḍa was the mother-tongue of the family. Some ancestors of the family migrated to Berar and won feudatory status for the family in A.D. 640. At the time of the rise of Dantidurga, the family had domiciled itself in Mahārāshṭra for four generations. Dantidurga was in occupation of Ellora in A.D. 742 as a feudatory of Kīrtivarman II of Bādāmi. Dantidurga steadily undermined the power of his overlord and won a victory over him. This made him the master of Mahārāshṭra. His resources were considerably increased by the annexation of Gujarāt and most of the districts in Central and Northern Madhya Pradesh. He subjugated the Choḍas of the Śrīśaila country (Kurnool). He descended in Kāñchī about 750 and after a display of force struck an alliance with Pallavamalla, to whom he gave his daughter Revā in marriage. He then attacked and overthrew his suzerain Kīrtivarman, and proclaimed himself the paramount ruler of Deccan (A.D. 753). Dantidurga was the real founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. He died childless (A.D. 756) and was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa I, who completed the overthrow of Chālukya power and established the Śilāhāras as a feudatory power in Southern Konkan after conquering it. This made his position in Mahārāshṭra and the Karnaṭaka secure. The Śilāhāra family continued to be very loyal and devoted to the Rāshṭrakūṭas down to and even after their downfall in A.D. 773. Kṛishṇa was an ambitious ruler who wanted to extend his empire. He invaded Gangavāḍi (roughly equal to the old Indian 'State of Mysore') which was then under the sway of its old Ganga ruler Śrīpurusha. The Gangas fought hard and made heavy sacrifices to preserve their independence. But in the end Kṛishṇa gained a victory over them and occupied their capital Mānyapura, that is Maṇṇe in the Bangalore district. Kṛishṇa established a number of charitable foundations from the wealth of the enemy capital as attested by a copper-plate grant recently discovered. Śrīpurusha became a feudatory. Kṛishṇa installed his eldest son Govinda II as his heir-apparent. Gonvinda invaded the kingdom of Vengī. Its ruler Vijayāditya (A.D. 755-72)

made his submission without a fight, (A.D. 769-70). Kṛishṇa died in A.D. 773 after a reign of about fifteen years. He secured for his house a dominating position in nearly the whole of Deccan. He was great not only as a conqueror but also as a builder. The magnificent monolithic temple at Ellora was excavated by his orders at a lavish cost. As a devout Hindu, he spent large sums of money in charity to Brāhmins.

Govinda II co-operated with Nandivarman Pallavamalla in assisting Śivamāra II, son of Śrīpurusha, to gain the Ganga throne against the opposition of his brother Duggamāra Eṛeyappa (A.D. 778). The greater part of the reign of Govinda was spent in the struggle for the throne against his brother Dhruva. Govinda was easy-going. Dhruva planned to seize the throne for himself. Govinda strengthened his position by entering into alliance with the rulers of Gangavāḍi, Kāñchī, Vengī and Mālwa. His alliance with the sworn enemies of the Rāshṭrakūṭas alienated the sympathies of his ministers who went over to his younger brother. Dhruva prevailed against Govinda and his allies. After defeating Govinda in a battle, he assumed sovereignty himself in A.D. 780. Govinda seems to have died in the battle. Desirous of punishing the allies of Govinda, Dhruva caught and imprisoned Śivamāra II and levied a tribute of elephants from Pallavamalla. He crossed the Vindhyas, drove the Gurjara Vatsarāja of Mālwa into the desert, and followed up his success by a raid into the Jumna-Gangā doab where he met and defeated Dharmapāla of Bengal. The next victim, Vishṇuvardhana IV of Vengī, had to cede some territory and offer his daughter Śīlamahādevī in marriage to Dhruva. Dhruva's position was thus unchallenged in the whole of India. In the evening of his life his main concern was to settle the problem of succession. He had four sons, Karkka, Stambha, Govinda and Indra. Of these the first appears to have predeceased his father. Stambha was the natural claimant for the throne. But the old emperor was better impressed by the skill and capacity of Govinda. After Dhruva's death in 794, Stambha rose against Govinda III. He put himself in the confederacy of twelve kings including the Ganga Śivamāra II whom Govinda had released from prison in the hope that he would be grateful and loyal in return for his freedom. Govinda, however, was a born soldier. Single-handed he defeated the confederacy, but used his victory with moderation. He reinstated Stambha in the viceroyalty of Gangavāḍi. Śivamāra,

however, was thrown into prison again. Indra, Govinda's younger brother, had always been loyal to him in his troubles. So he made him the viceroy of Lāṭa. With his power firmly established in Deccan, Govinda turned his attention to the politics of Northern India. The Gurjara Nāgabhaṭa II of Mālwa, with his ally, a certain Chandragupta, made himself powerful in Northern India. Govinda, perhaps, suspected that Nāgabhaṭa II cast covetous eyes on territories within his sphere of influence. Feeling, therefore, that Nāgabhaṭa should be crushed, before he became too powerful, Govinda carried his arms into Northern India and defeated Nāgabhaṭa and his ally. Mālwa was annexed for a time to the Viceroyalty of Lāṭa. Govinda marched further north and received the submission of Chakrāyudha of Kanauj. On the way back he encamped by Śrībhavana at Narmadā and here he got a son, the future Amoghavarsha I. Govinda then left his camp at Śrībhavana and made a dash across the Deccan to the Pallava country (A.D. 803-04). He defeated Pallava Dantivarman and entered his capital. Fearing his arms, the king of Ceylon sent an embassy acknowledging his suzerainty. Vengī was at this time ruled by the intrepid warrior Vijayāditya II Narendra-mṛigarāja (lion among kings). The Vengī ruler also felt the force and diplomacy of Govinda. Govinda supported the rival king Bhīma Saluki, a half-brother of Vijayāditya. Bhīma, who was put on the throne of Vengī, was naturally a very humble and submissive feudatory of Govinda. Govinda was undoubtedly the ablest Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. In his time, the Rāshṭrakūṭa power became really invincible. The court-poet justly claims that after his birth, the Rāshṭrakūṭas became unassailable like the Yādavas after the birth of Śrī Kṛishṇa.

Govinda III was succeeded by his son Sarva Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814-880). Sarva was his name, but he is usually called by his title Amoghavarsha which means 'unfailing rainer (of blessings and favours)'. At the time of his succession he was a young boy of fourteen. The administration was carried on under the regency of his cousin, Karkka who had been specially recalled from Gujarāt for the purpose. In A.D. 817, a very serious rebellion broke out against the boy emperor. Amoghavarsha had to flee the country but Karkka brought the situation under control, defeated the rebels, and reinstated his ward upon the throne (A.D. 821). The rebellion was supported by Eastern Chālukya, Vijayāditya II

and the Ganga Rājamalla I. Later Amoghavarsha appears to have gained the upper hand against the Eastern Chālukyas, defeated them in a battle, captured Vengī and held it for ten or fifteen years until it was wrested from his hands by Pāṇḍuranga, a General of Vijayāditya III, the grandson and successor of Vijayāditya II (A.D. 845-46). Śivamāra who had been reinstated by Govinda on the Ganga throne continued to be loyal to Amoghavarsha for about a year. Eventually, he rebelled against the young emperor (A.D. 816). He was defeated and killed in the battle. His nephew and successor Rāchamalla, who also joined the rebellion against Amoghavarsha, was not able to reconquer all the territory lost to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Eṛaya, son of Rāchamalla I, also known by the titles Nītimārga and Raṇavikrama (A.D. 837-70), revolted in turn. He was joined by the other feudatories of the empire. But the Rāshṭrakūṭa General Bankeśa dealt with the rebellion effectively, but before he could complete his work, he was recalled, for there had been a disturbance near the capital in which the crown prince Kṛishṇa and Dhruva I, the son of Karkka and ruler of Lāṭa, were involved. Bankeśa killed Dhruva in the battle. But the war against his son Akālavarsha and his grandson Dhruva II continued. Dhruva II was threatened in his rear by the Gurjara Mihira Bhoja and thought it wise to come to terms with Amoghavarsha in A.D. 860. After this Amoghavarsha was able to deal effectively with his enemies elsewhere and in A.D. 867 Amoghavarsha was once again quite secure on the throne. After Bankeśa had been recalled, Guṇaga Vijayāditya, then a loyal feudatory of the emperor, was appointed to suppress the rebellion. He reduced Nītimārga to obedience. Amoghavarsha's long rule of sixty-six years was thus often marked by trouble in some part or other of his vast dominions. He was by temperament a peaceful man who liked the pursuit of religion and literature. He never formally renounced Hinduism. A Jaina catechism called *Praśnottara-ratna-mālikā* is attributed to him. He not only listened to the precepts of religion but also put them into practice. Periodically he retired from the active duties of his office as ruler to be able to spend his time in the company of Jaina monks. During these periods, the government was carried on by the Crown Prince, Kṛishṇa. Amoghavarsha is famous as the maker of the city, Mānyakheṭa. The palace in it was full of fine workmanship and included an extensive apartment for royal

women and a tank. Amoghavarsha was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇa I (A.D. 880).

PALLAVAS : Siṁhavarman was the founder of the Pallava line. His son, Yuvarāja Siṁhavishṇu conquered the whole country, south of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Kingdom, upto the Kāverī and gained the title *Avanisiṁha* (lion of the earth). He ruled for over thirty years from A.D. 550. His son, Mahendravarman I was an able and versatile monarch, great in war and peace. He took several titles such as *Mattavilāsa* (also the name of a farce he composed in Sanskrit), *Vichitrachitta* and *Guṇabhara*. He was a great builder and poet. The musical exercise engraved on a rock in Kuḍimiyāmalai (Pudukkōṭṭai) testifies to his great interest in music. He was perhaps at first a Jain, who later at the instance of Tirunāvukkaraśu or Appar, embraced Śaivism. He successfully warded off Pulakésin's attack on his territory. He was succeeded by his son, Narasiṁhavarman I Mahāmalla (A.D. 630–68). In his reign there was another expedition by Pulakeśin II which led to severe reprisals as already indicated. After reducing Bādāmi, Narasiṁhavarman returned to Kāñchī. He sent two expeditions against Ceylon to enable his friend and ally Mānavarma to gain the island throne which he was not able to retain long. Hiuen Tsang travelled in the south (A.D. 641–42) during Narasiṁhavarman's reign, and found Jainism flourishing in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. Narasiṁha developed and beautified the port of Māmallapuram, a name which was corrupted into Mahābalipuram. His son, Mahendravarman II, had a short reign of two years, after which Parameśvaravarman I (A.D. 670-700) the son of Mahendra II, became king. Parameśvara had to fight with the Gangas of Mysore, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and the Pāṇḍyas. Bhūvikrama, the Ganga ally of the Chālukya, seized from the Pallava king a valued necklace containing the gem *Ugrodaya*. At the same time, the Pāṇḍya king advanced from the south and Parameśvara was defeated in the battles of Nelveli and Śankaramangai. The Chālukya king, Vikramāditya I who had allied himself with Arikesari Parānkuśa Māṛavarman (A.D. 670–710), the fourth king of the Pāṇḍya king, encamped at Uṛaiyūr on the banks of the Kāverī. Ably assisted by Parañjōti alias Śiruthoṇḍar, who led an expedition to Chālukya territory, Parameśvara threatened Bādāmi itself and won a great victory against Vikramāditya I at Peruvaḷanalūr in the Tiruchi district. Parameśvaravarman I was

succeeded by his son Narasiṁhavarman II Rājasiṁha (A.D. 700–728). His reign was marked by peace and prosperity. He built several fine temples including the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchī and the Shore Temple at Māmallapuram. He was a great patron of literature. The rhetorician Daṇḍin spent many years at Rājasiṁha's court. He sent embassies to China for the development of trade He was succeeded by his son, Parameśvaravarman II (A.D. 728–31). He suffered a defeat at the hands of Chālukya Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II. He died in a battle with Gangas leaving no heir to succeed him. The ministers of the realm acting with the *ghaṭikā* (college of learning) and the people of the capital chose a prince of a collateral branch of the Pallavas, and thus Nandivarman II Pallavamalla came to the throne as a boy of twelve. He had rivals to his throne, among them one Chitramāya who had allied himself with the Pāṇḍyan king, Māravarman Rājasiṁha I (A.D. 730–65). The Pāṇḍyan king fought on behalf of the Chitramāya and inflicted a number of defeats on the young Pallavamalla and forced him to shut himself up in the fortress of Nandipura near Kumbakonam. Udayachandra, the able general of the Pallava king, raised the siege of Nandipura and beheaded Chitramāya. Thus Udayachandra made the throne secure for his young master. Nandivarman II performed an Aśvamedha. But later, the Chālukya king, Vikramāditya II temporarily occupied Kāñchī and wiped out the disgrace that had fallen on his family by the occupation of Bādāmi by Narasiṁhavarman I. As a memento of his occupation, he engraved a Kannaḍa inscription on one of the pillars of the Kailāsanātha temple, but otherwise spared the city and the temple, though he transported some skilled stone masons to his capital. There was another raid in the reign of Nandivarman by Vikramāditya's son Kīrtivarman II on Kāñchī. The Chālukyan prince gained much booty in the shape of elephants, gold and jewellery and returned to his capital. Nandivarman II invaded the Ganga kingdom, defeated Śrīpurusha in the battle of Viḷande and forced him to give up the royal necklace with the *Ugrodaya*. With a view to check the growing power of the Pāṇḍyas, Nandivarman II entered into alliance with the rulers of Kongu, Kerala and Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapurī in Salem district). The Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa I (A.D. 765–815), however, successfully broke the confederacy. The Pallava king continued to rule till A.D. 795. He was a worshipper of Vishṇu and a patron of learning. He built, among others, the

Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchī. Many of the inscribed panels of sculpture in this temple portray the history of the Pallavas including the events that led to Pallavamalla's accession to throne. The great Vaishṇava saint Tirumangai Āḷvār was his contemporary. Pallavamalla was succeeded by his son Dantivarman (A.D. 795–845), who lost much territory in the south during Pāṇḍyan aggression. He was harassed by the Pāṇḍyas and the Telugu-Chola ruler Śrīkaṇṭha who had given his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya king and to whom the Pallavas had to give some territory. Dantivarman enjoyed no security during his long reign. Sundaramūrti and his companion, the Kerala king Cheramān Perumāl, both famous Śaiva Nāyanārs, were the contemporaries of Dantivarman. Śrī Śaṁkarāchārya, the celebrated founder of the Advaita Vedanta system, also belongs to this period of history.

Dantivarman was succeeded by his son Nandivarman III (A.D. 846–69). He was a much abler king than his father. He was able to secure the help of the Gangas, Cholas and even the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Ceylonese in the task of curtailing the power of the Pāṇḍyas. Nandi III won a great victory at Teḷḷārn against the Pāṇḍya and his Telugu-Chola ally, and advanced to the heart of the Pāṇḍyan country as far as the Vaigai river. However, the Pāṇḍyan king, Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, recovered his position and defeated Nandivarman III in a battle near Kumbakonam (A.D. 859). Nandivarman is said to have maintained a powerful fleet. A Tamil inscription at Takuapa on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula mentions a tank called Avanti-nāraṇam, after one of Nandivarman's titles; the tank and a Vishṇu temple in its neighbourhood were under the protection of the Tamil merchant guild *maṇigrāmans*. Nandivarman's queen was Sankhā, daughter of Amoghavarsha I Nripatunga. Sankhā's son was Nripatunga and he succeeded Nandivarman on the throne. Nripatunga defeated Śrīmāra in a battle and avenged the last defeat of his father.

PĀṆḌYAS : After the withdrawal of Vikramāditya I from the south, the Pāṇḍya, Arikesari Parānkuśa subdued the Paravas of the pearl fishery coast and established his power over South Travancore (Veṇād). Very probably he was the Kūn Pāṇḍya of Śaiva tradition whom Jñānasambandar reconverted from Jainism to Śaivism. Arikesari's queen was Mangaiyarkkaraśī, a Chola princess, and his minister was Kulachchirai. It was at the instance of this queen

that Kūn Pāṇḍya was converted to Śaivism. Arikesari's son was Kochchaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (A.D. 710–30). Raṇadhīra justified his title, 'heroic in war' by carrying his arms as far as Mangalore, thus extending the Pāṇḍya power into the Kongu country and beyond. He also dealt hard blows against Āy chieftains of the Podiya mountains nearer home. Raṇadhīra's son was Māṛavarman Rājasiṁha I (A.D. 730–65). He too was a great warrior who espoused the cause of the Pallava Chitramāya. Rājasiṁha I was succeeded by his son Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka alias Varaguṇa I (A.D. 765–815). He was more than a match for the confederacy formed against him. He invaded the Pallava country and fixed his camp at Iḍavai in the Tanjavūr district. He extended the Pāṇḍya rule over the whole country south of the Kāverī, and far into Salem and Coimbatore districts beyond the river. Varaguna's son, Śrīmāṛa Śrīvallabha (A.D. 815–62) continued the policy of extending the territory. He invaded Ceylon in the reign of Sena I (A.D. 831–51), ravaged its northern kingdoms and sacked the capital. He compelled Sena to make peace on his terms and then left the island. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha together with Śrīkaṇṭha Coḍa, his father-in-law, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Pallava prince Nandivarman III, in a battle at Teḷḷāṛu in the Wandiwash taluk in North Arcot. Śrīmāra's elder son was Varaguṇa II. His claim was overlooked and his step-brother Vīra-nārāyana was made Yuvarāja in A.D. 860 or so. Varaguṇa II fled to the Ceylonese King Sena II (A.D. 851–885) who led an expedition against the Pāṇḍya ruler. Madura was sacked in Śrīmāra's absence, and while coming back from the defeat of Ariśil, he found his capital in the occupation of the enemy. After his death, Varaguṇavarman II was enthroned by the Sinhalese commander in A.D. 862.

KALINGA : Throughout the period under review, Kalinga was under the Eastern Gangas. They dated their inscriptions in an era of their own which probably began in A.D. 509. Their external contacts were few, though the Vishṇukuṇḍins and their successors, the Eastern Chālukyas, occasionally forced themselves on their attention. The early kings acknowledged the suzerainty of Pulakeśin II and later of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. They led in general a peaceful life contenting themselves with the territory, Kalinga.

GOVERNMENT : The system of government in all these Deccani and South Indian kingdoms was in conformity with the monarchical form of government, evolved in the north and described in the manuals of polity. There were, however, some peculiar features which deserve mention. The Tamil inscriptions from the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., show that there were three types of village or town assemblies namely, *ūr*, the *sabhā*, and the *nagaram*. The *ūr*, included all classes of people who held land in the village. The *sabhā* was exclusively a brāhmin assembly of the landholders of *agrahāra* villages. In the *nagaram*, traders and merchants predominated. The three assemblies that worked side by side in village or town often met together to discuss matters of common concern. The village assembly regulated water rights, maintained tanks and roads, and administered temples and charitable endowments. These assemblies devised their own rules of procedure and appointed executive officers or committees to perform specific duties. In the Deccan, there are references to *mahājanas*. These *mahājanas* were in charge of local administration under *gāmuṇḍas* (headmen). While the townships of the Tamil country were greatly autonomous, the *mahājanas* of the Deccan were more influenced by royal officials. The executive officers had the right to visit villages for digging for salt, manufacture of sugar and the arrest of culprits. The villagers had to provide necessary facilities of accommodation, supplies of food, etc. for touring officers and give free labour for public works. Besides land, house and professions were taxed and there were in addition market dues, tolls on the transit of merchandise, and judicial fines. For instance in the days of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III, the *śulka* (toll) on the head-load of betel leaves was $2\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇas*. Besides taxes collected by the government, there were also voluntary imposts by group organizations for maintenance of a college or hospital or other objects in which the organizations were interested.

Above the *grāma* was the *āhara*, *rāshṭra*, *nāḍu*, *kōṭṭam* or *vishaya* as it was called at different times and places. *Rāshṭra* and *vishaya* often figure as two categories one above the other. In the Tamil country the larger division was called *vaḷanāḍu* or *maṇḍalam*. The size of the units depended on history and convenience. The early kings of this period called themselves *Dharmamahārājādhirājas* probably in token of their active promotion of Vedic *dharma* as against Buddhism and Jainism, but they never sought to impose

their faith on their subjects, and patronized all creeds as a matter of policy.

Each royal family had its own banner (*dhvaja*) and seal (*anchana*) which were prominently mentioned in the inscriptions. The royal palace was maintained in great state. The queens figured prominently, and issued orders in their own right. The Queen of the Pallava Rājasiṁha took a hand in the construction of the Kailāsanātha temple. Relations between emperors and their vassals were generally cordial though exceptions were known. The subordinate rulers were allowed to preserve their original regal state intact in every aspect, subject only to the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the emperor by annual tribute and presents on important occasions. The emperor was not only the supreme head of the executive of the administration but also the supreme judge, commander-in-chief of the forces and the foutain of honour. The emperor's rule, though personal or autocratic, was bound by tradition and the principles of *dharma*. The Yuvarāja held high offices. The ministers and officials and the *sāmantas* and *maṇḍalikas*, each helped the king according to his ability in maintaining the benevolence and purity of administration.

The Later Rāshṭrakūṭas and The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī: The Cholas and The Pāṇḍyas

In the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., Aparājita, the Pallava king, was crushed by the Chola Āditya I, son of Vijayālaya. The period A.D. 850–1200 is marked by the rise of the Cholas to an imperial position. Their conflicts with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and later with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī dominated the history of this period. In about A.D. 973, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, worn out by incessant wars, gave place to Chalukyas who regained their power. Towards the close of this period, Yādavas and Kākatīyas became powerful in the north and the Hoysalas and Pāṇḍyas in the south.

THE RISE OF THE CHOLA POWER: The founder of the imperial Chola dynasty was Vijayālaya (A.D. 846–871). Acting as a Pallava feudatory, he took the city of Tanjāvūr from the Muttaraiyar of Pudukkottai, and made it.his headquarters. This success strengthened the Pallava power. There was also a civil war owing to the differences between Nripatunga and Aparājita of the Pallava dynasty. Aparājita

was supported by Āditya and was victorious in a decisive battle fought at Śrīpurambiyam near Kumbakonam (A.D. 885). This marked the virtual end of Nripatunga's rule. Aparājita rewarded Āditya by some additions to his territory. However, Āditya taking advantage of the weakness of his overlord annexed the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after a battle with Aparājita in which he lost his life (A.D. 903). Āditya I also extended his territory by taking Kongu country and forcing the Pāṇḍya king to submit to his suzerainty. Āditya was assisted in these wars by Parāntaka, the crown prince. From this time on the Chola territory extended to the borders of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. Āditya erected several Śiva temples along the course of the Kāverī. He was succeeded by Parāntaka I in A.D. 907. His rule lasted forty-eight years and was marked by success and prosperity except towards the close. After his death, there followed confusion till Rājarāja I in A.D. 985 ushered in the real age of Chola ascendancy.

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS : Kṛishna II who succeeded Amoghavarsha I in A.D. 880 resisted an invasion by the Gurjara ruler Bhoja I. He abolished the viceroyalty of Lāṭa and brought it under his direct control. He tried to subjugate the Vengī ruler Guṇaga Vijayāditya. Failing miserably in his attempt, he had to take refuge under his father-in-law, the Chedi king, Kokkalla of Central India. But Pāṇḍuranga, the general of the Eastern Chālukyas, pursued him there too. Kṛishṇa had to submit to Vijayāditya. After Vijayāditya's death, Kṛishṇa again tried to put down the Eastern Chālukyas and captured Bhīma, nephew of Guṇaga Vijayāditya before his coronation. But Bhīma escaped from captivity, drove out the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces and crowned himself as king. Kṛishṇa's failure to reduce Vengī did not deter him from his policy of aggression. He invaded the Chola country with the assistance of his feudatories. Here too Kṛishṇa met with failure. Kṛishna II was succeeded by his grandson, Indra III. Even as Yuvarāja, Indra showed his 'prowess by imposing Rāshṭrakūṭa suzerainty over the Paramāra ruler, Upendra of Mālwa'. He succeeded in bringing Vengī under his rule for nearly seven years. Indra was succeeded by his son, Amoghavarsha II (A.D. 957). After a short reign, he fell a victim to the foul play of his younger brother Govinda IV (A.D. 930). He was an incompetent ruler and so his feudatories dethroned him

and bestowed the kingdom on Baddega Amoghavarsha III, a step-brother of Indra III. Govinda sought refuge under his father-in-law Parāntaka I Chola. Amoghavarsha was a peaceful ruler but his young and energetic son, Kṛishṇa III was fired with the ambition of becoming a great ruler. Aided by his sister's husband Ganga Būtuga, he invaded the Chola country, won a victory at Takkolam (A.D. 949) and occupied large parts of the Chola kingdom for several years. He also invaded Mālwa in A.D. 963 and forced the king to acknowledge his suzerainty. He was an able soldier and generous friend but no statesman. He encouraged the Gangas unduly and irritated the Paramāras by humiliating them. He failed to arrest the rise of Chālukya Taila to wield power in the heart of the empire. In A.D. 967, Khoṭṭiga, the half-brother of Kṛishṇa III succeeded him and Khoṭṭiga was succeeded by his son Karkka II. In a few months of his accession he was defeated by Chālukya Tailapa II who is said to have fought 108 battles against Raṭṭa demons and captured 88 fortresses from them. Tailapa's success was the beginning of the Chālukyan empire of Kalyāṇī.

Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and Vengī : Taila II made Mānyakheṭa his capital. He spent several years consolidating his power over the whole area between the Narmadā and the Tungabhadrā. He defeated Paramāra Muñja, took him prisoner and finally put him to death after humiliating him. Taila II was succeeded by his son, Satyāśraya in A.D. 997. He fought against Rājarāja I who had succeeded in establishing a protectorate over the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Vengī. Taila was not successful. His successors, viz. his nephew, Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1008) and his brother Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1015), made no mark as rulers. Rājendra I, who ascended the Chola throne in A.D. 1044, fought against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī on two fronts both in the west and the east. He sacked Kalyāṇī. But Someśvara, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī did not lose heart. By A.D. 1050 he not only made his country secure against the Cholas but compelled Rājarāja of Vengī, the protége of Rājendra Chola to swear allegiance to him. However, at Koppam in A.D. 1061, Someśvara was defeated by the Cholas. His attempt to restore the power of the Chālukyas ended in failure. Someśvara performed the *Paramayoga* by drowning himself at Kuruvatti in the Tungabhadrā river on March 29, A.D. 1068. In spite of his failures, Someśvara deserves to be regarded as a great ruler of his line. He made

his power felt by the Paramāras and Pratīhāras. The beautiful city of Kalyāṇī was mainly his creation. His son, Someśvara II was obliged by Chola intervention to recognize his younger brother, Vikramāditya as Yuvarāja and allow him to rule over the southern half of the Chālukyan empire more or less as an independent king. This affected Someśvara II as well as the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājendra, son of Rājarāja of Vengī whose claims to the throne of Vengī were passed over in favour of his pro-Chālukya half-brother Vijayāditya VII. This, however, brought the feud between the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the Cholas to an end.

The Cholas : For two centuries and more after the accession of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985) the history of the Chola kingdom becomes the history of the entire Tamil country. Rājarāja was able to weld the country into a single powerful State. He first attacked the confederation of Pāṇḍya, Kerala and Ceylon in the south. He destroyed the power of the Pāṇḍyas and subjugated Kerala. He sent a naval expedition against Ceylon which succeeded in occupying northern half of the island and forcing the king, Mahendra V to retire from the battle-field. Anurādhapura was destroyed and Polonnaruva became the capital of the Chola province. Later Rājarāja conquered the bulk of the Mysore country, and extended his frontier to the Chālukya kingdom of Taila II. Rājarāja succeeded in converting the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Vengī into a protectorate of the Chola power. When the Telugu Choḍa Bhīma drove Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya out of the capital, Rājarāja welcomed them. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to the younger prince Vimalāditya and installed the elder Śaktivarman as ruler of Vengī (A.D. 1000). He then turned his attention to the Western Chālukyan kingdom. Satyāśraya, its king, was obliged to sue for peace. The Chola army retired with a large booty, most of which was bestowed on the magnificient temple of Rājarājeśvara (now Bṛihadīśvara) which Rājarāja was building at Tanjāvūr. Towards the end of his reign, he conquered the Maldives. In A.D. 1012, Rājendra was formally installed as Yuvarāja. During his reign, friendly relations were caltivated with Śrī Vijaya, the maritime empire of Sumatra. Its ruler Māravijayottungavarman built at Nāgapattinam a Buddhist *vihāra* called Chūḍāmaṇi Vihāra after his father.

Rājendra succeeded his father in A.D. 1014. Four years later he made Rājādhirāja I Yuvarāja. Rājendra completed the conquest of Ceylon and had Mahendra V of Ceylon deported to Chola country where twelve years later he died. The Sinhalese never reconciled themselves to Tamil rule and gave constant trouble to the Cholas. The Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries were constituted into a separate veceroyalty with headquarters at Madura. Rājendra supported the claim of Rājarāja to Vengī and expelled his rivals by defeating them in battle. With his army, he proceeded further north into Kalinga to deal with the Eastern Ganga ruler who had supported the rival's claim. From there the Chola army started on a grand expedition to the valley of Gangā. This was an exploit which brought Rājendra the title *Gangaikoṇḍa* and was commemorated by the name of the new capital founded by him—Gangaikoṇḍacholapuram—and its great tank said to have been the recipient of Ganges water brought on the heads of conquered kings and served as a 'liquid pillar of victory'. The next great event of Rājendra's reign was the despatch of a large armada for the conquest of Śrī Vijaya in A.D. 1025. Śrī Vijaya commanded all the sea routes from India to China and the Cholas were keen on maintaining a constant intercourse with China. Embassies were sent to China partly on commercial and partly on diplomatic business. This expedition was due to the breach of the friendly relations with Śrī Vijaya. It is not possible to say whether this breach was due to Śrī Vijaya's obstruction to the traffic or Rājendra's desire for Digvijaya. Whatever it was, the expedition was a complete success. Śrī Vijaya and Kadāram (Kedah on the west coast of Malaya) were taken. However, the kingdom appears to have been restored to its ruler on his acknowledging Chola suzerainty. Rājādhirāja put down several rebellions in Pāṇḍya and Kerala and led an expedition to Ceylon in A.D. 1041. A rebellion against the Chola power in Ceylon was ruthlessly put down. Rājendra died in A.D. 1044. He was succeeded by Rājādhirāja I who pursued his father's policy of expansion. He renewed war with Vengī and forced the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya to retreat in disorder. The Chola army invaded the Chālukya territory. After several successes, Rājādhirāja got a victory in the battle of Pūṇḍur on the Kṛishṇā, gained Yādgir and sacked the new Chālukya capital, Kalyāṇī. There he performed a Vīrābhisheka 'anointment of heroes' and assumed the title Vijayarājendra. From Kalyāṇī, he carried away

a fine image of Dvārapālaka as a trophy and this can still be seen in the local museum of Tanjāvūr. The Chola kings, after Rājādhirāja were involved in constant wars with western and eastern Chālukyas.

The next Chola ruler of importance is Kulottunga (A.D. 1070–1120). This is the commencement of a new era in the history of Chola empire. Through his great statesmanship, he was able to adjust his aims to his resources. He cared more for the well-being of his subjects than for the satisfaction of his personal vanity. He is often given the title *Śungam-davirtta* (who abolished the tolls). Kulottunga marched his army to the Tungabhadrā and made himself master of Gangavāḍi to start with. But when he was on this compaign, Ceylon succeeded in putting an end to the Chola rule (A.D. 1072-73). There was a rebellion in Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries and Kulottunga went to south with a strong army and restored Chola power in these countries. He did not revive the Chola-Pāṇḍya viceroyalty and left the administration to the local rulers. He made peace in Ceylon by giving his daughter in marriage to the Sinhalese prince, Vīraperumāḷ A Chola embassy of 72 merchants was sent to China in A.D. 1077. A Tamil inscription in Sumatra (A.D. 1088) attests to the presence of a Tamıl merchants' guild in Śrī Vijaya. His sons in turn ruled Vengī as viceroys. The Kalinga ruler withheld tribute and thus drew on him a Chola invasion which was led by Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān. This invasion is celebrated in the best known war poem in Tamil, the *Kalingattu-pparaṇi* by Jayangoṇḍār. Till A.D. 1115, the extent of the Chola empire remained undiminished under Kulottunga except for the loss of Ceylon. It included all the territory south of the Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadrā and extended up to Godāvarī on the east coast. The country maintained diplomatic relations with distant kingdoms like Kanauj in Northern India and with the rulers of Pagan in Burma and Kambuja in Indo-China. Towards the end of his reign, however, troubles arose in Mysore and Vengī which resulted in loss of territory; the Chola empire thus became co-extension with the Tamill and including Malabar. Kulottunga's son, Vikrama Chola, dates his rule from A.D. 1118, though his father ruled for four years more. His rule was marked by peace. He remodelled the temple of Natarāja at Chidambaram and improved the Ranganātha temple of Śrīrangam.

Vikrama Chola's son, Kulottunga II (A.D. 1135) had a peaceful reign till A.D. 1150. He continued the reconstruction of the Chidambaram temple. He moved the image of Vishṇu (Govindarāja) from the courtyard of the Naṭarāja shrine. It was restored to its original place long after by Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar. Rājarāja II, son of Kulottunga II, became Yuvarāja in A.D. 1146 and after the death of his father ruled as king till A.D. 1173. In his reign there arose powerful feudatories everywhere and his suzerainty over his kingdom up to the Godāvarī, a large part of the Kongu country, and eastern Gangavaḍi, was only nominal. Having no sons, he chose Rājādhirāja II, perhaps his cousin, as Yuvarāja in A.D. 1166. When Rājādhirāja died, the central control became very weak so that the feudatory chieftains made wars among themselves in the northern half of the empire, without reference to the ruling monarch. Kulottunga III, who succeeded Rājādhirāja, dates his reign from A.D. 1178. How he was related to his predecessor or to the main line of the Cholas is not clear. He was no doubt the last great ruler of the dynasty. He defeated the Pāṇḍya king, Vīra Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1182. He held a Durbar at Madura at which Vīra Pāṇḍya acknowledged the overlordship of the Chola king. Kulottunga fought successful wars against the Cheras and Hoysala Ballāla II and performed *Vijayābhisheka* at Karuvūr in A.D. 1193. He had to renew his war with the Pāṇḍyas when Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, the successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, revolted. Madura was sacked and the coronation hall of the Pāṇḍyas demolished (A.D. 1205). However, Kulaśekhara was restored on the throne. The humiliation of the Pāṇḍyan king sowed the seed for a future war of revenge.

PĀṆḌYAS : Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded his elder brother, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1216. Desirous of avenging the insult of A.D. 1205 which he had shared with his brother, Sundara fell upon the Chola country soon after his accession. He drove Kulottunga and his son, Rājarāja III into exile and performed a *vīrābhisheka* in the coronation hall of the Cholas at Āyirattaḷi. Kulottunga had appealed to Hoysala Ballāla II for aid and Sundara Pāṇḍya discreetly restored the Chola kingdom to Kulottunga and his son after they had made their formal submission in his camp at Ponamarāvati. This made Sundara assume the title, *Śōṇāḍuvalangiyaruḷiya*, who gave away the Chola kingdom. Rājarāja III

(A.D. 1216–56) Chola, provoked Sundara to a conflict by withholding the annual tribute and invading the Pāṇḍya country. Sundara easily defeated the reckless Rājarāja in battle and took many captives among whom was the chief queen of the vanquished ruler. He performed a second *vijayābhisheka* at Āyirattaḷi. Rājarāja was also defeated and imprisoned by Pallava Kōpperuñjinga who was very powerful, in Śendamangalam in South Arcot. Kōpperuñjinga had entered into friendly relations with Sundara Pāṇḍya against the Cholas and the Hoysalas. Narasiṁha II Hoysala heard of the disasters that had befallen the Chola king and hastened south with an army to check the growing power of the Pāṇḍyas. He defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya at Mahendramangalam on the banks of the Kāverī. He sent another army against Kōpperuñjinga. Thereupon Kōpperuñjinga offered to liberate Rājarāja, and Sundara Pāṇḍya also agreed to the restoration of Chola power (A.D. 1231). The accession of the powerful Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1251 brought about a closer alliance between Rājarāja III and the Hoysala Someśvara. Jaṭāvarman was one of the ablest soldiers and statesmen of the dynasty. He fought several wars leading to a great expansion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. He defeated the Chola monarch and subjugated the Malaināḍu. Chola Rājendra, successor of Rājarāja III, became his tributary. He invaded the island of Ceylon and conquered it. Its ruler was forced to surrender a vast quantity of pearls and many elephants. The Hoysalas were defeated in the region of the Kāverī and the fortress of Kaṇṇanūr Koppam to the north of Śrīrangam was taken. Sundara Pāṇḍya reduced Kōpperuñjinga to submission Sundara's conquests included the Magadaimaṇḍalam (part of Salem and South Arcot) and the Kongu country, taken from the Hoysala and the Kādava Kōpperuñjinga. In the northern expedition he killed Gaṇḍagopāla in battle and occupied Kāñchī and proceeding further in the north he defeated the Kākaṭīyas and their feudatories. At the end of the campaign he performed a *vīrābhisheka* at Nellore. About A.D. 1263 his lieutenant Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya invaded Ceylon, killed one prince and made another submit to Pāṇḍya suzerainty. The vast treasurs accumulated by Sundara as a result of his wars were employed in beautifying and endowing the great shrines of Śrīrangam and Chidambaram. Sundara Pāṇḍya was succeeded by his son, Māravarman Kulaśekhara I (A.D. 1268). He was a great ruler. He defeated Chola Rājendra and his Hoysala

allies, in a battle: that is the last we hear of Rājendra and the Cholas. Chola country and the possessions of the Hoysalas in the Tamil country merged in the Pāṇḍyan empire. Travancore remained under Kulaśekhara though there were occasional risings. His general, Āryachakravarti invaded Ceylon (A.D. 1280) and brought much booty including the celebrated tooth relic of the Buddha. He made the island of Ceylon submit to Pāṇḍya rule for the rest of Kulaśekhara's reign. Kulaśekhara gave back the tooth relic to the Ceylonese prince. Ceylon got back its independence only during civil war after the death of Kulaśekhara.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE FEUDATORY STATES : The Chālukya power began to decline about A.D. 1150. The Chola empire, like all others in ancient India, was a loose federation of a number of feudatory States. Each of these States was as a rule individually anxious to throw off the imperial yoke, at the earliest convenient opportunity. The Kākatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra, the Raṭṭas of Saundati, the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Yādavas of North Mahārāshṭra were among the most powerful and important feudatories who were anxious to throw off the imperial claims of the Chālukyan monarch. The Kalachuri feudatory Bijjala laid claim to imperial status which the other feudatory kings refused to recognize. In the heart of the Chālukyan kingdom, political rebellions were going on with lightning speed. This gave an opportunity to the Chālukya feudatories such as the Yādavas and Hoysalas to assert their independence.

BIJJALA KALACHURI : This Kalachuri rebel and his sons held the Chālukya crown for some years and Bijjala was forced to abdicate in A.D. 1167. His brief tenure of rule was marked by the rise of the lingāyat or vīraśaiva sect which is still powerful in the Kanarese country. Bijjala is said to have persecuted the lingāyats which ultimately led to the loss of his life. Thereafter all his sons ruled in quick succession till A.D. 1183. But none of them had the ability to take full advantage of their father's usurpation. However, they succeeded in keeping up the hostilities against Hoysala Ballāla II (A.D. 1173–1220). In A.D. 1183, the Kalachuri power was swept away by Chālukya Someśvara IV, son of Taila III.

Yādavas : Bhillama (A.D. 1187-91) was the chief Yādava feudatory to take full advantage of the weakness of the Chālukya power. He seized the northern districts of the kingdom before A.D. 1189 and compelled Someśvara IV to move his headquarters at Banavāsi in the south, by occupying Kalyāṇī. Ballāla II having destroyed what remained of Chālukya power stood ready to face Bhillama who was advancing from the north. In a battle near Gadag (A.D. 1191) Bhillama lost his life, and Ballāla advanced the northern frontier of the Hoysala kingdom to the Malaprabhā and Kṛishṇā rivers to the north of which lay the kingdom of the Yādavas. The most influential member of the Yādava dynasty was Singhaṇa (A.D. 1210–1247). He invaded Gujarāt and other regions and established power over considerable domains which lasted only for a few years. In 1294 Alauddin Khilji defeated the reigning Rājā and carried off an enormous amount of treasure. The last independent Yādava ruler Rāmachandra submitted to Malik Kafur in A.D. 1309.

Hoysalas : The Hoysalas claimed descent from the moon and belonged to the clan of the Yādavas. As feudatories of the Chālukyas, they ruled over the stretch of land lying to the west of Gangavāḍi and across the Mysore country. This territory served as a buffer between the Chālukya and Chola empires. It was in the time of Biṭṭideva (Biṭṭiga) better known by his later name, Vishṇuvardhana that the Hoysala power first rose to prominence. After a reign of more than thirty years, he died in A.D. 1141. Throughout his life, he was more or less in subordination to the Chālukya power. Hoysalas became independent fully only about A.D. 1190. Biṭṭiga through his campaigns extended his dominions. But his claim to remembrance rests on the important part played by him in the life of the Peninsula and on the development of architecture and sculpture associated with his name as well as those of his successors. Biṭṭiga was a Jaina about the beginning of the twelfth century. He came under the influence of the famous Vaishṇava sage, Rāmānuja and became a convert to Vaishṇavism. It was then that he adopted the name of Vishṇuvardhana. Vīra Ballāla, grandson of Vishṇuvardhana, further extended the dominions of his house, especially in the northerly direction. He had to encounter the Yādavas (A.D. 1191–92). His conquests made the Hoysalas the most powerful dynasty in the Deccan at the close of the twelfth century. Their power was shortlived, for in A.D. 1310 it

was shattered by Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji, the generals of Alauddin Khilji. At about A.D. 1326 or 27, the Hoysala power was completely destroyed. After this date, the Hoysala kings continued to survive for a while as mere local rulers.

KĀKATĪYAS : Kākatīyas remained for a long time loyal to the Western Chālukyas and won their affection by fighting their battles. Delighted by the ability of Kākatīya Prola I emperor Āhavamalla Someśvara I conferred on him Hanumakuṇḍa-Vishaya as a permanent fief. When the Chālukya empire fell, Prola II rose to prominence, threw off the imperial yoke and made himself master of the districts lying between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā. The successful career of Prola II met with a check, when he invaded Vengī towards the close of his reign. In a battle against the confederacy of local chiefs who opposed his advance, he died. His son, Rudradeva was a tremendous warrior and Taila III Chālukyan king is said to have died of dysentery caused by the fear of Rudra. Jaitugi, the son and successor of Bhillama (Yādava) killed Kākatīya Rudra in battle and took his nephew Gaṇapati captive (A.D. 1196). Rudra was followed on the throne by his younger brother Mahādeva who died after a short reign of three years. Jaitugi released Mahādeva's son, Gaṇapati from prison and set him on the Kākatīya throne (A.D. 1199). Gaṇapati was a great warrior who led expeditions against Kalinga, Western Andhra and in the south. He was the most powerful of the Kākatīya sovereigns. During his long reign of sixty years he met with few reverses except from the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263. He set before himself the task of restoring the political unity of the country and succeeded in a large measure in accomplishing his object. One of the notable queens who ascended the throne of Warangal was Rudramadevī, the daughter of Gaṇapati. After her came Pratāpa Rudra (A.D. 1295–1326), her grandson by her daughter. 'Early in his reign Adoni and Raichur were taken from the Yādavas and the territory round about the fortresses brought under Kākatīya rule. Pratāparudra reformed the administrative system and divided the kingdom into 77 Nāyakships, confining recruitment to them to the Padmanāyaka community. Some of the great nāyakas like Kāpayanāyaka who played a great part in resisting the Muslims later were the products of this system which was continued and elaborated by the rulers of Vijayanagar.'

In 1310, Malik Kafur seized the hill of Hanumankoṇḍa. Pratāparudra had to sue for peace by agreeing to pay a stipulated amount of tribute and a quota of elephants to the Delhi Sultan. The failure of Pratāparudra to ward off Muslim invasion let loose the forces of disintegration in his capital. With the defeat and death of Pratāpadura (apparently by suicide as a prisoner of the Muslims) ended the rule of Kākatīya line of kings, and the empire passed into the hands of the Muslims.

Government, Society and Religion

We have already noticed some of the peculiar features of the administration of the Deccani kingdoms. The Kākatīya government like that of other Hindu States was a monarchy. It presents a unique example of a woman ruler who sat upon th. throne and exercised authority in her own right. Rudramadevī, the daughter of Gaṇapati, was closely associated with the government of the kingdom during the last years of her father's reign. She, in her turn, allowed her grandson Pratāparudra to be associated with her in the administration of the kingdom. The prejudice against the rule of a woman was so strong that even Rudramadevī had to adopt a male name and dress herself in male attire while holding court. We understand that the Kākatīya monarchs were assisted by a large number of ministers. But no information is available about the way in which they were organized or how they helped the monarchs in transacting the business of the State.

Generally speaking, the monarchs of this period lived luxuriously in magnificent palaces and observed a pompous court ceremonial. They vied with one another in their majestic display of the vast resources of their kingdoms. The palace establishments were very elaborate. There were large bodies of women in the personal service of the monarch, including the fallen queens captured in war.

The Chālukyas held their coronation usually at Paṭṭadakal (the coronation stone) and the Cholas at Tanjāvūr, Āyirattaḷi near Kumbakonam, Gangaikoṇḍacholapuram, Chidambaram or Kāñchipuram, according to convenience. Chola Rājarāja I began the system of set official *praśastis* in set form detailing the chief events of the reign and kept up to date by periodical additions.

The Chola administration was stricter and more centralized than that of the Chālukyas whose empire was a loose federation. The *udan-kūṭṭam* of the Chola consisted of officers who were in constant attendance on the king. The Chola monarch had a very well organized chancery (*ōlaināyakam*). The administration was carried on by an elaborate bureaucracy of graded officials. Large towns were separate charges called *taniyūr* or *tan-kūṟṟam*. The affairs of the State received personal attention of the king and his orders were recorded by secretaries and communicated to the provincial governors. Considerable attention was paid to the upkeep of the records.

All land was carefully surveyed and classified into tax-bearing and non-taxable lands. Taxable lands were graded according to their natural fertility and nature of the crops raised. Immunities in favour of the individuals and institutions were common and carefully recorded. The village was assessed as a whole for the land tax, and the work of collection sometimes involved harsh processes. The right of cultivating the lands of defaulters of revenue was sold by the village assemblies to realize the arrears payable to the State. People made common cause in resisting arbitrary and unusual imposts. Revenue was payable in cash or kind.

The most remarkable feature of the administration of the time was the self-government of the villages. The village assemblies were autonomous institutions which functioned with unexampled vigour and efficiency. A highly-developed committee system (*vāriyams*) for the executive of the assemblies came into existence. The *sabhā* of Uttaramerūr is a good example of a large number of similar attempts throughout South India to evolve arrangements suited to local conditions in the light of experience. Justice was administered by village courts, caste *panchāyats*, and the king's courts (*dharmāsanas*). Usages, documents and witnesses were admitted as evidence. If no such evidence was forthcoming, there was trial by ordeal. Treason was severely dealt with, for it involved confiscation of property besides capital punishment.

Society : The country was divided into well-defined territorial units like Kuntala, Andhra, Toṇḍainād, Chola, Kerala and so on,

and exhibited a considerable measure of local patriotism.[1] But the patronage of courts, the movements of trade and armies and unification of territorial units under a common State helped the people of different regions to mix freely. A good number of people found employment in the civil service of the State, in the army and in the navy. The independent landholder, artisan or trader commanded greater esteem in society than officials of the State. In the enjoyment of the social amenities, there was a wide gap between the wealthy section of the nobles and the rest of the population. In spite of their poverty the brāhmins commanded the goodwill of the kings and respect of the people by their character and learning. There was then a society in which acceptance of status was voluntary and universal. The ideals of 'social democracy' were not altogether unknown to them but they did not somehow find much favour with the people. Although there was social exclusiveness of groups, they combined together for common purposes, economic, religious or political. Women enjoyed freedom in their movements and were held in great honour. Often a courtesan was a formidable rival to the wedded wife in the families of kings and nobles. The Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I regularly employed courtesans as his emissaries, and his feudatories were obliged to entertain them suitably in their courts. Princesses of the royal family were trained in literature and the fine arts. Some of them were equal to the tasks of administration and even war. For example, Akkādevi, elder sister of Chālukya Jayasiṁha II, ruled a province, fought battles and conducted sieges of forts successfully.

A select body of troops who shared a meal with the king at the time of his accession and were sworn to defend him with their lives on all occasions were known by different names in different courts—*Sahavāsis* under the Chālukyas, *Veḷaikkārar* under the Cholas, *Garuḍas* under the Hoysalas, and *Ālpattudaviga*ḷ under the Pāndyas. Marco Polo describes the institution as 'Companions of Honour' and early Arab writers knew of it also.

EDUCATION : We get more details of higher education than of the elementary. The village teacher is often mentioned and undoubtedly

[1] Lingualism and provincialism in India after the attainment of political freedom are but revivals of conditions that prevailed in the middle ages. How true it is that tendencies once created and prejudices reared are too difficult to eradicate later!

he got a share of the village land besides other presents on festive and ceremonial occasions from the parents of the children. Skill in the crafts was passed from father to son. The building of a large temple or a palace not only gave employment to men of proved ability but also provided opportunity of discovering fresh talent. Artisans had an innate sense of beauty and some of them were very skilful. The literary quality of the inscriptions on temple walls and on copper plates attests that the level of the general education was fairly high. Adult education was carried on by means of oral expositions of the epics and *Purāṇas*. The singing of the devotional songs in temples by well-trained choirs of singers promoted religious fervour and aesthetic sense among the people. The *maṭhas*, *paḷḷis* and *vihāras* played a large part in education. The basic value of Sanskrit learning was realized and generous endowments were made of institutions to impart Sanskrit learning. The Brahmapurī at Belgaum, the Ghaṭikā of Kāñchī, and the college at Bāhūr are examples from the age of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Pallavas of Kāñchī. A minister of Kṛishṇa III endowed in A.D. 945 a college at Salatgi in Karnāṭaka to which pupils came from different *janapadas*. There was a *ghatikā* at Nāgai (A.D. 1058) which had a provision for 200 Veda students and 50 students of the *Śāstras*. The institution had six teachers and a library. At Eṇṇāyiraṁ in South Arcot, the Chola Rājendra I endowed a college to take in 270 junior students and 70 seniors with a teaching staff of fourteen persons. The pupil-teacher ratio in these institutions is worth our attention. At Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput district) there was a hostel for students and a hospital as revealed in the records of Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1067). At Tiruvāḍutuṟai there was a medical school and here the students were taught *Aṣhṭāngahṛidaya* and *Charakasaṁhitā*. There was a school for the study of Pāṇini's grammar at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The Yādavas of Devagiri very much encouraged the study of law and astronomy.

TEMPLE : The temple filled a large place in cultural and economic life of the people. With its many pillared *mandapams* with bathing tanks adjoining and with shops along outer walls, it developed into a social institution whose role in community life cannot be exaggerated. The temple was not only a college or parliamentary house of the community but was also a citadel-fortress. The construction of the temple and the making of the images gave

employment to a large number of artisans. On its daily routine depended priests, choristers, musicians, dancing girls, florists, cooks and others. During the time of festivals in the temples, there were fairs, learned contests, wrestling matches and popular entertainments. The temple was also a great land-lord and banker. The jewellers flourished on the demands of temples and palaces. Kings, nobles and merchants lavished their generosity on temples. Numerous inscriptions on temple walls have helped the historian to build up the story. We do not hear much about individual architects and sculptors. A notable exception is Śrī Guṇḍan Anivāritāchāri, the builder of the Lokesvara (now Virūpāksha) temple at Paṭṭa dakal. Śrī Guṇḍan got many privileges for his class from the Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi. He is said to have been an expert in planning cities, constructing palaces, vehicles, thrones and bedsteads. So he won the title *Tenkaṇadiseya sūtradhārī*, the architect of the south. There are temples at Mysore telling us the names of the sculptors who carved some of the chief images there.

GAMES : Hunting was a favourite pastime of the kings. At Atakūr, a memorial is raised in honour of Kāli, a hound of Ganga Būtuga II, which died in a battle with a boar. A game of ball on horseback resembling polo was much liked by Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra IV.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE : Production had chiefly in view the local market. There was however a brisk internal trade in some articles like salt and luxury goods. Merchants were organized into guilds. Some places specialized in the manufacture of a particular type of goods; Warrangal for carpets, and Palnad for iron manufacture including arms were famous. Pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar was an important industry about which Marco Polo gives an accurate account. The roads as well as footpaths along trade routes were very well maintained. River and coastal transport was by means of boats. During unsettled times, the roads were always not safe because of brigandage. Some of the powerful merchant guilds were *maṇigrāmam* (Sanskrit *Vaṇikgrāma*) and Nānādesīs or Aiññūruvar, which maintained armed retainers of their own. The Kākatīya records distinguish merchants of home country (*svadeśa-bchārulu*) from merchants of another country, (*paradeśa-behārulu*) and the *Nānādeśīs*. Maritime trade flourished. There were brāhmin temples

and merchants in Canton in A.D. 750. From the twelfth century onwards Chinese junks began to make frequent visits to Indian ports. Marco Polo who had been used to large Chinese vessels did not think much of Indian ships. Siraf on the Persian Gulf was the chief emporium in the West. When the Indian merchants there wanted a separate plate to be reserved for each at a dinner, the rich merchants of the city were greatly surprised. The Chola embassies, already mentioned, were really trade missions to China. Marco Polo and the Muslim historians attest to the import trade in horses from Arabia. The Kākatīya Gaṇapati gave to foreign merchants a charter of security (*abhayaśaśāsana*). Each locality had its own system of currencies, weights and measures which differed from those of others. Occasional efforts at standardization mostly ended in failure.

RELIGION : Broadly stated, till about the close of the sixth century A.D. different religious sects lived together in admirable harmony. Vedic sacrifices, worship of primitive godlings with offerings of blood and toddy, the domestic rituals and temple worship of the elite, Buddhism, and Jainism all went on side by side. When Hiuen Tsang visited the South in A.D. 642, he noted with regret that Buddhism was giving place to *digambara* Jainism. The *bhakti* movement which was then in its infancy did not catch the eye of the Chinese traveller. Reaction against Buddhism set in during the seventh century particularly in the Tamil country. The saints and seers of the South evolved an emotional type of *bhakti* which was very different from the devotion of the early *bhāgavatas* in Northern India. This movement was strongly theistic in its character and definitely aimed at putting down Jainism and Buddhism. An ardent devotion to Śiva or Vishṇu began to spread among the people. The Śaiva saints known as Nāyanārs of whom there were 63 and the Vaishṇava leaders called Ālvārs (divers into the quality of God), ten or twelve in number according to different accounts kept moving from shrine to shrine singing devotional songs and holding public disputations. Royal patronage came to be transferred to the *bhakti* movement. Hymns in praise of Śiva and Vishṇu were composed in easy popular speech of the time and were so soul-stirring that people were greatly attracted to the *bhakti* movement. The themes of these songs were miracles wrought by Śiva and Vishṇu to save their devotees and the episodes in the

lives of Kṛishṇa and Rāma. As these songs were set to easy tunes they were well suited for mass singing and so they had a tremendous popular appeal.

Among the Nāyanārs were a woman from Kāraikāl, a Parian—Nandanār—from Ādanūr, and a general of the Pallava forces, Parañjoti or Śiruttoṇḍar. The most important of the Nāyanārs were Tirunāvukkaraśu, a Vellāla, Jñānasambandar, a brāhmin who was the junior contemporary of the former, and Sundaramūrti, a brāhmin who came about a century later. About the close of the tenth or early in the eleventh century the hymns of these three saints were collected in the canonical work called *Tevāram* by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. These songs portray mystical raptures. *Tiruvāśagam* of Māṇikkavāśagar, a contemporary of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II, contains the devotional outpourings of the author and is more impassioned than the *Tevāram*. These four saints were keen controversialists who opposed Buddhism and Jainism.

Three of the Āḻvārs, Poygai, Pūdam and Pēy probably belonged to the dark period before A.D. 550. Their hymns are free from polemics and express simple and gentle devotion. Tirumaḻiśai, a contemporary of Mahendravarman I, may be regarded as the harbinger of the age of the controversy. In literary quality the hymns of Tirumangai are comparable to those of Jñānasambandar. It is believed that he robbed the *vihāra* at Negapatam of an image of the Buddha in solid gold in order to renovate the temple of Śrīrangam. Periyaḻvār, a brāhmin of Śrīvilliputtūr, may be placed about the beginning of the ninth century. He came out triumphant in a disputation in the court of Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha and the only woman Ālvār Goda (Kōdai) was his foster-daughter.[2] Tiruppāṇ, was a Vaishṇava counterpart of the Śaiva Nandanār. Kulaśekhara, the ruler of Kerala, who wrote in Tamil and Sanskrit, was one of the Ālvārs. The most important among the Āḻvārs is Nammāḻvār, also known as Śaṭhakopa. He was the author of *Tiruvāymoḻi* which is nearly a fourth of the canon (of 4,000 verses). *Tiruvāymoḻi* embodies the deepest religious experience and philosophic thought of one of the greatest mystics the world has known.

Another significant aspect of the revival, viz., that of the Vedic religion is represented by the works of Kumārila and Śaṁkara. These two sages did not stand for any sect, but for brāhmanical religion as it had grown through the centuries. Kumārila's work

[2] She is also called Āndāl.

dealing with the philosophy of rituals is said to have done much discredit to Buddhism. Śaṁkara (A.D. 788–820) was a great thinker. He is taken to be a brāhmin from Kāladi on the banks of Ālwaye river on North Travancore. In his short life, he made extensive travels throughout India propagating his new philosophy of a rigorously consistent monism and triumphing against all rivals in debates. It is said that he borrowed from Buddhism the doctrine of *māyā* and the lines of organizing monasteries, but this is not certain, and he treated Buddhism as the chief enemy of Hinduism. The foundation of *mutts* in the four corners of India at Śringeri, Dvārakā, Badrīnāth and Purī exemplifies his genius and vision. He was a saint of great originality but did not assert it out of respect for tradition. Śaṁkara wrote in the Advaitic line commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

The Vaiṣhṇava canon was given its final shape by Nāthamuni who travelled all over India. His Sanskrit works pointed the way to a philosophical justification of the Path of Love (*bhakti*). His grandson Āḷavandār or Yāmunāchārya was also a great teacher whose writings sought to establish the real existence of the supreme soul and the eternal independence of the individual soul. Rāmānuja born at Śrīperumbūdūr near Madras was the greatest of the Āchāryas of this period. He studied Advaitic philosophy under Yādavaprakāśa of Kāñchī, but developed differences with his teacher and felt drawn to the teachings of Yāmunāchārya whom he succeeded in the headship of *maṭha* at Śrīrangam. His writings, all in Sanskrit, sought to refute the teachings of Śaṁkara and build up the Viśishṭādvaita system which affirmed that 'the soul, though of the same substance as God and emitted from Him rather than created, can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near Him'. He travelled extensively in Northern India, and this accounts for the wide influence of the Vaiṣhṇava sect there. The Chola king sought to persecute Rāmānuja and so he had to leave the Chola country and seek refuge in Mysore for some years (A.D. 1098–1122) He weaned the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana from Jainism and established a well organized *maṭha* at Melkoṭe. Rāmānuja threw open the temple there to the outcastes one day in the year.

Madhva, a brāhmin of South Canara, born shortly before A.D. 1200 advocated complete pluralism. He turned *sanyāsin* early in life, toured in Northern India and addressed Muslim divines in

Persian. He took it as his chief task to combat the followers of Śaṁkara whom he described as *māyāvādi* (illusionist). According to his theory, the universe is ruled by God as two persons Vishṇu and Lakshmī and the souls are of different orders and eternally distinct from Him. He had *bhakti* towards Kṛishṇa as in the *Bhāgavata*. The system of philosophy advocated by him is called *dvaita*.

Śaivism had other types of devotees besides those belonging to the *bhakti* cult. Some of their forms of worship were gruesome, and repellent to modern taste. The practice of the devotee offering his own head to the goddess is evidenced by several sculptures of the Pallava and Chola periods.

Both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism along with Vedic sacrifices flourished under the early Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. *Vratas* were observed and *dānas* made to acquire spiritual merit. The worship of Kārttikeya became prominent in the Bellari region. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were two developments in Śaivism namely Śaiva Siddhānta and Vīraśaivism. Meykaṇḍadeva, a pious Vallāla of the early thirteenth century, formulated Śaiva Siddhānta based on the Āgamas. The dogmatics of this system are contained in his book *Śiva-jñāna-bōdam*. The main tenets of the system are that matter and soul, like God, are eternal and that the Absolute through its 'grace-form' is ever engaged in the rescue of souls from the bondage of matter. In this system the role of the *guru* as intermediary is exalted.

Basava, the minister of Kalachuri Bijjala of Kalyāṇī, is generally regarded as the founder of Vīraśaivism or Lingāyat cult. But inscriptions show that Ekāntada Rāmayya of Ablūr was the real leader of the movement and that Basava came later as a political ally. The Lingāyat cult spread in Karnāṭaka and the Tamil country. This cult is marked by the prominence of monasteries and and the more or less complete social and religious equality of its sectaries. Some say that these features are due to the influence of Jainism and Islam. Śiva is the only God the Lingāyats own, but a *guru* is also necessary. Because they carry a *linga* about their person in a reliquary suspended from the neck, they are called Lingāyats. They revere the 63 *nāyanārs* of the Tamil country and also the saints including Māṇikkavāśagar, Basava and his disciples. In the Telugu country there were Ārādhya Śaivas who were the followers of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, a contemporary of Basava. Mallikārjuna differed from Basava in accepting the veda

and caste. However, the Lingāyats and Ārādhyas were friendly and made common cause in resisting Islam in the next period.

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM IN THE SOUTH: In Andhra, Buddhist temples were converted into Hindu temples on the ground that Buddha was an *avatāra* of Vishṇu. In the Tamil country at Nāgapaṭṭinam, Śrīmūlavāsam and Kāñchī there were Buddhist settlements. Buddhism on the whole was on the decline. Jainism was more influential than Buddhism in Karnāṭaka and the Tamil country. Many Jain temples were built, one of the best known among them being that built by Ravikīrti at Aihoḷe in A.D. 634. The Ganga rulers were great Jains in general. The influence of Jainism is due to the fact that it had much in common with Hinduism. Gifts made by Jainas were often couched in the same formulae as Hindu gifts.

ISLAM: Arabs had trade contacts with the people of the west coast of India even during pre-Muslim days. After conversion to Islam some of them settled in some ports of west coast and married the women of the country. The Māppiḷḷas (Moplahs) of Malabar are the issue of such unions. Hindu kings encouraged these traders because they supplied horses for their cavalry and men for manning their fleets. In important cities of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom there were Muslims and mosques. In some ports on the eastern coast there were Islamic settlements. The story of Cheramān Perumāḷ of Kerala turning a Muslim and going to Mecca is apocryphal. The army of Hoysala Ballāla III is said to have included 20,000 Muslims. The emphasis on monotheism, on emotional worship, on social equality and on the need for a *guru*, are sometimes attributed to Islamic influence, but this is not correct for they can well be explained otherwise as being independent of Islam.

CHRISTIANITY : There is a tradition of doubtful validity that Christianity was introduced in South India in the first century A.D. by St. Thomas. Cosmas of Alexandria who travelled in South India (A.D. 522) found two Nestorian churches, one in Quilon and the other in Ceylon. A copper-plate grant of A.D. 774 attests to the fact that many Indians had become converts to Christianity. The immigrants from Baghdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem and other places added to the Christian community. Marco Polo (A.D. 1293)

mentions the presence of a Christian community at St. Thomas Mount and narrates a story of the martyrdom of St. Thomas on the mount.

Literature

SANSKRIT : In Vedic studies the *Ṛigarthadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Ṛigveda* composed by Venkaṭa Mādhava in the reign of Parāntaka I Chola (A.D. 949–55) takes the first place. Commentaries on the *Brāhmaṇas Sūtras* and other works of Vedic literature were composed throughout the period. Somewhere in South India about the tenth century A.D. was written the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which summed up the tenets of the *neo-bhakti* and combined *advaita* with them.

Kings patronized scholars and there was a wealth of production in different types of secular literature. We can here give only one or two works, representing each type of literature. The *Nītidvishashtikā* of Sundara Pāṇḍya is a work of great merit on morals and policy. It must have been written earlier than the seventh century A.D., but the identity of the author remains unknown. Daṇḍin, the author of *Kāvyādarśa*, a fine manual of rhetoric, lived in the court of Pallava Narasiṁhavarman. He wrote also *Daśakumāracharita*, the tale of the ten princes. The kernel of the story, probably a part of *Avantisundarīkathā*, was written by Daṇḍin but the beginning and the end were written by others. Daṇḍin's prose is simple and eloquent. The *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra (early ninth century) was the first full blown play (*nāṭaka*) in Sanskrit from South India. The theme is Rāma's story embellished by the author's imagination. Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Indra III Rāshṭrakūṭa, composed the *Nala-champū*, the earliest extant Champū work in mixed prose and verse. King Kulaśekhara (A.D. 950), himself an author of two plays based on episodes in *Mahābhārata*, patronized Vāsudeva, the author of *Nalodaya*, a poem wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa. Bilvamangalasvāmi alias Lilāsukh is best remembered by his devotional lyric, the *Kṛishṇakarṇāmṛita*. Somadeva Sūri, a famous Jain writer produced the *Yaśastilaka Champū* and the *Nītivākyāmṛita*, the latter a moralized Jain version of Kauṭilya's tenets in politics. The *Vikramānkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa is a semi-historical *kāvya* on the life of Vikramāditya VI Chālukya. The Chālukya Somadéva III is the author of *Mānasollāsa*, a cyclopaedia of the science and arts of his time. The *vidyāchakravartis*

(poet-laureates) of the Hoysala Court greatly enriched Sanskrit literature by their writings. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa* is a landmark in literary criticism. Vedānta Deśika claims a high place in literature by his *Yādavābhyudaya*, a *mahākāvya* on the exploits of Śrī Kṛishṇa. Among his many works *Pādukā-sahasra*, a devotional poem, is highly valued.

In philosophy, law and technical sciences, there was much activity in the period. Kumārila (eighth century) annotated the famous *Śābarabhāshya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras*. In the philosophy of Vedānta Śaṁkara's works, the great *Bhāshyas* on the *Brahma-sūtras*, the principal Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgītā* stand foremost. Viśishṭādvaita literature starts with Nāthamuni's *Yogarahasya* and Yāmunāchārya's *Siddhitraya* and reaches its culmination in Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāshya* on *Brahma-sūtras*. Madhva also called Ānanda Tīrtha (A.D. 1198–1275) expounded the *dvaita* system of philosophy by his *Bhāshya* on the texts dealt with by the two great āchāryas that preceded him.

In law, there were three commentaries *Yājñavalkya smṛiti* of which the *Mitākharā* of Vijñāneśvara served, till a few years ago, as the main basis of the Hindu Law.

In lexicography, the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa, the teacher of Rāmānuja, the *Nāmamāllā* of Dhanañjaya (A.D. 1150) and Jātaveda Dīkshita's (A.D. 1250) commentary on the *Amarakośa* known as *Bṛihadvṛitti* are the principal works of the age. Among grammatical studies may be mentioned the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta (ninth century) on the *Kāśikā*. There were also several musical treatises such as the *Sangītachūḍāmaṇi* of Chālukya Jagadekamalla (A.D. 1138–50).

Tamil : In Tamil, most of the minor didactic works making up the *Padhineṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (eighteen of the lower count) as they came to be called in later times were composed between A.D. 550 and 650. Among them is *Nāladi*, a Jaina anthology of 400 verses of four lines each, put together by Padumanār and arranged in forty chapters on the model of *Kuṛaḷ*. As this refers to Muttaraiyar from whom Vijayālaya took Tanjāvūr it may possibly be somewhat later than the limits indicated here.

The twin epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* should also be placed in this period. *Śilappadikāram* is rightly regarded as the brightest gem of early Tamil literature. The author is apparently

a Jain who has worked upon the story of Kōvalan's love for a hetaera, Mādhavi in preference to his wedded wife, Kaṇṇagi, who by her chastity has come to be called *Pathinikkaḍavuḷ* (the goddess of chastity). The scenes of the story are on purpose laid in all the three Tamil kingdoms. In the most poetic and dramatic writing the author Iḷangō-Aḍigaḷ has brought out the consequences of Kōvalan's love for Mādhavi. Iḷangō-Aḍigaḷ is presumably a pen-name meaning 'the young princely monk'. His claim to be a brother of Śenguṭṭavan is not borne out by Śangam literature. The Kaṇṇagi legend is an old saga known to early writers. Maṇimekalai is the daughter of Kōvalan by Mādhavi. Her adventures and renunciation after the tragic death of Kōvalan, are treated by Śāttanar, a grain merchant of Madura, in the *Maṇimekalai*. It is a Buddhist work and in literary quality bears no comparison to *Śilappadikāram*. In one of its pedantic cantos it contains a translation of large chunks from the *Nyāyapravesa* of Dinnāga (fifth century A.D.). *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* are two of the five great *Kāvyas* in Tamil the other three are *Kuṇḍala Keśi*, *Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi*.

The devotional hymns of the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas have been noticed earlier under religion. The *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar, a manual of Śaiva mysticism, in 3000 verses, also belongs to this period of revival.

The *Perungadai* (Sanskrit, *Bṛihatkathā*) by a Jaina author Kongu Vēlir is a great narrative poem which has survived only in part. It treats of the adventures of Naravāṇadatta, son of Udayana and is apparently based on a Sanskrit original which might have been Ganga Durvinīta's version of Guṇāḍhya's Paiśāchī poem.

The earliest of the great prose commentaries in Tamil is *Iraiyanār-ahapporuḷ*, traditionally ascribed to Nakkīrar. It may belong to late eighth or early ninth century and it abounds in pedantic verbal jingles.

The age of the imperial Cholas (A.D. 850–1200) was the golden age of Tamil culture. In literature the *prabandha* form became dominant and the systematic treatment of the Śaiva Śiddhānta philosophy began. The *Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi* of the Jaina ascetic, Tiruttakkadevar (early tenth century) follows Sanskrit originals of the ninth century. It treats of the life-story of prince Jīvaka who has many adventures, each ending in a happy marriage. Jīvaka, the ideal hero in war and peace, exchanges in the end the role of a happy lover for that of a

perfect saint and attains salvation. The work is poetry of high quality and is believed to have served as a model for Kamban. Among quasi-historical works must be mentioned the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār, the poet-laureate of the Chola court. This is the earliest of the *paraṇis* (war-poems) and is rightly regarded as a masterpiece which beautifully adapts metre to sense and makes clear distinction between fact and fiction. It gives an account of the Kalinga war of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070–1120). The next poet-laureate was Kūttan or Oṭṭakkūttan who sang *ulās* on three successive Chola monarchs—Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118–1135), Kulottunga II (A.D. 1135–1150) and Rājarāja II (A.D. 1146–1173). These *ulās* describe conventional processions of the heroes round the streets of the capital. The most notable work of Kūttan is the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* on Daksha's sacrifice which takes a place well below its model, the *Kalingattupparaṇi*.

Of devotional literature produced in the Chola period the most important is the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* better known as *Periyapurāṇam*. It was composed by Śēkkiḻār, a high-born Vallāla from Kuṇṛattūr near Madras and is regarded as a landmark in the history of Tamil Śaivism. Śēkkiḻār held high office in the Chola State and had the title Uttamaśōḻa Pallavarāya. He is said to have composed *Periyapurāṇam* to wean the Chola monarch from the study of heretical literature, in particular the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*. This *Purāṇam*, which forms the twelfth and last book of the canon, commemorates the great age of the Cholas with their steady devotior to Śaivism.

Many important works in Tamil grammar belong to this period. The *Ṯāpparungalam* and *Ṯāpparungalakkārikai* are two works on prose by Amitasāgara, a Jain ascetic at the close of the tenth century. Buddhamitra's *Vīra-śōliyam* is an interesting work which attempts a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems. The *Daṇḍiyalangāram* whose author is unknown treats of figures of speech on the model of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. The *Neminādam* named after the Tīrthankara of south Mylapore and the *Nannūl* of Pavaṇandi, both Jaina books are handbooks of Tamil grammar, of which the latter is the most popular of the Tamil grammars. Pecular to Tamil literature are the conventions governing *tuṛais* (situations) of *puṛam* (lit-exterior) and *aham* (lit-interior). The *Purapporuḷ-veṇbāmālai* of Aiyanāridanār, a Jain writer, defines the conventions of *puram*. The *Divākaram* of Śendan of Ambar (eighth century) and the more

extensive *Pingalam* named after its author are two lexicons of the period.

KANNAḌA : Kannaḍa possesses the oldest literature after Tamil among the southern languages. Early writers of the sixth and seventh centuries are known by name but their works have not survived. The earliest work now known in the language is a manual of rhetoric, the *Kavirājamārga* of Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814–900) based in part on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. Pampa who lived in the court of Arikesari II of the line of Chālukyas of Vēmulavāda, was the first author of real literature. His *Ādipurāṇa* (A.D. 941) gives the legend of the first Tīrthankara. A better known work of his is *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* also called *Pampabhārata* in which a section of the *Mahābhārata* is given. The poet identifies his patron with Arjuna and weaves many contemporary historical events into the story. Pampa, his junior contemporary Punna, and Ranna of later date are called 'the three gems' of Kannaḍa poetry. Pampa was easily the greatest of them. The *Champū* form of writing appears to have been the poetic fashion of the time. Ranna's *Sāhasa-bhīma-vijaya* or *Gadāyuddha* (A.D. 982) was a *Champū*. In this the poet identifies Satyāśraya, son of Taila II, with Bhīma—the Pāṇḍava hero—and puts a lot of contemporary history into the narrative. A verse lexicon *Rannakanda* may also be his work.

Ranna's early patron, Chāvundarāya who erected the colossal image of Gommaṭa in Śravana Belgoḷa, composed the *Trishashṭi-lakshaṇa-mahāpurāṇa* in prose on the lives of sixty-three Jaina worthies, including the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. The *Jātakatilaka* (A.D. 1049) of Śrīdharāchārya gave evidence of the author's capacity for scientific writing. Nāgachandra (A.D. 1105) wrote *Rāmachandra-charita-purāṇa* differing in many ways from that of Vālmīki and won the title Abhinava Pampa. In the first quarter of the twelfth century Kīrtivarma wrote the *Gōvaidya* embodying the veterinary science of the time. Nāgavarma II, a celebrated grammarian of the time, wrote also *Vastukosha*, a short lexicon giving Kannaḍa equivalents of Sanskrit terms. *Kalyāṇakāraka*, a work on medicine in Sanskrit was translated into Kannaḍa by Jagaddala Somanātha. Rājāditya (A.D. 1190) of Pūvinebāga wrote on mathematical subjects in easy verse in several *gaṇita* works like *Vyavahāra-gaṇita*, *Kshetra-gaṇita* and *Līlāvatī*.

Jaina writers continued to flourish under the later Hoysalas and the lives of the Tīrthankaras formed a perennial theme for their *purāṇas* in the form of *Champūs*. Among the books of Śiśumāyaṇa (A.D. 1232) is *Tripuradahana*, an allegory on the destruction of the triple fortresses of Birth, Decay and Death. Kēśirāja (A.D. 1260) wrote *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (mirror of word-jewels) which became the standard grammar of Kannaḍa, Raṭṭa-Kavi (A.D. 1300) in his *Raṭṭa-sūtra* or *Raṭṭa Mata* treats of 'natural phenomena such as rain, earthquake, lightning, planets and omens'.

Next to Jains, the Lingāyats made the more striking contribution to Kannaḍa literature. Their medium was mostly simple prose, for they aimed at spreading their reforms among the people. Hence their works are known as *vachanas*. Besides Basava himself, there were over two hundred writers of *vachanas*, several women among them with Mahādeviyakka at their head. These *vachanas* are epigrams, exhorting people to scorn worldly wealth and ease and turn to Śiva for refuge. Besides *vachanas*, there came into use distinctive Kannaḍa metres like *shaṭpadi*, *tripadi* and *ragaḷes*, the last being lyrical poem with refrains. Hariśvara of Halebiḍ, a contemporary of Hoysala Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1141–73), wrote besides other books *Śiva-gaṇada-ragaḷegaḷu* which has all the characteristics of the new school he started; it treats of the lives of the sixty-three saints of early Śaivism and others. Raghāvanka's *Hariśchandrakāvya* is very good poetry. Pālkuriki Somanātha (A.D. 1195), a Telugu writer from Godāvarī, was the author of several works on *Vīraśaivism* in Telugu and Kannaḍa and a keen controversialist.

Rudrabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Ballāla II, is the earliest writer of note on Vaishnava subjects. The Vaishnava movement became influential in the field of Kannaḍa literature only under Vijayanagar.

TELUGU : Telugu literature began a little later than Kannaḍa. The earliest reference to Telugu is the inclusion of some metres peculiar to the language in Sanskrit book called *Janāśraya-chandas* (A.D. 600). Telugu had much in common with Kannaḍa and Pampa and Punna, the great Kannaḍa poets, were both born in Telugu country. A well-known verse in *Sīsa* metre is found in a grant of general Pāṇḍuranga (A.D. 845–46). Much early popular literature appears to have been lost. Higher literature was strongly influenced by its Sanskrit sources.

The earliest poet of repute was Nannaya, in the reign of Rājarāja Narendra (A.D. 1019–1061). He undertook the first translation of the *Mahābhārata*. But he was able to do only the first two *parvas* (*adi and sabhā*) and a part of the third *vana*. It was more an adaptation than a translation and the model for others. Nannaya perhaps wrote also the *Āndhra-śabda-chintāmaṇi*. It was the first Telugu grammar which earned for its author the title Vāganuśāsana (Lawgiver of the language). Vēmulavāḍa Bhīmakavi was a younger contemporary of Nannaya. Tradition associates him with Anantavarman, a Chōḍa-ganga (A.D. 1078–1148). He was the author of *Kavijanāśraya*, a Telugu grammar and his *Bhīmeśvarapurana* narrated the legends of the shrine of Bhīmeśvara at Dākshārāma. The translation of the *Mahābhārata* was resumed by Tikkana (A.D. 1220–1300), perhaps the greatest Telugu poet. He came of a brahmin family of officials and soldiers and was himself a diplomat who secured Gaṇapati's aid for Manumasiddhi regaining his throne. His compact diction and marvellous powers of descriptions earned for him the title of *Kavibrahma* (poet creator). The gap in the translation of Vanaparuva left by Tikkana was filled by Yerrāpragaḍa (A.D. 1280–1350). Yerrāpragaḍa was known as *Prabandha-parameśvara* (the supreme lord of *Prabandhas*) literary works. The three translators of *Mahābhārata* are held in reverence as *kavitraya* (the three poets of Telugu). Māraṇa, a pupil of Tikkana wrote *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* which afterwards became the basis of Peddana's *Manucharitra*. Baddena, a Choḍa feudatory of Rudrāmbā, wrote the *Nītiśāstra-muktāvali*, a treatise on politics in fifteen chapters and probably also *Sumati-śataka*, a popular work of moral maxims. The *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa* of Kōnabuddharāja, a feudatory of Kākatıya Pratāparudra II deserves mention for his great simplicity and sweetness in *dvipada* metre. A mathematical treatise of Mahāvīrācharyulu was translated into verse by Mallana (A.D. 1060–70) of Pāvalūr near Guntur, and Eluganṭi Peddana translated Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* under the name, *Prakīrṇaganita*.

MALAYĀLAM : As a literary language Malayālam had no existence in this period. The earliest known poem in the language belongs to the fourteenth century A.D. Many varieties of popular songs and ballads were doubtless current earlier. *Rāmacharitam*, the long metrical narration of the story Yuddhakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa is said to be the work of an early ruler of Travancore between the tenth

and thirteenth centuries A.D. Somewhat later came *Rāmakathāppāttu* of Ayyipiḷḷai Āśān. Both these works show strong Tamil influence in words and metres.

Art

The fine arts of the Deccan are of great antiquity. The earliest specimens are Buddhist antiquities representing painting, sculpture and architectural themes which cannot be dated back earlier than the second century B.C. But it must be noted that the art exhibited by them must have had a long period of prior development.

The Deccan is noted for its rock-hewn shrines. Some archaeologists have connected the style of these shrines with the architecture of the rock-hewn tombs of Egypt and Persia. This is somewhat far-fetched, for the idea of dwelling in caves, in primitive period for personal safety and later as resorts for contemplation and enlightenment, has been inherent in man both in the East and in the West. Attempts at improving natural caverns to be used as dwellings or shrines must have naturally led by stages to the development of a conventional style of structural building. The rock-hewn temples of the Deccan are therefore indigenous in regard both to their origin and their development; and their architecture may have been copied from earlier or contemporary wooden or brick and stone structure, and there is some clear evidence in favour of this supposition.

A study of the specimens of art of the earlier period in the Deccan suggests that the fine arts had not only an independent but much earlier beginning in the Deccan than in Northern India. For example, the architecture and sculpture of the rock-hewn shrines of the Deccan are of a much higher quality than those of the rock-hewn temples of Bihar and Orissa. The human figures represented in the painting or sculpture of the Deccan are mainly aboriginal showing that the sculptor or painter had only the people of his own stock in mind in carving or portraying the figures of gods and goddesses. In the third century, however, when the Andhras were succeeded by the Vākātakas who had matrimonial relations with the Guptas, the sculpture and painting of the Deccan began to show Aryan features in the principal figures, the aborigines appearing only as servants.

Rock architecture in the Deccan reached the culmination of its technique in the later *vihāras* at Ellora. These are in three storeys rising to a height of about fifty feet and the lines in them are straight, the angles correct and surfaces true. In a hill north of Aurangabad, there are three groups of Buddhist excavations of the sixth and seventh century A.D. Some of the sculptures of deities and devotees in them are remarkable for their bold relief, massive proportions and for the life-like representation of the garments, headgear and ornaments of the period. One remarkable feature of the Deccan art is the combination of both northern and southern styles.

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI : The Chālukyas were enthusiastic patrons of architecture. They adorned their capital Bādāmi with rock-hewn shrines. Some of them still exist as specimens of the earliest brāhmanic monuments of their style in the Deccan. Hindu temple architecture of the period is seen best in the temples at Aihole and its neighbourhood. The Ladh Khan temple at Aihole (A.D. 550) is just a low flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* enclosed on three sides, with a porch on the open eastern side which forms the front. It was just a mote-hill converted to religious use. There is an apsidal temple here dedicated to Durgā which can be dated sixth or seventh century A.D. It has a low *śikkara* above the *garbhagṛiha* in the apse. A verandah roofed with sloping slabs carried on massive square columns forms the *pradakshiṇa* path. This temple is an example of an adaptation of the Buddhist *Chaitya* to Hindu use. The apsidal form of temple disappeared with the waning of the Buddhist religion.

The smaller and simpler Huchimalligudi temple contains a new feature, a vestibule or *antarala* between the sanctum and the main hall. The next stage in structural temples is marked by the temples at Pattadakal ten miles from Bādāmi. The Papanātha temple (A.D. 680) shows not quite a successful attempt to combine northern and southern features. The Virupāksha temple closely follows the model of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram and might have owed its features to workmen imported from that city.

The rock-cut form reached its culmination in the huge monolithic temple of Kailāsa at Ellora. This stands in a class by itself, being the replica of an entire structural temple of considerable dimensions carved in all its details out of the living rock. Before dealing with it, we must notice some other 'cave-temples'; the

Daśāvatār with its gigantic sculptures of Hindu mythology, Vaishṇava and Śaiva, and the Rāvana-ka-khai and the Rāmeśvara are the finest examples of the *vihāra* type of cave at Ellora in this period. The Dumarlena represents the type having a cruciform hall with three entrances. Each entrance is preceded by a court. At the back end of the hall is the square shrine. It has steps on all four sides leading to the cellar and gigantic guardian deities (*dvārapālas*) are carved on all the sides. The Dumarlena is the finest specimen of the so-called cave temples. The general arrangement of the Elephanta Cave near Bombay is similar to that of the Dumarlena except that it is smaller and less regular in its plan. Its sculptures, particularly those on the backwall, include the famous colossal image of three-headed Maheśa, long known as Trimūrti, one of the most magnificent sculptures of the world. The largest example of this type is the Jogeśvarī temple (A.D. 800) in Salsette. To get back to Ellora, the Kailāsa temple (150 feet by 100 feet) was carved in the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I. It is said that on its completion the architect was lost in wonder at his own work and the celestial beings in the sky considered its art superhuman in its inspiration. One of the best known of its sculptural decorations is the vigorous representation of Rāvana uprooting mount Kailāsa. There are also five Jaina caves at Ellora, one of them being a copy of the Kailāsa temple known as Chhoṭa-Kailāsa.

PALLAVA ART : In the far south Pallava architecture and sculpture constitute a brilliant chapter in the history of South Indian Art. Pallava architecture consists of two phases: the first was entirely rock-cut and the second structural temples in stone. The rock-cut phase includes two groups of monuments— the simple pillared mandapas of Mahendravarman I and the similar but more elaborate *mandapas* and monolithic *rathas* of the reign of Narasiṁhavarman I and his successors.

Mahendravarman gloried in the construction of temples without the use of bricks, timber, metals or mortar. The Mahendra style shows progress in the evolution of pillars and capitals. This may be studied by comparing the earliest examples at Mandagapattu (N. Arcot) and Tiruchirapalli with the later series where a cornice appears above the pillars, and a rock moulding is added still later as at Pallawaram. The beginnings of a Pallava 'order' can be traced

in the elaboration of the pillars and the figure of a lion is introduced and combined with the pillar in its lower portion and another in the capital. This style was further refined and developed in the monuments of Narasiṁhavarman I Mahāmalla. The elegance of this improved style may be seen at Mamallapuram named after Mahāmalla, a sea-port town, 32 miles south of Madras. 'The vast open-air sculpture in high relief, nearly 30 yards long and 23 feet high, long known as Arjuna's penance, but in fact depicting, the "Descent of the Gangā" was possibly connected with a carefully designed system of fresh-water supply to a port from the Palar river.' To the left of the cascade in the centre there is a small shrine containing figure of Śiva with Bhagīratha, emaciated by penance, bowing before it. Among the animal sculptures the monumental elephant on the right, the ascetic cat imitating Bhagīratha's posture, the trustful mice at its feet, and the pair of deer looking on the scene, as well as the detached family of monkeys sculptured in the round are notable for their masterly realism.

Notable among the sculptures are the magnificent representation of the Varāha and Vāmana *avatāras*, of Sūrya, Durgā and the two fine groups of royal figures representing Siṁhavishṇu and Mahendravarman with their queens all in the Varsha cave. The Mahishāsuramardinī panel from Mahisha mandapa is a unique contribution of Pallava art. In front of this panel on the opposite wall is the panel of Vishṇu as Anantasayana, reclining on his serpent couch. There are similar rock-cut *mandapas* with sculptured panels in the Pāṇḍya country, as at Tirupparankunram and the fine unfinished Vettuvan koil at Kaḷugumalai.

The monolithic *rathas* in the same style as the *mandapas* are clearly copies of wooden structure. None of their interior is finished, and perhaps they were never actually used. At Mamallapuram there are eight of them. The five forming the southern group are named after Draupadī, Arjuna, Bhīma, Dharmarāja and Sahadeva and the three others in the north and the north-west are called Ganeśa, Pidari and Valaiyan-Kuttai. The Dharmarāja is a good example of the *vihāra*, and the Ganeśa of the *Chaitya;* the Sahadeva, also of the *Chaitya* form, is apsidal. The Draupadī is a mere cell. The *rathas* are Śaiva in character. Men and gods are sculptured on them in the most graceful forms. The animal sculpture there is also superb.

Structural temples of Pallava architecture fall into two groups: the first is the Rājasiṁha group (A.D. 700–800) and the second the Nandivarman group (A.D. 800–900). Of the six of the first group, three—the Shore, Īśvara and Mukunda temples—are at Mamallapuram. One is at Panamalai and the remaining two are Kailāsanāṫha and Vaikuṇṭhaperumal at Kāñchīpuram. The Shore temple is the earliest of these; it is a logical development from the Dharmarāja *ratha;* but in its *vimānas* it leaves the idea of *vihāra* behind and evolves a lighter and more rhythmic tower. The two temples of Kāñchīpuram are perfectly integrated and the maturest example of the style. The Nandivarman group marks no advance on the achievements of the earlier period and comprises generally smaller temples reflecting the decline of the Pallavas.

CHOLA ART : The Cholas continued the Pallava tradition. Their early temples were modest, all stone structures showing their limited resources and local developments. Pudukkottai contains an unusually large number of them in excellent preservation. The earliest and prettiest of the Chola temples is the Vijayalaya-Choleśvara at Narttamalai. It has a circular cell with a square *prakara* which is an usual arrangement; seven miniatures of the main shrine are arranged in the open yard round the temple and facing it. The Nageśvara temple at Kumbakkonam shows early Chola art in its best form particularly in the handling of the human figure. The masterpieces of Chola art are the great temples of Rājarājeśvara at Tanjore and Gangaikonda-Choleśvara at Gangaikonda-Chola-puram, respectively of the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I.

The Rājarajeśvara (A.D. 1009) stands in a vast enclosure 500 feet by 250 feet with a gopuram gateway in front on the east. The grand *vimāna* which reaches a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of 82 feet side dominates the whole structure. The Gangaikonda-Choleśvara is a replica of the Tanjore temple but with more grace of curved contours in its *vimāna* and a greater maturity in its sculpture. Of the two *vimānas* considered together, Percy Brown observes: 'Each is the final and absolute vision of its creator made manifest through the medium of structural form, the one symbolising conscious might, the other sub-conscious grace, but both dictated by that "divinity which has seized the soul'.

The bronze sculpture of the age of the Cholas forms one of the most important chapters of Indian art. Of the numerous bronze images of superb beauty the Naṭarāja images easily take the first place. The Naṭarāja of the Rājarājeśvara at Tanjore and two others from Tanjore district in the Madras Museum are among the best masterpieces of the time. There are representations of Śiva in various other forms. Representations of Vishṇu with his consort Lakshmī and Bhūdevī, Rāma and Sīta with their attendants and the Śaiva saints particularly Jñānasambandar—the infant, Vishṇu dancing on the head of the serpent Kālīya and many other subjects convey adequately the glory of the Chola art.

LATER PĀṆḌYAS : Their main contribution is seen in the vast *gopurams* at the entrances to temples providing a basis for a wealth of sculptured embellishment. The *gopuram* in the second enclosure of Jambukeśvara on the island of Śrīrangam (12th century) and the eastern *gopuram* of Chidambaram (13th century) are typical of the later Pāṇḍyan development.

JAINA MONUMENTS : The Chavundaraya-basadi on the Chandragiri hill built originally in A.D. 980 but renovated in the twelfth century and the colossal monolithic Gommatesvara, 56 feet in height, on the hill known as Indrabetta, erected in A.D. 983 both at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in Mysore are notable Jain monuments. The elaborate capitals and finials at the top of Manastambhas in front of Jain temples are works of art peculiar to the south.

CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆĪ : The art of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī found its fulfilment in the architecture and sculpture of Hoysala temple in Mysore. 'The Chālukya temples often had their principal entrances at the sides; the decoration of their exterior was singularly graceful, though often lavish, their vimānas were a compromise between the plain stepped stories of the early Chālukya style and the closely moulded tiers of the Hoysala temples. The pillars were turned on lathes and had a prominent knife-edge below the capital. The doorways were elaborately carved.' The main shrine of the Hoysala temple had a star shape in the exterior and was set on a high platform. The wall surfaces were adorned by a large number of horizontal friezes imposed one upon another. The lower walls of the *vimāna* contained ornate niches holding images of gods under

foliated canopies, and the artisans have carved their own names by the side of many of these. The shape of the Hoysala pillars and their capitals is a remarkable feature of this style. Hoysala sculpture may be said to have applied to stone the technique of the ivory worker or goldsmith. Details depicted on the figures give a fair idea of the social life of the times. The temple of Hoysaleśvara at Halebid is an unrivalled 'repositoy of religious thought expressed in plastic form'.

KALINGA : The temples of Kalinga built from the ninth to the thirteenth century are important. The main group is concentrated in the town of Bhuvanesvara where there are thirty temples. Within a few miles of it are the largest and most important monuments—the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and the Sun temple at Konarak. The assembly hall in front of the temple corresponding to the *mandapa* in other parts is in Kalinga called Jaganmohana. Two more buildings called the Naṭamandir and Bogamandir were later added to it. The sun temple at Konarak is fashioned like a wheeled chariot on twelve giant wheels on either side drawn by the seven horses of the sun. This unfinished temple is one of the finest architectural efforts of the Indian master-mason. The sculptures on the immense wall surfaces are of outstanding beauty, though some of them are of a crudely erotic character.

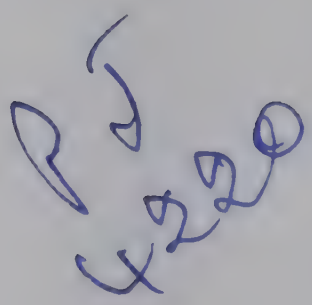
NORTH-WEST DECCAN : From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. a variation of the northern temple style flourished in the north-west of the Deccan and is known as Deccani. 'In this style the *sikkara* has a well marked vertical band at each of its angles, the spaces between being filled with rows of small replicas of the sikhara itself, each supported on a pedestal of suitable size. The pillars are lathe turned and have the knife-edge (kani) moulding which appears also on all surface.'

The temple of Ambarnāth in the Thana district is one of the finest examples of this style. This was erected about A.D. 1060 by Śilahāra Mummani, a vassal of Chālukya Someśvara I. Examples of temples of the Hemadpanti style so called after the Yādava minister and author Hemadri, built in the latter half of thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, are found in the Deccan as well as in the Berars.

One characteristic feature of the Indian temple architecture and sculpture is that the artist felt that he was entrusted with a mission and was guided in his work by gods or masters and subjected himself to strict rules.

PART TWO

MEDIAEVAL INDIA



CHAPTER X

EARLY MUSLIM INVASIONS

The Rise of Islam

In Part I we have traced the history of India and the development of her culture and civilization. Foreigners like the Huns and the Scythians who came to India invariably merged with the population of the country and adopted their ways of life. Although the original home of the Indo-Aryans still remains unsettled, they are believed to have migrated into India and shaped the character of her culture and civilization in so attractive a manner as to absorb quietly foreign settlers into their fold. We are now entering upon a long period of several centuries when aggressive, domineering adherents of Islam—the youngest religion in the world—dominate the political sphere.

The Indian States suffered defeat several times in the field of battle and lost extensive territories, but this did not mean the end of their well-developed culture. The buoyant spirit with which the Hindus rose as often as they bent low has won the admiration of historians. The Muslims never really conquered the whole of India, for there were always pockets of resistance in different parts of the country. The Rājputs in Northern India strove against odds to preserve the civilization of their forefathers. The Vijayanagar empire preserved the south for Hinduism. The Marāṭhās had no mean share in hastening the disruption of the Mughal empire.

The regular histories of the time were mostly written by Muslim authors who concerned themselves solely with the varied fortunes of daring adventurers, many of whom were men of strong character and great ability. They tell us mostly about kings, courts, and wars and intrigues, and tell us little about the life of the common folk. Muslim historians are generally prone to present the course of

events from the conqueror's standpoint. To know the reactions of the Hindus one has laboriously to piece together data found in stray and obscure sources. About the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Marāṭhās we have ample material but we have little authentic knowledge of the Hindus and Hindu kingdoms elsewhere.

For a proper understanding of the impact of Islam on India, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the rise of Islam. Its founder was Muhammad, the Prophet. Muhammad was born at Mecca fifty-three years before the Hijra (A.D. 622), his flight from Mecca to Medina, after which the latent characteristics of Islam were developed. Islam means 'submitting oneself or one's person to God'. The two basic articles of the faith are: 'There is but one God, and Muhammad is His Apostle'. In Muhammad the series of apostles reached its culmination and 'the *Koran* revealed through him is the final and unchangeable revelation of the Divine Will, abrogating all previous records of revelation'. The words which came to Muhammad when in a state of trance are held sacred by the Muslims and these form the *Sacred Book*. Those which he uttered when no physical change was apparent in him are called the *Hadith* or *Sunnah* of the Prophet. Because the angel on Mt. Hira bade him 'Read !' insisting on his 'Reading' though he was illiterate—the *Sacred Book* is known as *Al Qur' an*, 'The Reading', the Reading of the man who knew not how to read. During the last ten years of his life Muhammad led in person twenty-seven campaigns in nine of which there was hard fighting. Besides these, he planned and sent out under other leaders thirty-eight campaigns. Within ten years Muhammad became virtually the emperor of Arabia. He raised women to complete legal equality with men. He destroyed idolatry in Arabia. He made the Arabs embrace Islam. However, Muslim women are not allowed to participate in the common prayers at mosques; their seclusion is a hard reality. He effectually stopped drunkenness among the Arabs, and stirred in them a great thirst for knowledge. His greatest contribution is that of making universal brotherhood the fact and principles of common law; and his support and guide in all that work was the *Koran*. Muhammad took care to insist on fasts and pilgrimage to the sacred mosque at Mecca, the traditional going round Kaaba and other religious sacrifices and usages of pre-Muslim Arabia. The Arabs gave the original revelation a legalistic and

litigious character. Their contribution was the development of Islamic law or the *shariat*. The ethical code of Islam included the prohibition of wine, swine's flesh, gambling and usury, as well as the making of images or representations. Slavery is accepted as an institution, but good treatment of slaves is enjoined. Islam may be said to represent the logical culmination of monotheistic religion. Islam spread rapidly in Northern Africa, South-West and South-Eastern Europe. Under the Ummayads, its political centre was Damascas, under the Abbasids, Baghdad, and under the Fatimites, Cairo. Syrians, Persians, Turks, Berbers and Spaniards, all contributed to bring about the Muslim literature and art which for nearly four centuries gave to the people of Islam the intellectual leadership of the world.

After the Prophet's death (A.D. 632) the leadership passed to the Khalifs or Successors. First of these, Abu Bakr, the Prophet's earliest friend, was the real founder of the Islamic empire. In A.D. 658 a split between the Arabs and Persians occurred. The former believed in the principles of free and democratic election and the latter upheld the apostolic succession through Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law. The two sects which arose in this manner are the Sunnis and Shias. The Shias admit a number of beliefs and practices which the Sunnis look upon as unorthodox and even idolatrous; they celebrate annually at the feasting of *muharram* the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the grandsons of the Prophet and carry in procession *tazias* or representations of their tombs. The Church and State were one and indivisible according to the religious theory of Islam, but Khalifate was not a Papacy, and in matters of doctrine the Khalif had no special authority. He was only the political and religious leader of the community. Shias held that the occult interpretation of the *Koran* was the exclusive privilege of the *Imāms* (leaders of the house of Ali). As a matter of fact from the fourth decade after the Hijra, the authority of Khalif over the Muslim body-politic began to suffer and the authority of military power took its place. This dissociation of the religion of Islam from the political organization raised the religion above politics, and led to the growth of the uniform system of religious thought and practice evolved by the School of Medina.

Baghdad grew up into a mighty city under the famous Harun-al-

rashid, a contemporary of Charlemagne. It grew up into a clearing house of international culture. Here Jews, Manichaeans, Christians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Hindus met and exchanged ideas. Greek books on the one hand and Sanskrit on the other were translated into Arabic. Through Baghdad Indian mathematical, astronomical and medical theories found their way into mediaeval Europe. The great collection known as *Arabian Nights* originated in Baghdad and contains fables which are of Greek, Indian and Persian origin. The story of Sindbad the Sailor is of Indian origin.

We have already referred to the Arab conquest of Sind. For nearly three centuries the conquests of Muslims remained under the Khalifs. Khalifs were reluctant to engage large forces in India for territorial expansion. This together with the fact that the Rājput kingdoms in India were flourishing in strength accounts for the failure of Arabs to penetrate into India beyond Sind. The Hindus in Sind were allowed freedom of worship on payment of *jizya* as compensation (*jaza*). They had also to pay by contract (*zimma*), a commutation, for their unwillingness to embrace Islam. The details of administration had of necessity to be left in the hands of the Hindus. Large parts of the fertile land were made over to Arab soldiers on military tenure. In military colonies such as Mansura, Kusdar, Kamdabeland, Multan, a population of mixed Arab and Indian descent came up in course of time. Masūdī, the traveller who visited the Indus valley in the tenth century, found the chiefs of the Prophet's tribe of Kuraish ruling upper and lower Sind. Ibn Hawkal who explored Sind a little later than Masūdī heard Arabic and Hindi spoken there. According to him, there was much friendly toleration between the Muslims and Hindu population. The Arab conquest of Sind is not to be regarded as an episode without results. It broached the problem of Islam finding a *modus vivendi* with conquered people who possessed a settled and advanced civilization. The Arabs knew much more of India than the Greeks and Romans. Masūdī speaks of Hindu schools and of the Great Brahman and describes thirteen principal kingdoms of India. He notices also the hereditary offices of ministers and judges under the great kings of India. He describes the principal trade routes and objects of trade. Arabs sought employment as mercenaries among the troops of Indian kings. During the Arab occupation of

the Indus valley Islam was enabled to tap the inexhaustible resources of India, spiritual and material, and to become the agent of their distribution over the whole of Europe. This relationship continued to exist long after the outlying territories of Islam in Europe had asserted their independence of the Khalifs. The sudden intellectual awakening and great devotion to learning among the Arabs must be attributed to the influence of the universities of North-Western India which were famous throughout Asia for the very sciences in which the Arabs afterwards excelled. Before Islam could boast of any universities of its own, there were schools in India to which high-born Arab youth would go in quest of knowledge. It must however be recognized that the Arabs in Europe soon made themselves independent of Indian teaching, and developed schools of their own which gave an impetus to scientific research. By their secularization of Hindu religious knowledge, the Arabs laid the foundation of Western experimental science, which has often appropriated to itself the credit of discoveries which really belong to the Buddhist and Hindu India.

The Abbasids maintained very friendly intercourse with the Rāshṭrakūta dynasty which ruled over the greater part of Western India. It was left to the Turkish dynasties of Ghazni to carry out the systematic policy of plunder and massacre which gradually broke the economic strength of the Northern Hindu States and opened the way to the final subjugation of a large part of India. But the victorious progress of Islam in India is not to be accounted for by external reasons. It was mainly due to the political degeneration of India. Even in the face of danger from militant foreigners the Hindu kings did not rise above petty jealousies to make common cause. After the military strength of the Arab empire declined, barbarians from beyond the pale, Turkish tribesmen from Central Asia, overran Persia and Iraq.

But like the barbarians who overran the Roman empire in its decline, these also began to respect the civilization they had upset. In fact their conversion to Islam had begun while they were still in Central Asia. The pressure of these nomadic elements which began to dominate the Islamic world led to important changes. Islam began to lose its centralized and urban character. The mysticism which had already begun among urban artisan classes

and ensured a larger measure of freedom for its votaries than the rigid *Sacred Law* began to grow and develop into the vast movement of Sufism, so called from *suf* or undyed garments of wool worn as a mark of personal penitence. The Sufis both individually and as an organized group were responsible for spreading Islam in Africa, India, Indonesia, Turkistan, China and South-east Europe. The Sufis were sometimes persecuted and generally opposed by orthodox theologians, though they indeed laid the foundations in many places for the advent of orthodox law and theology.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Muslim rule in India was mainly that of the Turks or Indo-Turks as they may be appropriately called. In A.D. 1526 began the Mughal or Mungol rule in India which lasted till about the early half of the eighteenth century.

The Ghaznavid Turks and The House of Ghor

Afghanistan which borders India in the north-west includes what the ancients called Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar), Paropamisus (Kabul) and strictly speaking, also Gedrosia (Baluchistan). The Afghans belong to the same family as Hindu Aryans, but their mountain habitat and its climate made them into a race of proud and robust warriors. In India they are known as Pathans. Their inroads into India were inaugurated under the auspices of the Turks.

The house of Ghazni in Afghanistan became powerful under Alptigīn, a slave of Abdul Malik, the Samānid king of Bokhāra. With about 800 followers, Alptigīn settled in Ghazni. After a successful reign of about eight years he died in A.D. 969. Sabuktigīn, a slave who married Alptigīn's daughter, became king of Ghazni in A.D. 977. It was he who brought the city-state of Ghazni into prominence. The period of five years that followed the rise of Saḅuktigīn was one of severe oppression for the Hindus. Throughout the period following this, the Hindus and Muhammadans were in a state of uninterrupted fear and struggle. Kingdoms were founded and overthrown. Dynasties rose and fell. The impulse for the convulsion that burst upon India was given in the year A.D. 979 by Jaipāl, the prince of Lahore in the Panjab. He considered that the growing power of Sabuktigīn, lord of Ghazni, was a danger

to himself. He sought to reduce its prince by an incursion into Afghanistan. This however resulted in a friendly settlement, but when Jaipal supported by the princes of Ajmer and Kanauj resumed the offensive in A.D. 988, he was utterly defeated at Lamghan. This was the beginning of the march of Turko-Afghan hordes into India. Sabuktigīn established himself at the confluence of the Kabul and Indus, and thus secured a base for invasion into India. He was succeeded by his son Ismail, who, however, was dethroned in A.D. 998 by his brother, the famous Mahmūd of Ghazni.

MAHMŪD OF GHAZNI (A.D. 998–1030): Mahmūd was not thirty at the time of his accession to the throne. The kingdom he inherited comprised Afghanistan and Khurāsān or eastern Persia to which he added Sistan in the following year. Mahmūd as an iconoclast was the most important ruler of the Ghazni dynasty. From his Tartar father he had inherited tenacity and military prowess, while his Persian mother had given him a feeling of higher civilization. His outlook on life was essentially secular in the spirit of the Persian Renaissance and he had a love of power and money. His was the first secular empire (*sultanat*) in Islam and he maintained a large body of Hindu troops. Like many other princes he loved women and cultivated a taste for poetry and music. Sometimes he quarrelled with his officers for the possession of Turkish slaves. He was a great patron of learning, but somehow or other he encouraged only scholars of moderate ability and the best men of his time were not persuaded to stay with him; the sensitive Persian poet Firdausi fled from him, the physician and biologist Shaikh Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna) declined his invitation, and the scholarly Abu Rihan Alberuni was happy only when he was in India away from Mahmūd. His empire extended from the Punjab to the Caspian. Although clever, energetic and enterprising, Mahmūd had no comprehensive political insight. The main object of his Indian operations was not conquest but the capturing of gold, jewels and slaves. As Professor Emil Schniudt observes the Muhammadan world has been inclined to consider Mahmūd of Ghazni one of the greatest rulers of all the time, and his coreligionists and contemporaries regard his military achievements as unequalled by those of any ruler: but this belief is founded not so much upon

his military achievements as upon the religious fanaticism which overthrew the idols of hostile peoples and destroyed the temples of the unbelievers. In this respect also they overestimate their hero and his intention; the devastation of the Indian temples was undertaken by Mahmūd chiefly with the object of plundering the enormous treasures which had been gathered there in the course of centuries.

The Khalif sent him a robe of honour and conferred the titles *Yamin-ud-dowlah* (right-hand of the empire) and *Amir-ul-millah* (custodian of the faith) on him at the end of A.D. 999. His first campaign in A.D. 1001 was against Jaipāl whom he defeated. Jaipāl ended his life upon the funeral pyre and the Western Punjab with Lahore fell into the hands of Mahmūd. In A.D. 1003 Mahmūd crossed the Indus for the first time and overcame Biji Rai of Bhera on the Jhelum after four days' hard fighting. The Hindu king committed suicide and Bhera and the surrounding territory were occupied; the booty included a vast amount of treasure and 280 'elephants headstrong as Satan'.

Multan was ruled by a Karmatian named Abdul Fath Daūd. Mahmūd threatened an invasion of Multan. Daūd sought the aid of Ānandapāl, Jaipāl's son, of the Punjab. Knowing this, Mahmūd attacked Ānandapāl and then marched against Multan. Daūd promised to join the orthodox faith and pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *dirhams* (A.D. 1004–5). At this time Ghazni was threatened by I-lak Khan, a Turkish ruler of Kashgar. Mahmūd left Bhera in the hands of Sukhpāl, son of Ānandapāl, who had been converted to Islam in his captivity, and hurried back to Ghazni and succeeded in repulsing the invader. Meanwhile Sukhpāl returned to his ancestral faith, but the frontier Amirs captured Sukhpāl and took him to Mahmūd. After getting a heavy indemnity, Mahmūd imprisoned him for life. Ānandapāl offered to help Mahmūd against the Turks of Central Asia. This however, did not bring about permanent peace for Mahmūd found Ānandapāl blocking his way to the rich plains of Hindustan. Now the Hindu kings who had so long been indifferent realized the danger and strengthened Ānandapāl's defence. In A.D. 1008 the kings of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālanjar, Kanauj and possibly also Delhi and Ajmere, marched with their troops to the Punjab to fight against Mahmūd and

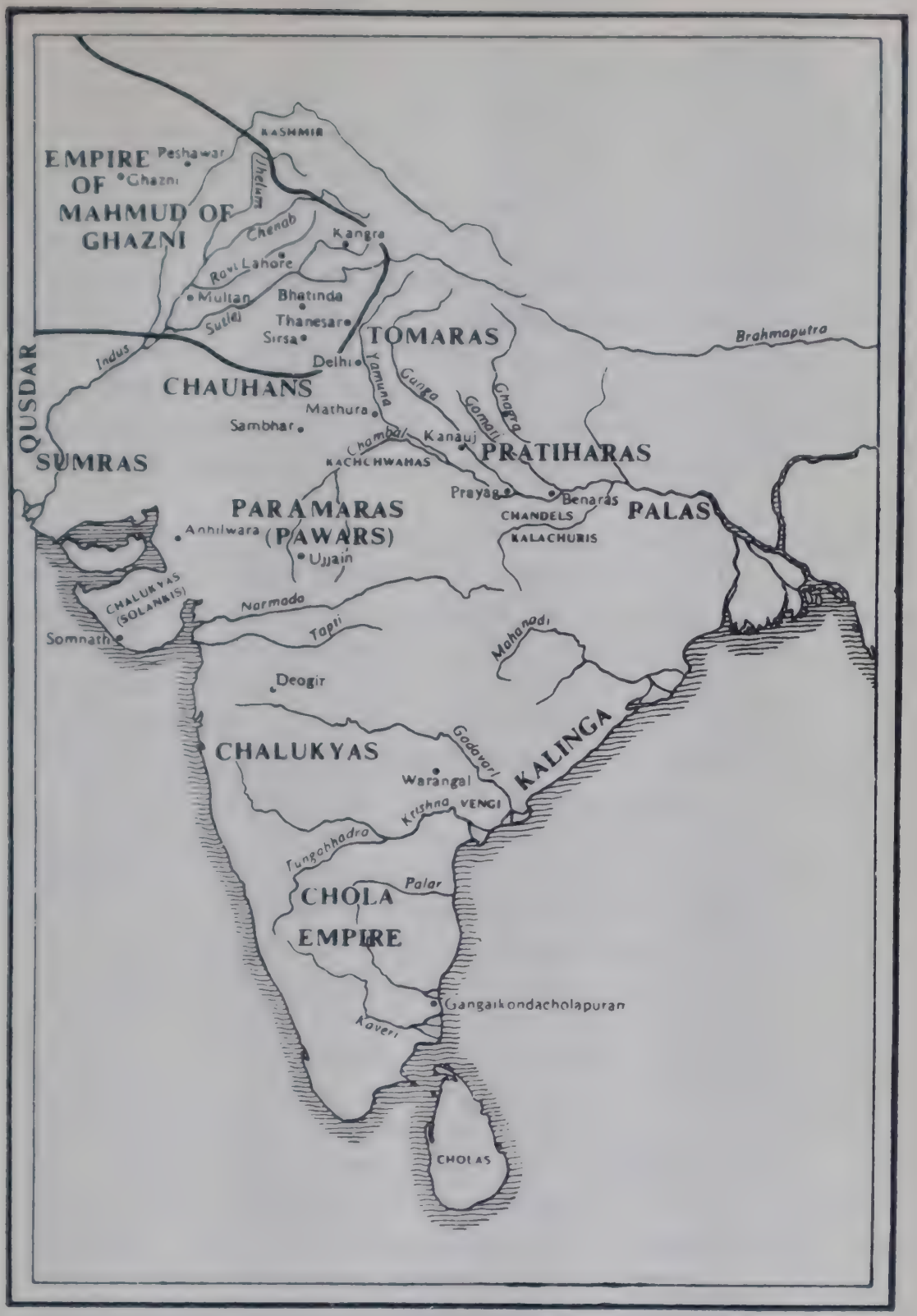
his army. The women from different parts of the country sold their jewels and sent the money for the war against the invader. The Indian army was a citizen mob strong in numbers but lacking discipline and leadership. The army of Ghazni though heterogeneous in its composition was better led and had years of experience in continuous campaigning. The battle was fought at Und. The Khokkars broke into Mahmūd's camp; it seemed that the loss sustained by Mahmūd's army would turn the states in favour of the Hindu army. But unfortunately Ānandapāl's advance guard frightened by the explosions of naphtha, fled the field, and his friends mistook this for desertion on his part; the rest was rout, confusion and plunder for two days. All the chances of Hindu rulers combining against Mahmūd disappeared. Mahmūd made a dash for the rich temple of Nagarkot (Kangra) known as the fort of Bhīma on the top of a hill in the upper Beas. The brāhmins of the temple had to witness Mahmūd walk away with '700,000 dinars of gold, 700 maunds of gold and silver and 20 maunds of various jewels which had been collected together from the time of Bhīm' (Ferishta). It would take too long to follow in detail Mahmūd's inroads into India which were all in general so alike. Swift marching, utter unpreparedness, almost pitiful submission, and then, a halt during which the town was plundered.

Mathurā, the birth-place of Śrī Kṛishṇa, was the city of temples. 'In population and splendid edifices the city of Mathurā was unrivalled; human tongue cannot describe the wonderful things it contained.' The Hindu resistance was feeble. The Sultan 'gave orders that all the temples which were more than could be counted, should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground'. This was more an act of envy than of fanaticism. The loot included 98,300 *mithquals* of gold obtained by melting down images; a large quantity of silver weighing 450 *mithquals* and 200 silver idols and much else. The neighbouring town of Brindāvan suffered the same fate.

Then Mahmūd marched against Kanauj and Rājyapāla, the Hindu king fled on his approach. Mahmūd took his seven forts in one day and plundered the undefended city at leisure. Mahmūd went back. The Khalif held a special durbar to receive Mahmūd's message of victory. But as Alberuni observed: 'Mahmūd utterly

ruined the prosperity of India'. Mahmūd felt that Punjab should be subdued so that it might be a base for incursions into Hindustan. He appointed a reliable *amir* over the province with his headquarters at Lahore. He put an end to the Hindu Shahi line of rulers of whom Alberuni records: 'They were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing. In all their grandeur, they never slackened in the desire of doing what is good and right'.

The Rājputs put up a strong defence. At one place the garrison rushed out through the breaches in true kshatriya fashion to do or die; while the women and children burned themselves in silence in their houses. Not one, we are told, survived. This is the first mention in history of the *johar* or great war-sacrifice of the Rājputs. It is not the last. Mahmūd's most famous attack was that against Somnāth or the temple of Someśvara. The *Lingam* at Somnāth is believed to be one of the twelve to have descended from heaven. This temple with its fifty-six pillars set up in rows, all carven and inlaid with gems, its guilded spires where the great bell swung on a solid gold chain which weighed some fifteen hundred pounds, attracted Mahmūd's attention. The Hindus put up in vain severe resistances. We read of a three days' battle of scaling ladders, and of heavy reinforcement. For the first time Mahmūd's troops wavered. Mahmūd invoked the aid of God to help him to success. It seemed to have done the trick. One wild cheering rush, and the Muslims broke through the enemy's line, so that rout became general. The garrison of four thousand, abandoning the defence, escaped by the sea in boats. Mahmūd entered the temple in pomp. Some of the two thousand priests offered untold gold to arrest destruction. Mahmūd refused the offer and when he broke the idol 'a great quantity of pearls, diamonds and rubies of great value poured out of the belly of the idol'. The tale is dramatic. But unfortunately none of these *lingams* are hollow. Perhaps the treasure was found beneath the *lingam*. On his way back, Mahmūd is said to have been so attracted by the situation and climate of Anhilvara that he wished to make it his capital, leaving Ghazni to his son Masūd; but the officers opposed the idea and Mahmūd assigned the governorship of Gujarat to an ascetic of Somnāth belonging to an ancient royal family and then left for Ghazni. To avoid a contest with Rājputs Mahmūd, loaded with spoils, marched to Multan through



India in A.D. 1030

the Sind desert. It is said that a Hindu guide deliberately misled the army causing it much suffering in the waterless desert and paid with his life for his temerity. When Mahmūd's army emerged from the desert, the predatory Jats of the Salt Range harassed the exhausted troops. For this conduct the Jats suffered heavily. Mahmūd's last invasion was in A.D. 1027. The remaining few years of his life were wholly taken up with affairs in the west. With his vast wealth he built up a magnificent mosque at Ghazni called 'The Celestial Bride'. He opened a university at Ghazni. Two days before his death he ordered all the gold and the caskets of precious stones to be brought before him; having seen them, he wept with regret and ordered them to be carried back.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MAHMŪD: After the death of Mahmūd the campaigns of Islam continued in feebler fashion. For a few years the dead king's twin sons, Muhammad (the elder by some hours) and Masūd were occupied in settling the succession. Muhammad, somewhat mild and tractable, was his father's nominee, but Masūd, a great warrior, bold, and independent, fought his brother and captured and blinded him. He then sought to extend his possession in Hindustan against the advice of his minister, the celebrated Maimandi, who wanted him to deal with the Seljukian Turks first. Masūd had to deal with the revolts in the Punjab and the invasion of the Turks. He suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Turks on the north-east frontier. Filled with resentment and shame at his defeat Masūd began to build a fine palace at Ghazni, for a diversion. He must have spent large sums of money from his father's treasures. In 1037 Masūd marched against Hansi believing that the capture of another fort would render his government more stable. After ten days' siege he took the fort by storm and its treasures were divided among the army. The Seljuks continued to give trouble and threatened to occupy Afghanistan. The Iranized and Hinduized army of the Ghaznavids were no match for the Turkish army. When Masūd was engaged in the liberation of Balkh, one section of the enemy surprised Ghazni and pillaged it. Masūd fought valiantly and recovered Ghazni. However, in the end he sustained a heavy defeat in A.D. 1040. Hard pressed by the Seljuks Masūd left Ghazni to reach Hindustan and re-formed his forces

there. But the wagons which carried the treasure were looted in the Marigala pass (between Rawalpindi and Attock) by his own household slaves and the army took its own share. Aware that the sultan would not leave them unpunished, they placed the blind brother Muhammad on the throne. Deserted by all, Masūd was killed in A.D. 1041 by his nephew Ahmad. His son Maudūd, governor of Balkh, avenged the death of his father by exterminating the family of the blind sultan. At the place of victory he built a town called Fathabad. Maudūd was not however strong enough to hold the pressure of Seljuks on one side and of revolts in India on the other. On one of his campaigns he contracted a sort of cholera of which he died in Ghazni in A.D. 1049. After that, the history of the Ghaznavids is a tissue of unhappy wars, family disorders and regicides of no general interest. Another king, Bahram sat on the throne for thirty-five years. His long reign indicated that there must have been some measure of peace and stability at least in the centre.

THE END OF THE HOUSE OF GHAZNI: It was Bahram that was destined to lose his throne for his race by two useless and brutal murders. The first was the public execution of his son-in-law, an apparently harmless prince of Ghor, between Ghazni and Herat; the reason is obscure though it seems probable that he was suspected of high treason. The murdered man had two brothers. The first of these, Saif-ud-din attacked Ghazni and got it. But Bahram managed by stratagem to get hold of Saif-ud-din and put him to a cruel death. Ala-ud-din, the last brother then took up the glove vowing vengeance. In the battle that followed Bahram fled to die miserably on his way to India, while the conqueror earned for himself the title of 'The Burner of the Worlds'. 'The massacre,' writes the historian, 'continued for the space of seven days, in which time pity seems to have fled from the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate men. A number of the most venerable and learned persons were, to adorn the triumph, carried in chains to Feroz-Kuh, where the victor ordered their throats to be cut, and tempering earth with their blood, used it to plaster the walls of his native city'.

Ala-ud-din thus ended the house of Ghazni, for though two

descendants of Bahram kept a feeble hold on power from Lahore during the space of a few years, he was the last real king.

MUHAMMAD OF GHOR: Ala-ud-din after wreaking vengeance on Ghazni withdrew to a mountain fortress, abandoning Ghazni and its neighbourhood to Ghuzz Turkmans and anarchy. He died in 1161 and two years later, his son died. His nephew Ghiyas-ud-din, son of Sam, became the chief of Ghor (A.D. 1163). Immediately he associated his younger brother Muhammad Shihab-ud-din (also called Muis-ud-din) in the government and left to him the conduct of military operations. Soon Ghazni was recovered from the Ghuzz Turks (A.D. 1173-74). Shihab-ud-din, who is best known as Muhammad Ghori, became the governor of Ghazni. It was Muhammad Ghori that laid the foundations of Islamic rule in India. His first aim was to bring the Muslim province of India under his control. In A.D. 1175 he took Multan from the Karmatians. Next he conquered the fortress of Uch. In A.D. 1177 he marched against Anhilvara, but was defeated and compelled to retreat. Little by little Muhammad Ghori rid himself of all Muslim rivals in India. In A.D. 1182 he overran and conquered Sind and the Punjab. His overthrow of the heroic Prithvī Rāj at the battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192 has already been described. He conquered Ajmere and Hindu States attached to that kingdom. Muhammad Ghori displayed even greater cruelty than Mahmud of Ghazni and massacred the inhabitants and sold them to slavery. He then advanced upon Delhi. This town, being captured by his Field Marshal, Kutb-ud-din Aibek, in A.D. 1193 remained henceforward the chief centre of the Muhammadan power in Hindustan. In 1194 Muhammad Ghori defeated Jaychandra at Banaras and Kanauj and extended his frontiers to the borders of Bihar. In the following years he was occupied with his brother in Merv, Khwarizm (Khiva) and Herat until the death of the latter left him the sole ruler of the great kingdom. In A.D. 1204 Muhammad Ghori was obliged to invade Khwarizm where a momentary victory was followed by such disastrous defeat that he burned his baggage and barely escaped with his life. The destruction of his army spelt anarchy everywhere. Ghazni closed its gates in his face. Multan proclaimed a new king and the Khokkars seized Lahore and laid waste the Punjab. Only Kutb-ud-din in India remained faithful. Herat and other places in the west

were in the power of his faithful nephews. Muhammad Ghori soon retrieved the position by conquering Multan. The Khokkars were subdued and even converted in name, though this did not put an end to the blood-feud. If Muhammad Ghori had been content with his Indian empire all might have been well with him. His ambition for conquests in the west brought ruin on his family. While he encamped on the Indus, the Khokkars entered his tent and avenged the death of their kinsfolk by murdering the sultan. Other accounts ascribe the murder to Karmatians. His conquests in India surpassed those of Mahmūd for they were wider and far more permanent. After the death of Muhammad Ghori, the dynasty became insignificant. The slave viceroy he left in India became the founder of the first of several lines of rulers who reigned from Delhi. Muslim supremacy in India at the time of the death of Ghori extended over the whole lowland district of northern India and the slave rulers advanced it to the Vindhya mountains. The dynasties that ruled were as follows:

The Slave Dynasty	A.D. 1206–1290
House of Khilji	A.D. 1290–1321
House of Tughlak	A.D. 1321–1412
The Sayyids	A.D. 1416–1451
Bahlul Lodi	A.D. 1451–1526

CHAPTER XI

SULTANATE OF DELHI

The Slave Dynasty

Muhammad Ghori left no male descendants, and had made no arrangements for the succession, the immediate consequence being great disorder. Four of his governors made themselves practically independent: Yaldoz in the Afghan mountain, Kubacha on the Indus, Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar in Bengal and Aibek at Delhi. Of them the last was the chief. His name Aibek means 'moon-lord or moon face' though his features were far from comely. Kutb-ud-din Aibek had originally been a Turkish slave of Muhammad Ghori. From a subordinate position he had gradually risen to become commander-in-chief and governor, a career typical of the times. Though some of his successors ascended the throne by hereditary right, yet the whole of this line of rulers has received the common name of the 'Slave Dynasty' (A.D. 1206–1290).

On the death of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-din was elected sultan by the Turkish amirs and generals. The chief of Ghor, feeling himself not strong enough to assume the reins of government in India, made a bid for peace by sending Aibek the slave, the drums, the standard and the insignia of royalty and the title of King of India. Aibek received them with 'becoming respect' and was duly crowned. It must be said that the real glory of the conquests of Muhammad Ghori belongs by right to Aibek. It was he who marched his forces hither and thither, 'engaged the enemy, put them to flight, and having ravaged the country at leisure, obtained much booty.' It was he who crushed the revolt of Ajmere, reduced Gwalior, 'the pearl of the necklace of the Castles of Hind,' defeated Bhīm of Anhilvara and brought Gujarat under Delhi. It was he who captured Kālanjar and turned its temples into mosques.

After the death of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-din firmly grasped the reins of power in India while civil wars continued for nine years (1206–1215) in the other provinces of the empire, until their incorporation with Khwarizm. About the time of Kutb-ud-din's accession Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar died or was assassinated in his bed, after his total failure in a disastrous attempt to lead an expedition to Tibet across the Himalayas.

Kutb-ud-din strengthened his position by marriage alliances. He married the daughter of Yaldoz, gave one of his daughters in marriage to Kubacha and another daughter to Iltutmish (also written Altamish or Altamsh in Persian), one of his own slaves. Kubacha recognized the suzerainty of his father-in-law. But Yaldoz as successor of Muhammad Ghori claimed the Punjab as his and drove Kubacha from Multan. Thereupon Kutb-ud-din ousted him from the Punjab and followed up his success by entering Ghazni as conqueror (1208–9). Here Kutb-ud-din gave himself up 'unaccountably to wine and pleasure'. This seems to have irritated the good citizens of Ghazni. Coming to know of this Yaldoz surprised Kutb-ud-din who fled to Lahore without striking a blow. There, we are told, he became 'sensible to his folly', repented, and thereafter 'continued to exercise justice, temperance, morality.'

Kutb-ud-din built two mosques one at Delhi soon after its capture which he called Kuwat-ul-Islam, 'the Might of Islam', and the other at Ajmere. With the help of Iltutmish he designed the Kutb-minar, 'the finest pillar in the world'. But he lived to erect only a portion of the first storey. He was killed while playing *chaugan* (the modern polo) in A.D. 1210. At that time he was supposed to be the richest man in the world. According to Muslim chroniclers, he was the first ruler who by his liberality gained the title *Lakbakhsh* (giver of lakhs). But according to Smith 'he was a typical specimen of the ferocious central Asian warriors of the time, merciless and fanatical.' His successor Ārām (Leisure), whose relation to Kutb-ud-din is uncertain, never gripped the kingdom, and lost it fatuously after less than a year.

ILTUTMISH: Iltutmish was also of Turki extraction. As a youth he was famed for his handsomeness and talents. While in the slave market, Muhammad Ghori who was attracted by him hesitated to

pay the price demanded, Kutb-ud-din paid the heavy sum and carried off the prize. As son-in-law to Kutb-ud-din he ascended the throne adding Shams-ud-din (Sun of the Faith) to his name. He reigned for no less than twenty eight years. So Delhi, indeed, was founded by 'Slaves'.

Iltutmish had to spend much of his time fighting his rivals. Yaldoz and Kubacha treated him with contempt as the slave of a slave. The amirs of Delhi opposed his accession to the throne and so did Hindu princes all over the country. In spite of such powerful opposition Iltutmish succeeded in establishing and consolidating the Sultanate of Delhi.

He defeated Yaldoz near Tarain in A.D. 1216 and gained the Punjab. Kubacha, however, kept up a struggle till A.D. 1228, but had ultimately to drown himself in the Indus in sheer despair. The most serious threat to Iltutmish came from Chingiz Khan 'The Great Khan of the Mongols'. Chingiz Khan actually advanced as far as the Indus in pursuit of Jalal-ud-din, Mangbarni, the last Shah of Kwarizm. The Shah sent word to Iltutmish, seeking refuge in Delhi. But the Sultan was too wary to encourage him. Being defeated by the Mongols the Shah crossed the Indus, took the aid of the Khokkars, captured Kubacha and imprisoned him in Multan. He ravaged Sind and then left for Persia. The Mongols, unable to bear the excessive heat of India, withdrew from Peshawar after plundering parts of Western Punjab. Iltutmush heaved a sigh of relief.

In Bengal, the Khilji governor, Ghias-ud-din Iwaz proclaimed independence, issued coins and rebelled against the Sultan. Iltutmish led an expedition to Bengal (A.D. 1225), defeated the rebel and slew him. Mandor in the Siwalik hills and Ranthambhor were taken in A.D. 1226.

In A.D. 1228 Iltutmish received investiture from the Khalif of Baghdad. This recognition greatly strengthened his political position with the Indian Muslims. After this he put on his coins the additional title *Nazir-Amir-ul-Muminin*, 'Helper of the Commander of the Faithful'. His silver *tanka*, the standard coin, weighed 175 grains and carried purely Arabic legend. In A.D. 1232–34 he conquered Gwalior and Mālwa. He built the Kutb-Minar above the basement storey and made important additions to the Kutb group of buildings,

among which stands his own tomb, 'one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Muhammadan purposes that Old Delhi affords.' Iltutmish died in A.D. 1236.

RAZIYAT-UD-DIN: Realising the worthlessness of his sons, Iltutmish nominated his daughter Raziyat-ud-din (accepted by Religion) for the succession. But the nobles thought they knew better than the king and offered the throne to Rukh-ud-din. This first occupant spent his six months and twenty-eight days of tenancy in 'lavishing his inherited treasures on dancing girls, pimps and prostitutes.' Added to this were the hideous cruelties of his mother, a Turkish slave, who virtually took the reins of government. She had murdered horribly every one of the dead king's women and tried her hand on his sons. The nobles lost patience, deposed the king, threw his mother into prison and raised Raziya (Raziyat-ud-din) to the throne, almost by a unanimous vote. By her great qualities she deserved their choice. But soon there came disorder. Ferishta who speaks highly of her observes: 'Raziya Begum (my Lady Content) was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman.'

Raziya assumed the title of Sultan and did her best to play the part of a man. She abandoned the petticoat in favour of the trews; she had the certificate of her father that though a woman, she had a man's head and heart; she rode her elephant at the head of her troops. But all this was of no avail against womanhood. Her career matches in tragedy that of Mary Queen of Scots. The Turkish chiefs resented her preference for an Abyssinian slave Yakut whom she allowed to 'lift her on her horse by raising her up under the arms.' No one can say if she really favoured him. The Turkish nobles had formed a corps known as 'the Forty' who shared the wealth and power of the kingdom and concentrated all control in their hands. They now rose in rebellion on the plea of the Queen's partiality to the Abyssinian. In the tumultuous conflict that ensued the Queen's favourite Yakut was slain, the Queen taken prisoner by the rebel governor of Sirhind by name Altunia. Suddenly affairs took a dramatic turn. Altunia promptly married the Queen. He raised an army to espouse the Queen's cause and fight her battles. He failed, and he and his

wife were put to death together on the 14th of November, 1239. Raziya's troubled reign lasted for three years and some months.

Bahram was the next brother to ascend the throne. He proved himself quite worthless in his rule which lasted two years, one month and fifteen days. Then came Masūd, also a feeble ruler, whose rule lasted twice as long as Bahram's. He found time in it, however, to repel the first Mongol invasion by way of Tibet into Bengal (A.D. 1244). It was followed by a similar incursion the next year by way of Kashmir. But Masūd seems to have become imbecile over wine and women and when deposed was contemptuously allowed to live by Nazir-ud-din, the only one of Iltutmish's sons who appears to have been worth anything, possibly because he had passed the last four reigns in prison.

NASIR-UD-DIN: Nasir-ud-din was made Sultan in A.D. 1246. He was a kind and scholarly gentleman, who loved the company of the learned and the arts of peace. His admiring chroniclers say that he preferred supporting himself by his writings to accepting any public allowance, that he refused to have more than one wife and that he cut down all outward show and magnificence regarding himself as God's trustee for the State. Such an account of the simplicity of his life is probably exaggerated. He was certainly no king for India at a time when the Mongols threatened to invade, the Hindus rose in revolt and Turkish chiefs with their mutual jealousies were a constant source of trouble.

It was a fortunate circumstance that Balban, another slave of the Ilbari tribe, came to the rescue of the State. His father was a Khan of 10,000 families. Balban in his youth fell a captive to Mongols who sold him to Khwaja Jamal-ud-din of Basra. He was brought to Delhi where Iltutmish purchased him. Balban soon became one of 'the Forty'. He served Razia as chief huntsman, but turned against her with the others. Bahram duly rewarded him with the fief of Rewari in the Gurgam district to which Hansi soon was added. He distinguished himself as an able administrator and an efficient commander by his successful attacks against the invading Mongols and by effective suppression of internal revolts. He became the principal minister of the State with the title Ulugh Khan (puissant lord) when Nasir-ud-din ascended the throne.

Every year Balban led his troops to the Doab or to the hills of Ranthambhor, against Mālwa or Kālanjar and everywhere he was victorious. His reputation rose high and excited the jealousy of the other nobles. Led by a renegade Hindu eunuch by name Imad-ud-din Raihan the Turkish chiefs and Persian officials intrigued and persuaded the Sultan to banish Balban from the court in A.D. 1253. Balban, who had a genuine affection for Nasir-ud-din, his son-in-law, quietly submitted to his degradation and bided his time at Nagar. Soon the confederacy of nobles found Balban indispensable, and summoned him back. So Balban found himself restored to his old position without a fight (A.D. 1255). Balban, with remarkable vigour, successfully dealt with all the rebellions, conspiracies and Mongol alarms of the rest of Nasir-ud-din's reign.

A Mongol mission from Hulagu promised that their depradations in India would cease. The Meos and Mewat, the district to the south of Delhi, suffered terrible punishment in A.D. 1260 for having infested for many years the roads in the neighbourhood of the capital and further east up to the base of the Himalayas. The historian records: 'He fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all to the number of 12,000 men, women and children whom he put to the sword.'

Nasir-ud-din died, after a long illness in A.D. 1266, designating his father-in-law Balban as his successor. Balban must have been nearly sixty at the time; he died (twenty-one years after) in his eightieth year.

BALBAN: Balban ascended the throne in February 1266. As he had been the virtual ruler of the empire he had little difficulty in succession. The mild influence of his son-in-law no longer being there, Balban started on his career as Sultan with no regard for human life. The times were difficult and he had to be stern and watchful. He first executed the survivors of the Forty's and relieved himself of the dangers of rivalry. He suppressed with an iron hand the hillmen whose forays were a terror in the suburbs of Delhi. He cleared the forests round Delhi and 'at a sacrifice of 100,000 men turned a haunt of bush-rangers into a peaceable agricultural district.' He freed the roads from brigands by killing and burning without mercy. He built forts and established Afghan garrisons to

guard communications with Bengal. The titles of Turkish Khans for vast estates were strictly examined and he took back the lands from which no adequate military service was received and thus reduced the power of the nobles. He maintained pomp and dignity at his court so that 'Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts.' He ensured security by an efficient system of espionage and severely punished spies for their defaults.

Tughril Khan, his favourite slave and fifteenth governor of Bengal, kept to himself all the treasures he had got from an invasion of Orissa and assumed the style and insignia of royalty (A.D. 1279). Several expeditions were sent to Bengal and Tughril Khan managed to buy them off. Enraged at this, Balban, with his son Bughra Khan, marched to Lakhnauti in total disregard of the heavy rains. Tughril Khan fled with his troops and stores to the wilds round Jajnagar in East Bengal. Balban was unable at first to trace him. But he got to know his whereabouts by threatening some merchants with death and killing a few. Balban surprised Tughril in his tent and despatched him as he attempted to escape on a bare-backed steed. Returning to Lakhnauti, Balban hanged the relations and accomplices of Tughril on gibbets ranged along both sides of the long bazaar of the city. The whole country-side was terrified at the sight of the rows of gibbets set up in the capital. Balban made his son Bughra Khan the governor of Bengal where he and his descendants ruled for more than half a century (A.D. 1282–1339).

Mongol danger was ever present and Balban kept his army trained and disciplined to the highest pitch of efficiency. The threat of the Mongols was checked by refortification of Lahore in A.D. 1270. Balban's cousin, Sunqar was ever ready to meet the attack of the Mongols and he was a brave warrior. Sunqar was poisoned to death, which encouraged the Mongols and their campaigns. Balban appointed his elder son Muhammad to guard the frontier from Multan. Muhammad was the apple of his father's eye. In the moment of victory, he died and 'drew tears from the meanest soldier to the General.' This came as a final blow to the old king 'who was so much distressed that life became irksome to him.' The great affection between father and son was indeed one of great interests in Balban's life which was mostly devoted to pious pretences to pomp and pose. He sent for Bughra Khan with the intention of making him his

successor. But the easy going prince did not like to stay with his austere parent. Under the pretext of a hunting excursion he quietly made his way to Lakhnauti.

Under Balban's rule Delhi gained a reputation as a centre of art and science but this was due not so much to the ruler as to the disturbances of the period which led every intellectually gifted man to gravitate to the place of greatest security. Delhi thus became a refuge for a number of deposed princes and high dignitaries. For a long time the streets and squares in Delhi were named after countries from which those rulers had been expelled. The most notable among literary men that sought refuge in Delhi was Amir-Khusru, the poet who was associated with the refugee princes. Some of these, flattering and fawning, helped to noise his fame abroad as a paragon. Balban 'the wary old wolf who had held possession of Delhi for sixty years' died in A.D. 1286, after nominating Kai Khusru, the son of Muhammad, as his successor. The nobles, however, raised his grandson Kaikubad, the seventeen year old son of Bughra Khan, to the throne. Kaikubad gave rein to pleasure and the guidance of government was entrusted to his vizier. During his short reign of three years Kaikubad became a hopeless paralytic. Nizam-ud-din the vizier got the government into his hands, murdered the prince whom Balban had designated for the succession and began a series of inquisitions against the most loyal servants of Balban ending in their being put to death one after another. Bughra Khan from Bengal too came to try to save his son but it was of no avail. The opposition to the evil rule of Nizam-ud-din centred round Jalal-ud-din Firuz, the adjutant-general. He was an old Khalji whom the vizier had marked down for destruction. The Khaljis were probably Turks in origin who in the tenth century settled in the district of sources of the Amu Daria. Some of these Turks had branched off to Afghanistan. There, while retaining their Turkish dialect, they had embraced Islam and gradually adopted the Afghan civilization. These Turko-Afghans had little love for the Turks of Delhi. Kaikubad had killed Nizam-ud-din by poison. A struggle ensued between the Turks and Khaljis in which the latter gained the upper hand. Kaikubad was literally kicked out of the world by a Khalji officer whose father had been executed by the sick sultan's orders. Now Firuz ascended the throne as Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah (A.D. 1290).

The Khaljis (A.D. 1290–1320)

LEGACY OF THE SLAVE DYNASTY: In the polity of the Slave Kings the stress was on the army as the source and means of government. In days when tolerance was a virtue unknown to the ruling class of the Western world, the Sultans of Delhi found it expedient and necessary to accept Hindus as vassals, to engage them in military service and to employ them in the revenue administration. Politically, the Slave Kings had a firm hold on the regions now called the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh with Bihar, Gwalior and Sind and some parts of Rajasthan and Central India. Bengal practically remained independent, in spite of Balban's incessant attempt to make it acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. Even within the empire Hindu chiefs remained in 'turbulent vigour' in the Doab, Mālwa and Gujarat. All the rest of India continued to be ruled by numerous Hindu kings to whom the tragedies of the Sultanate were matters of utter indifference. The centre of authority was no longer Baghdad or Ghazni but Delhi. Succession was not strictly according to hereditary right but by choice on grounds of merit, often undefined.

JALAL-UD-DIN FIRUZ: When Jalal-ud-din was placed on the throne by a section of the nobles, he was seventy years old, weak and hesitating. His election was so unpopular that he was obliged to live outside Delhi in a palace he built for himself in the suburban village of Kilughari or Kilokhri, known as Naushahr (New town). His administration is characterized as being too lenient. He showed the most impolitic tenderness towards rebels and other criminals. When Chajju, nephew of Balban and ruler of Kara, assisted by some nobles, rebelled against him, he, out of imprudent generosity, pardoned the rebels. Some time during his reign about a thousand thugs were arrested in Delhi. The Sultan would not allow them to be punished. He ordered the whole gang to be carried down the Jumna and Ganges in boats and set free in Bengal. This is not, however, the earliest known historical notice of *thugi*; Hiuen Tsang once nearly fell a victim to Water Thugs. Against the Mongols who invaded India in A.D. 1292 the Sultan was somewhat firmer. Many were put to the sword after a crushing defeat, 'though by the terms of the final peace, those who did not leave India were allowed to

settle in the neighbourhood of the capital and swell the ranks of the New Muslims as the converted Mongols came to be called.' The only occasion when he lost his temper was when reports were brought to him of a *fakir* named Sidi Maula whose influence almost exceeded that of the Sultan himself. Sidi was suspected of sorcery and sedition. We are told that he held 'very peculiar opinions, and never attended public worship.' By the king's order Sidi was done to death. Before dying the holy man laid his curse heavily on the king and his posterity. A terrible storm broke out at the time of his death. This was followed by a famine. Soon evil overtook the Sultan. All this was believed to have been the result of Sidi's curse.

THE END OF JALAL-UD-DIN: In A.D. 1294 Ala-ud-din was in charge of Kara and Oudh. He obtained permission for an expedition into Mālwa but he went much further keeping his movement unknown to the court. He marched by way of Berar and Khandesh against Ramachandra, the Yādava ruler of Devagiri, and took him quite by surprise. Ramachandra was forced to make peace by surrendering an unheard of amount of treasure and Ellichpur for the maintenance of an occupation force. Ala-ud-din returned with an enormous loot which he refused to disgorge to the king's treasury. His treasonable intentions were patent to everyone except his infatuated uncle. In spite of the warnings of well-meaning friends, Jalal-ud-din placed himself in his son-in-law's power at Kara in the Allahabad district. Just at the time when the king was caressing the traitor, the signal was given. Jalal-ud-din was slashed, thrown down and beheaded. Then Ala-ud-din marched on Delhi and assumed power. By a lavish distribution of gold he assured himself of the unwavering support of the army (July 1296). Six years rule of Jalal-ud-din had only been a prelude to the twenty years of Ala-ud-din.

ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI: For twenty years Ala-ud-din ruled with unprecedented vigour, seeking to extend his suzerainty far into the south. His murder of his uncle had shocked 'even the insensitive Turks'. Of his domestic happiness he had nothing left to be desired. Dazzled by the pomp and splendour of his rule, Ibn Batuta, an African traveller in the fourteenth century, expressed the opinion that Ala-ud-din deserved to be considered 'one of the best sultans'.

In spite of it all Ala-ud-din could not escape retribution. Another contemporary historian Zia-ud-din Barani, an orthodox Muslim, dwelling on his 'crafty cruelty' observed: 'He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of. Fate at length placed a betrayer in his path, by whom his family was destroyed, and the retribution that fell upon it never had a parallel in any infidel land.'

His Measures for Internal Security

At the beginning of his reign Ala-ud-din had to deal with two dangers, one internal, the revolt of his chiefs, and the other external, the invasion of the Mongols. Let us deal with internal security first. All the members of Firuz's family and all the nobles who had served him with the exception of three, noted for their steadfast loyalty, were cut down root and branch. Even women and children were not spared—a new horror. As Smith observes, 'The evil precedent set by "one of the best sultans" was often followed in later times.'

After several consultations with trusted counsellors he reached the conclusion, that the main reasons of the outbreaks 'were to be found in the sultan's disregard of the doings of the people: in the prevalence of convivial meetings where open political talk followed the wine cup, in the seditious intimacy of the various amirs and notables; and in the fact that too many people had a superfluity of wealth with which they could suborn adventurers and set revolts on foot.'

Barani says: 'The Sultan next directed his attention to the means of preventing rebellion, and first he took steps for seizing upon property. Whenever a village was held by proprietary right, in free gift, or as a religious endowment, it was to be brought back into the exchequer by a stroke of the pen. The people were pressed and money was exacted from them on every kind of pretext. All pensions, grants of land, and endowments were appropriated. The people became so absorbed in trying to keep themselves alive that rebellion was never mentioned.' Next, he set up so minute a system of espionage that nothing done, good or bad, was hidden from him. No one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles, grandees, and officials was brought by his spies for his information, and their reports were acted upon. To such a length did this prying go that nobles dared not speak aloud even in

thousand columned palaces, but had to communicate by signs. In their own houses, night and day, dread of the spies made them tremble. What went on in the bazaars was all reported and controlled.

Ala-ud-din forbade wine, beer, and intoxicating drugs, to be used or sold; dicing, too, was prohibited. The Sultan set the example himself by breaking all the China and glass in the banqueting room and emptying casks and jars from the royal cellars in the streets of Delhi. The Sultan gave up wine parties and self-respecting people at once followed his example. In spite of savage punishments such as flogging, imprisonment, and rigorous confinement in horrible cells, clandestine drinking continued. Finding total prohibition very difficult to achieve, the Sultan 'enacted that people might distil and drink privately in their own homes, if drinking parties were not held and the liquor not sold.' Strict enforcements of the rules of prohibition diminished conspiracies. Next he strictly prohibited conviviality among nobles and great folk.

Ala-ud-din was a king who had no acquaintance with learning and never associated with the learned. He considered that polity and government were one thing, and law another. To the Kāzi who had held that his decrees were not sanctioned by the Koran or the Sacred Law, he said, 'Although I have not studied the science or the Book, I am a Muslim of the Muslims. To prevent rebellion, in which many perish, I issue such ordinances as I consider to be for the good of the State and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disregarding, and disobedient to my commands, so I have to be severe to bring them to obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; but whatever I think is for the good of the State or fits the emergency, that I decree.' In respect of the Hindus he said, 'I am an unlettered man,' he said, 'but I have seen a great deal. Be assured that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have therefore given orders that just enough shall be left to them of corn, milk, and curds, from year to year, but they must not accumulate hoards and property.'

The possibility of corruption among revenue officials was also legislated for. 'The revenue officers were so coerced and checked that for five hundred or a thousand *tankas* they were imprisoned and kept in chains for years.'

It must be noted that these regulations applied only to the area

directly administered from Delhi. They served the double purpose of imposing strict security measures on potential rebels and assuring a steady supply of money for the maintenance of a large standing army.

Mongol Invasions

During the reign of Ala-ud-din there were several Mongol incursions into the Punjab. Those of A.D. 1296–97 were mere raids. In A.D. 1299 under Qutlugh Khwaja, the conquest was planned. Khwaja marched upon Delhi driving a huge crowd of fugitives before him. The city was unprepared for an attack. Ala-ud-din was advised to make peace with the Mongols. Disregarding the timid counsels of his generals, Ala-ud-din marched out of Delhi. 200,000 Mongols were drawn up for the battle in the plain of Kili. Zafar Khan, one of the ablest generals of Ala-ud-din defeated the Mongols and dispersed them. Unfortunately he was slain in the thick of the fight, after he had broken the enemy's left and pursued them for many miles from the field. After this disastrous defeat the Mongol forces vanished in the night.

About this time the New Muslims around Delhi conspired against Ala-ud-din. This led to the savage execution of about 30,000 of these New Muslims in one day. The helpless women and children of the New Muslims were cast adrift in the world. In 1303 there was another invasion. Their past experience of Ala-ud-din had taught the Mongols a lesson and so they retired. But in fact Delhi had never been less protected than it was then. Ala-ud-din succeeded in holding the Mongols in check by appointing Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq as the guardian of the marches.

Ala-ud-din's Ambitions

Success and wealth upset the balance of the unlettered and conceited Sultan. He began to entertain dreams of emulating the Prophet and founding a new religion and of outdoing Alexander the Great. Fortunately, he had the wisdom to consult Malik-Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Delhi and uncle of the historian Barani. Ala-ul-Mulk had the courage to admonish the Sultan and rouse in him a sense of awareness of the problems he had to deal with immediately. He advised the Sultan that the project of religion lay

completely out of the scope of royalty and that his duty was first to secure the frontier against the Mongols and bring Hindustan under complete control before thinking of a conquest of the world. Surprisingly enough, Ala-ud-din paid heed to his advice. However, he put the title 'the second Alexander' on his coins and made people proclaim in the Friday prayers that he was a second Alexander.

Political Events

In A.D. 1297 an army was despatched against Gujarat whose king Karan fled from his country leaving his wife and children to be made prisoners by the general of Ala-ud-din. The renovated temple of Somnāth was despoiled once more. When Ala-ud-din insisted on the legal fifth of the vast spoils obtained in the Gujarat campaign the army mutinied. In A.D. 1301 Ranthambhor was captured after a long siege, the Rājput defender Hamir Deva was taken and killed. Chitor was taken in A.D. 1303 and held till 1311 when the Rājputs got it back. It is difficult to consider as history the bardic tales of the beauty of Padmini, the queen of Rana Ratan Singh, and Ala-ud-din's frustrated attempt to possess her, which ended in the rite of Jauhar. The death in battle of the rājā of Mālwa in 1305 led to the annexation of Ujjain, Mandu and Dhara, besides Chanderi.

Invasions of the South

In A.D. 1308 Ala-ud-din chose his favourite slave, the handsome eunuch Malik Kafur, a Hindu who had embraced Islam, for the command of the army with orders to invade the Deccan. 'Gold and precious stones in the temples and palaces of the Deccan and the south spurred the southern campaigns. Kafur set out for Devagiri where the Yādava Ramadeva had neglected to pay the promised tribute to the Sultan. The campaign was a success. Ramadeva was captured and taken to Delhi, but he returned to the Deccan as a tribute-paying vassal. Kafur was next ordered to take Warangal, the Kākatiya capital. He marched his army through Devagiri and Ramadeva gave all possible assistance to Kafur (A.D. 1310). Kafur attacked Warangal. After a prolonged resistance, Pratāparudra II surrendered on the invader's terms and Kafur returned to Delhi with a large booty. Later Kafur surprised the Hoysala King, Ballāla III and secured further rich booty on his surrender in

February 1311. Kafur accompanied by Ballāla invaded Ma'bar as the Pāndyan country was then called. He advanced as far as Madura and accumulated considerable booty. On the whole this expedition was not a success and Kafur was 'obliged to retreat and bring back his army.' He arrived in Delhi with an extraordinary accumulation of plunder in October 1311. Ramadeva died in A.D. 1312. When his son rose in rebellion, Kafur marched with his army and annexed Devagiri. Though the capital was annexed large parts of the Yādava kingdom did not submit to Muslim rule at once.

Much is made of Malik Kafur's success in the southern expedition. In the south the result of the expedition was only of a temporary character. The sweeping military success of Kafur only shows the unpreparedness of the local rulers, their lack of well equipped standing armies, their failure to understand the shock tactics of the Muslim army and above all their mutual jealousies which prevented them from uniting for resistance.

Economic Regulations

So rigorous was Ala-ud-din's confiscation of property that many were left without any money. Only maliks, amirs, officials, Multanis and bankers had fluid cash. The Sultan found it necessary to introduce economic regulations calculated to control prices and keep down the cost of living. Mongol invasions and internal revolts considerably increased the cost of maintaining the large army. The Sultan's main concern was to enable the soldier to live on his pay. To this end he resolved to control the prices of necessaries. He fixed prices for articles of food and had them enforced rigorously. He caused vast stores of grains to be accumulated in Delhi to be sold at tariff prices in times of scarcity. 'Everything was set down in the tariff; vegetables, fruits, sugar, oil, horses, slaves, caps, shoes, combs and needles.'

'To the merchants he gave wealth, and placed before them goods in abundance, and gold without measure. He showed them every kingly favour, and fixed on them regular salaries. With this went drastic punishments for short weight, flesh was cut off from the vendor's haunches to make up the shortages. Poor, ignorant boys were sent by the espionage service to make purchases; should any be short, quick, effective retribution followed—Nay, they gave

such good weight that the purchaser often got somewhat in excess.' These rough and ready methods were clearly successful for the life-time of the Sultan.

Ala-ud-din's End

By the end of A.D. 1312 Ala-ud-din's power reached its zenith. And then began the inevitable decline. Age and disease made him sour and disagreeable. His fits of anger led to quarrels and disunion. As he had criminally neglected the education of his sons, they fell into evil ways. The misbehaviour of the heir in particular led to revolts on all sides. The nobles disputed among themselves. Gujarat rebelled and Chitor was recovered by Rana Hammir. Harpal, the son-in-law of Ramadeva, organized resistance of Maharashtra. In the midst of this confusion, Ala-ud-din died of dropsy in January 1316. It is said that his death was hastened by poison administered by the infamous Kafur. Barani believed that the miserable end of Ala-ud-din was due to 'his disregard of clerical authority in pursuit of a purely secular state policy'.

Malik Kafur's Criminal Rule

Malik Kafur placed an infant son of the Sultan on the throne and seized power. With fiendish vigour he turned the chief queen of the late Sultan out of the palace, imprisoned, blinded or killed most of the other members of the royal family. His rule was but a five weeks' horror. He and his companions were beheaded by their slave guards.

KUTB-UD-DIN MUBARAK : Kutb-ud-din Mubarak, a son of Ala-ud-din who had escaped destruction was taken out of the prison and put on the throne. Mubarak was a happy-go-lucky youth of seventeen who in every way, was a contrast to his capable father, except in his vindictive ferocity. Almost all the efficient administrative arrangements of Ala-ud-din suddenly ceased to function. Wine-drinking, bribery, and extortion came back with redoubled vigour. Mubarak was wholly under the influence of a vile favourite named Khusru Khan, a Hindu convert of the lowest class from Gujarat. 'During his reign of four years and four months, the sultan attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, debauchery and pleasure,

scattering gifts and gratifying his lusts.' His officers tightened the hold of his government on Gujarat. The Sultan himself led an army into the Deccan to deal with the revolts of Harapāladeva of Devagiri who was barbarously flayed alive (A.D. 1318).

Malik Yaklaki was made governor of Devagiri; but when he rashly proclaimed himself independent some time later, the Sultan had his nose and ears mutilated. Leaving Khusru to deal with Warangal for arrears of tribute, the Sultan went back to Delhi. On his way he heard that Asad-ud-din, his father's cousin, was hatching a plot against him. He put to the sword the entire family of the conspirator, including innocent children. The women were turned out into the streets. On reaching Delhi the Sultan killed three of his blind and helpless brothers who were in prison. He offended the susceptibilities of pious Muslims by not attending congregational prayers and openly violating the fast of *Ramajan*.

Khusru easily restored the Sultan's supremacy over Warangal and returned to Delhi. Again he marched south to deal with Yaklaki's rebellion at Devagiri. His expedition to Ma'bar was not a success. Khusru's attempt to win over the nobles in a plot against the Sultan failed. When the nobles reported the matter to the Sultan he paid no heed to them. Khusru raised a personal corps of 40,000 troops from Gujarat with the Sultan's approval. The treacherous Khusru carried out his premeditated plan; he killed the Sultan and ascended the throne himself (April 1320).

KHUSRU: Khusru assumed the title of Nasir-ud-din (Helper of the Faith). The wives and daughters of the royal family and of the great nobles were given away to Khusru's low caste followers. A degenerate Hindu *rāj* was established. But the Hindus had no sympathy for Khusru and his outcastes. Ghazi Malik, a Karuna Turk, governor of Depalpur in the Punjab was invited to the throne. He was a worthy warrior who had repelled several invasions of Mongols. He set out from his frontier post and easily crushed Khusru and his followers. Ferishta's description of his accession to the throne bears quotation:

'So they presented him with the keys of the city, and he mounted his horse and entered Delhi in triumph. When he came in sight

of the palace of a Thousand Minarets' (this must have been somewhere close to the Kutab), he wept, and cried aloud:

'Oh, subjects of a great empire! I am no more than one of you who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. If, therefore, any member of the royal family remain, let him be brought, that we his servants should prostrate ourselves before this throne. But if none of the race of kings have escaped the bloody hands of usurpation, let the most worthy be selected, and I swear to abide by the choice.'

There being none of Khalji house left, Ghazi Malik was unanimously elected to be the king. In the words of Barani, 'Islam was rejuvenated and a new life came into it.'

The Tughlaks (A.D. 1321-1412)

GHIAS-UD-DIN : Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Shah is often simply called Tughlak Shah. His father was a Turkish slave of Balban and his mother a Jat woman of the Punjab. He rose steadily in Ala-ud-din's service by sheer merit. In his five years' reign he was occupied in strengthening the defences of the north-west frontier to keep back the Mongol hordes, in suppressing revolts of his Hindu tributaries in the Deccan and the Maharashtra and in bringing Bengal back to its allegiance to the Delhi Sultanate. The first of these he did with great foresight and care. Finding the political atmosphere of Delhi unhealthy, he built himself a citadel named Tughlakabad, four miles away to the east. With great tact and firmness he restored order and the prestige of royalty. He did all he could to repair the misfortunes of the unhappy ladies of the Khalji court and punish their persecutors. An organized system of post carried by horsemen and runners came into existence.

He sent an expedition under his eldest son, Juna, known as Ulugh Khan, in A.D. 1321 against Warangal which had become independent. This failed owing to dissensions between the prince and his lieutenants. A second attempt in A.D. 1323 had better results and Bidar and Warangal were captured and brought under the sway of Delhi. The Kākatīya kingdom ceased to exist and Warangal was renamed Sultanpur. Ulugh Khan sent an expedition against the

Pāndyan country which was still regarded as a province of the sultanate (A.D. 1327). Another expedition to Jajnagar in Orissa was for the purpose of ensuring the security of the frontier.

Tughlak himself led an army to Bengal which since the death of Balban had never really been subject to Delhi. At this time it was torn by a civil war among rival claimants to its rule. Tughlak compelled Nasir-ud-din, grandson of Balban's son Bughra Khan, to submit to Delhi and brought his recalcitrant brother Bahadur Shah in chains to the capital, annexing Tirhut on the way.

Tughlak Shah met with his death by the collapse of a wooden pavilion which had been raised for his reception on his return from the expedition to Bengal. Conflicting views are expressed about the mystery of the accident. However, Ibn Batuta who knew Juna very well is positive about the parricide and is supported by some later historians, like Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, and Badauni, though others attribute the accident to a stroke of lightning and similar causes in order to exonerate Juna.

MUHAMMAD-BIN-TUGHLAK : Juna called Muhammad-bin (son of) Tughlak enjoyed the unusual luxury of a peaceful accession (A.D. 1325). He was perhaps the most striking figure of mediaeval Indian history. 'He was,' as Lane-Poole observes, 'a man with ideas far beyond his age. Ala-ud-din (Khalji) had brought a vigorous but uncultivated mind to bear upon the problems of government; Muhammad Tughlak was even more daring in his plans, but they were the ideals of a man of trained intellect and tutored imagination. He was perfect in the humanities of his day, a keen student of Persian poetry—the Latin of Indian education—a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher, trained in logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and a lover of science. The contemporary writers extol his skill in composition and his exquisite calligraphy and his beautiful coinage bears witness to his critical taste in the art of engrossing the Arabic character, which he read and understood though he could not speak the language fluently.'

We have unusually detailed knowledge of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak from the observations of Ibn Batuta and Zia-ud-din of Baran, best known as Barani, besides the accounts of other chroni-

clers. From both Barani and Batuta we learn that Muhammad was a mixture of opposites. He was pious and arrogant, humble and proud, generous and hostile at the same time. He appears to have suffered from megalomania to such an extent that his actions often laid him open to the suspicion of mental derangement. His biographer and correligionist says: 'He was wholly devoid of mercy or consideration for his people. So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the human species altogether.' His reign was full of revolts savagely repressed.

Gurshasp's Rebellion

Though the sources for the reign are copious, its chronology is not settled beyond dispute. Subject to this we trace the leading events of the Sultan's rule. In A.D. 1326, there was serious trouble in the Deccan. Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, a cousin of the Sultan and governor of Sagar (ten miles north of Sholapur), put forward his own claims to the throne and set up the standard of revolt. In a battle on the bank of Godāvarī the rebel was defeated. He fled and took refuge under the rājā of Kampili. Muhammad led three expeditions for the reduction of Kampili. The Kampili rājā died after a heroic fight. His women performed *jauhar* (A.D. 1327). Thereupon Gurshasp sought refuge in the court of Ballāla III in Dvārasamudra. Fearing Muhammad, the Hoysala king sent him a prisoner to the camp of the Sultan's general. The Sultan had Gurshasp flayed alive. It is said that his flesh was cooked with rice and offered to elephants and his relatives. His skin was stuffed and exhibited in the chief cities of the empire. Khislu Khan, governor of Multan, refused to exhibit the miserable relic and buried it. Thereupon the Sultan marched against him and slew him for disregarding his orders.

Change of Capital

Among his fantastic schemes was the change of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri. His objectives in the transfer appear to be to control the southern provinces better and strengthen the forces of Islam in that quarter, and possibly also to escape the danger of Mongols' threat to the capital. He beautified the new capital on a

lavish scale and strengthened its fortification by improving its marvellous citadel. The distance between the two places was considerable. There would have been nothing abnormal in the change of capital if the Sultan had not resolved to celebrate the event by ordering that the whole population of Delhi should accompany him. Elaborate arrangements were made to secure the comforts of officers, courtiers, and citizens on their way to Devagiri. This forced migration caused untold misery. Two years later, the Sultan found himself in Delhi, after buying off a band of Mongols who came either as raiders or as refugees according to different accounts. The Sultan's attempt to repopulate Delhi from other cities in the north was not successful. Ibn Batuta observes, 'when I entered Delhi it was almost a desert' (A.D. 1334). Probably there is a touch of exaggeration in this.

Token Currency

Muhammad ordered the compilation of the land revenue records for all provinces. He greatly increased the assessment of land revenue in the Gangetic doab. The extent of the increase is uncertain. But it must have been heavy as it was adopted as a punitive measure against the Hindu malcontents of the region. The ryots there set fire to their houses in despair and retired to the forests with their families and cattle eking out a precarious existence by brigandage. Muhammad was ruthless in suppression of revolts. One of the most fertile parts of India became a seat of famine and war between the royal troops and the unwilling tenants (A.D. 1333–34).

The imperial treasury had been exhausted by his boundless extravagance, loss of revenue due to oppressive taxation, and heavy expenditure involved in the Sultan's schemes of conquests. Muhammad, in his eagerness to pursue his interest in novelties like the paper currency of China of which he had heard, hit upon the device of a fictitious currency. He substituted copper or brass tokens for silver *tankas*. It is not right to attribute to the Sultan the crude notion that at his fiat copper would pass for silver or gold coins. He certainly had some idea of the principles of a managed currency. His currency regulation would have been a success under efficient supervision and safeguards against fraud. For a time the Sultan's

credit was good enough. The people paid their tributes in copper instead of gold or silver. They were able to buy all the necessaries and luxuries they desired in the same coin. But trouble arose when prudent merchants paid in copper and sold in gold. Moreover, the Sultan's tokens were not accepted in countries in which his decrees did not run, with the result that the copper *tankas* had become 'more worthless than clods'. Every village became an open mint and the whole population had been in the game of defaulting the imperial treasury. Muhammad recognized the failure of his plan and faced the situation with courage and integrity. He repealed his edict and proclaimed that people could get gold coins in exchange for his copper ones. This led to an enormous loss to the treasury, for genuine and counterfeit coins were brought in heaps. For the replenishment of the treasury he adopted the method of farming revenues to the highest bidder. This only added to the oppression and misery of the subjects.

Muhammad was not totally unmindful of the sufferings of the people. In A.D. 1341 he abolished all taxes beyond the legal alms and the tithes and he himself received the complaints of the oppressed twice a week. When there was famine he distributed daily food to the people of Delhi for six months. He organized a good system of loans to agriculturists. But this was nullified by the dishonesty of the overseers. Even to the Hindus his policy was more liberal than was acceptable to his orthodox counsellors. In awarding punishments he was not deterred by the rank or religion or reputed piety of the offender.

Foreign Policy

Early in his reign Muhammad is said to have welcomed foreigners, particularly Khurasani nobles, as he contemplated a conquest of Khurasan. For this purpose a gigantic cavalry force was raised but for lack of funds it could not be maintained more than a year and the project had to be abandoned. Some historians argue that the Sultan sought Egyptian support and was on good terms with Tarmashirin, a Chaghatay chieftain, and that Muhammad's plan was wrecked possibly owing to the disposition of Tarmashirin. A second expedition, called an expedition to China by Ferishta, was against the refractory chief of the Karachal mountain which lies

'at a distance of ten stages from Delhi between the territories of Hind and China', according to Ibn Batuta and Barani. This second expedition comprised 100,000 cavalry led by Khusru Malik, son of the Sultan's sister. There was a disastrous loss of men among the hills. Only ten horsemen returned to tell the story of the disaster and they too were massacred by order of the Sultan (A.D. 1337–38). Ibn Batuta says that the Karachal expedition was a costly failure. Some others, however, say that the hill chiefs were bought to submission and Nagarkot (Kangra) was taken in A.D. 1337.

Nusrat Khan who had undertaken to pay to the treasury ten million *tankas* for his province of Bidar found it difficult to pay even a quarter of it and so rose in revolt. He was captured and sent to Delhi. Nusrat was banished from India and later put to death when he returned without permission. Muhammad liberated Bahadur Shah from prison and sent him back to Bengal. When Bahadur rebelled he suffered the same terrible punishment that had been given to Gurshasp. Bengal, however, continued to rebel against the authority of Muhammad. In A.D. 1338–39 Fakr-ud-din or Fakra started a rebellion in Eastern Bengal which led to the complete separation of the whole province from Delhi. Muhammad let it go and the province was not reconquered until the time of Akbar.

Ain-ul-mulk, an able governor of Oudh, incurred the Sultan's displeasure by harbouring some of those whom the sultan hated. At the same time news reached Muhammad of the misdeeds of the governor of Daulatabad. So the Sultan ordered the transfer of Ain-ul-mulk to Daulatabad. As this meant his ruin, Ain-ul-mulk revolted. He was captured, pardoned and restored to his position in view of his long and faithful service.

The rebellions and disorders in Sind and Punjab engaged the Sultan's attention for the next two or three years. There was a general insurrection and discontent among the orthodox party in the Sultan's court. So the Sultan thought of strengthening his position by seeking recognition from the Khalif. To secure pontifical blessing he sent an embassy with rich presents to Egypt and caused the Khalif's name to be struck on the imperial coinage and to be substituted for his own in public worship in the mosques. When his ambassador returned from Egypt with the Khalif's envoy bearing the letter which confirmed his own authority as sultan, Muhammad

advanced in person with all humility to receive it, put the letter on his head, and opened it with great solemnity and respect (A.D. 1340–43).

Disruption of the Empire

The closing years of Sultan's rule were full of revolts. 'The people were never tired of rebelling, nor the king of punishing'. Consequent to the farming system and rebellions, the revenue from the Deccan was greatly depleted. In A.D. 1334–35, Ma'bar or Coromandel revolted and escaped from the tyranny of Delhi. From this time began the downfall of the sultanate. The southern expansion of Muslim power had been checked by the rapid rise of the kingdom of Vijayanagar to the south of the Kṛishnā. The traditional date for the foundation of the city is A.D. 1336 and ten years later it became an important power. Revolts against the immoderate demand of the Sultan culminated in that of Hasan or Zafar Khan who led the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom with its capital at Gulbarga or Ahsanabad (A.D. 1347). The Sultan lost the whole of Deccan except Daulatabad which was also taken by Hasan, soon after the Sultan had left the place. Gujarat revolted, led by Taghi, a man of humble origin. The Sultan spent over three years pursuing the elusive Taghi. Though his health was failing, he would not give up the attempt. He crossed the Indus into Sind and during his march to Tatta his illness increased and he died in March 1351. On the whole the results of his rule, as Elphinstone observes, 'were more calamitous than those of any other Indian reign'.

Firuz Tughlak : The death of the Sultan left the army leaderless and helpless on the banks of the Indus. On its march to Delhi the army was harassed by the rebels of Sind and Mongol banditti. Muhammad left no male heir but had, according to some accounts, nominated his first cousin, Firuz, for the accession. Firuz was then in the camp but was unwilling to take the seat of his terrible predecessor. All the chief men of the army, Muslims and Hindus alike, offered the crown to him and pressed him to accept it in the interests of the army and the kingdom. Firuz yielded and he was enthroned in the camp on 23 March 1351. Immediately the morale of the army improved and Firuz led it back to Delhi, through Multan and Debalpur.

Firuz was the son of Sipahsalar Rajab, the brother of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, and a Rājput princess of Abuhar, Bibi Naila. When her charms threatened disaster to the small principality, she averted it by consenting voluntarily to her marriage with Rajab, and came to be called Sultana Bibi Kadbanu. Havell says, 'The blood of Indo-Aryan royalty ran in the veins of Firuz Shah, and it was at his Rājput mother's knee that he learnt the lesson of *noblesse oblige* and the great traditions of Aryan polity which guided him in after-life.' But in fact, Firuz Shah appears to have been greatly profited by the instruction of his uncle, Muhammad Tughlak, in affairs of State and by his education according to the strictest canons of Islam.

A Pretender

Khwaja Jahan, the aged governor of Delhi, misled by a false report of Firuz's death, had set up as sultan, a child, 'probably, though not certainly' the son of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. When Firuz approached the capital, Khwaja Jahan found resistance hopeless and surrendered. The Sultan wanted to spare him but unable to resist the pressure of his nobles, he had Khwaja Khan executed as a traitor.

His Religious Policy

Firuz Shah was as zealous an iconoclast as Mahmud Ghazni. Like a good *Sunni* he forbade the painting of portraits in the royal palaces. He reimposed the *jizya*, or poll-tax, upon brāhmins, who had been exempt from it in former reigns, declaring that they were, 'the very keys of the chamber of idolatry'. His levy was strict at the rate of 40, 20 and 10 *tankas* from the three classes, rich, middle and poor. He was completely in the grip of orthodox *ulema* and sanctioned the persecution of 'heretics'. In his biographical notes he reports of a visit to a religious fair at a place near Delhi which was attended 'even by some graceless Musalmans'. He says, 'I ordered that the leaders of these people should be put to death. I forbade infliction of any severe punishment on the Hindus in general.'

He converted many Hindus to Islam by offering them material rewards. Ferishta says that he appears to have constituted himself a 'Grand Inquisitor' both of Hindus and Musalmans. He burned

the books of Shiahs, suppressed the propaganda they were making, and put to death a Musalman fanatic who claimed divine inspiration as a prophet and 'led people astray with mystic practices'. Firuz seems to have been a pious and zealous Musalman. It is not quite clear whether in his persecution of Hindus and Shiahs he acted entirely from conscientious motives. Probably he tried to placate the fanatic *Sunni* faction at his court. Certain incidents of his reign warrant the belief that he lacked strength of character and often allowed his better judgment to be overruled by orthodox Muslims. In spite of his orthodoxy he drank wine and spent much time in hunting. Every Friday after public prayers at the mosques, there were great entertainments in the palace at which musicians, story tellers and athletes to the number of three thousand took part.

His Attempt to Restore Order

Firuz recognized the independence of the Deccan. He made two futile attempts to recover Bengal. He led an expedition in A.D. 1353-54, defeated Haji Iliyas (Shams-ud-din) in battle. Without taking advantage of his success he refused to storm the fort of Ikdala in which Iliyas had taken refuge for fear of shedding more Muslim blood and returned to Delhi. The second expedition to Bengal in 1359-60 ended in a negotiated peace with the ruler of Bengal, Sikandar Shah, the son of Iḷiyas. Firuz retired to Jaunpur and in the autumn of A.D. 1360 led an expedition against the Ganga kingdom of Jajnagar. The king who had fled to Telingana made peace promising an annual tribute of twenty elephants. On the way back, Firuz's army lost its way and wandered for six months in the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur, suffering many privations for lack of supplies. There was grave concern in Delhi; fortunately Delhi was safely in charge of Malik Makbul, a brāhmin convert of Telingana, who bore the title of Khan-i-Jahan (lord of the world). This gem of a vizier who was a great favourite of the Sultan maintained order though with difficulty. Without exaggeration it may be said that much of the quiet and prosperity that marked the reign of Firuz Shah was due to Malik Makbul. His one weakness was for women and he is said to have maintained a harem of 2,000 ladies ranging from 'olive Greeks to saffron Chinese'. Makbul died in A.D. 1372 and his place was taken by his son Juna Shah.

In A.D. 1360-61 Firuz undertook an expedition against Nagarkot. After a siege of six months the rājā surrendered. The Sultan visited the famous temple of Jwālā-Mukhī. But his army suffered great hardship in an expedition against Sind and had to retire to Gujarat. When reinforcements came from Delhi, he marched against the Jam of Sind who offered submission. He was captured and taken to Delhi and his brother was installed in his place in Sind.

Administrative Reforms

He abolished judicial mutilation claiming that God in His goodness had conferred on him the power that had also inspired him with the disposition to end these cruelties. By another order he repealed vexatious taxes and licences. This reform deserves unqualified praise. He reduced the share of war-plunder due to a sovereign from four-fifths to one-fifth. Among the resolutions found engraved on the mosque he built at Ferozabad (a portion of old Delhi) is one which shows his determination to award pension for life for all soldiers invalidated by wounds or by age. His intention of severely punishing, 'all public servants convicted of corruption as well as persons who offered bribes', is also found recorded. He restored to the rightful owners village lands and patrimonies that had been wrongfully taken from them in former reigns. He put the military organization of his empire on a feudal basis by reviving the *jagir* system. As this permitted the continuance of aged and infirm persons in their places with the privilege of sending their substitutes, the efficiency of the army greatly suffered. He sought to administer the country in strict accord with *Koranic* injunctions, and allowances were provided for the marriage of poor Muslims' daughters. To facilitate the transactions of the poor people the Sultan introduced mixed copper and silver coins of small denominations. Agriculture revived, and prices were lower than they had been in the days of Ala-ud-din. But the chronicler's observation that the homes of the ryots 'were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture' and every one had plenty of gold and silver is only court flattery.

His Policy towards Slavery

The unusual growth of the slave system was a marked feature of Firuz's reign. The chronicler says: 'The Sultan Firuz was very

diligent in providing slaves, and he carried his care so far as to command his fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out the best for the service of the court. These presents were valued like elephants, and deductions made for them which no ruler had done before. Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour. When they were in excess, the Sultan sent them to Multan, Dipalpur, Hisar Firuza, Samana, Gujarat, and all the other feudal dependencies. In all cases provision was made for their support in a liberal manner. In some places they were provided for in the army, and villages were granted to them: those who were placed in cities had ample allowances varying from 100 down to 10 *tankas*, which was the lowest amount. The institution (of slavery) took root in the very centre of the land, and the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. There was no occupation in which the slaves of Firuz Shah were not employed. When the slaves under the great feudal chieftains became too numerous, some of them, by order of the Sultan, were given in the charge of *amirs* and *maliks*, that they might learn the duties of their respective employment. But after his death 'the heads of these favoured servants of his were cut off without mercy, and made into heaps in front of the durbar'.

Proselytism was probably the chief reason why the Sultan favoured this system. No doubt all these slaves were converts to Islam. Firuz developed such an elaborate system of slavery probably also to protect himself against the intrigues and attacks of rebel generals and nobles. But the vast numbers of slaves really hastened the disruption of the empire. That the strategic position held by the personal slaves of the Sultan was important enough may be seen from the fact that they were disposed of immediately after the death of the master.

Firuz Shah took a special interest in planning cities, building palaces and mosques as well as schools, hospitals, public rest houses and other charitable institutions. He took pleasure in laying out gardens. He had two Aśoka columns brought to Delhi from Topra and Meerut. Among these cities that he founded was Jaunpur named after his friend and patron Muhammad Shah one of whose names was Juna. It afterwards became the capital of Sharki sultans and a great seat of Muslim learning rivalling the fame of its ancient

Hindu neighbour, Varanasi. One of the irrigation works undertaken by him was a great canal from the headwaters of Jumna to Hansi and Hisar. This, however, fell into disuse after his death, but later was restored and extended by the British Government. He is said to have laid out in the neighbourhood of Delhi alone not less than 1,200 gardens planted with different kinds of grapes.

The Death of Firuz

The last days of Firuz were disturbed by factions and intrigues. Prince Muhammad, the eldest surviving son of Firuz, was associated in the administration, but he gave clear proof of his inability as a ruler. The Sultan died in A.D. 1388 at the age of eighty. Six successors came to the throne in the ten years following the death of Firuz. They only stood by and watched the great empire fall to bits. Anarchy reigned supreme and civil war raged everywhere and in Delhi alone two nominal kings were in arms, one against the other. In A.D. 1398 came the terrible news that the Mongols under Timur, on the way to Delhi, had crossed the Indus.

Timur's Inroads

Timur (Tamerlane) was a Barlas Turk who became Amir of Samarkhand in A.D. 1369 at the age of thirty-three. He rivalled Chinghiz Khan in cruelty and ferocity. History hardly presents a more ferocious personality than this man, as judged by the auto-biography he left behind him. Of his reasons for advancing in India and his experiences there he observes: 'I ordered 1,000 swift-footed camels, 1,000 swift-footed horses and 1,000 swift-footed infantry to bring me word respecting the princes of India. I learnt that they were at variance one with the other.... The conquest appeared to me easy, though my soldiers thought it dangerous.... Resolved to undertake it and make myself master of the Indian Empire.... Did so'. The brevity brings with it a shiver as at something inhuman in its strength. He invaded India which to him was a land of fabulous wealth. His grandson early in A.D. 1398 had occupied Multan. In the autumn of that year Timur himself crossed the Indus with 90,000 cavalry and marched on Delhi, plundering, burning and killing on the way. Mahmud, the grandson of Firuz Shah, tried to oppose the invader near Panipat but was easily defeated and fled to

Gujarat. Timur occupied Delhi. He was proclaimed the king. Timur granted an amnesty to the people of Delhi. But the licence of his troops led to a rising which resulted in a general massacre lasting for several days. Thousands of people were slain in cold blood. The city was thoroughly plundered. Thousands of women and other captives including all the skilled artisans available were carried to Samarkand. Timur quitted India by way of Meerut, Hardwar and the foothills of the Himalayas, taking no trouble to make provision for the holding of the empire he had won. He left anarchy, famine and pestilence behind him. For two months Delhi was the seat of the dead.

Delhi never regained her own place until it came under the reign of the Mughal emperors. Nusrat Khan, the rival of Mahmud was driven out of Delhi by the vizier Ikbal Khan. The vizier invited Mahmud to return to Delhi in A.D. 1401. Finding Ikbal all powerful in Delhi, Mahmud set up a separate court at Kanauj (A.D. 1402) until the death of Ikbal in a battle in A.D. 1405. When Mahmud returned to Delhi to rule, his kingdom comprised little more than the Doab and Rohtak. In the succeeding years there were dissensions among the great feudatories. The incompetent Sultan played a sorry part till he died in A.D. 1412. The empire of Muhammad Tughlak had at one time included Kashmir, Cutch and a part of Kathiawar and Orissa. On the death of his grand-nephew Mahmud, people said, 'The rule of the Lord of the world extends from Delhi to Palam', a suburb of Delhi, now an international air-port. The government was then carried on by the Lodi amir Daulat Khan. Meanwhile Khizr Khan, a Sayyid noble who claimed descent from the Prophet and who had been a follower of Timur, prepared to march on Delhi and took the command of the city in A.D. 1414. At first he held the city as a deputy to Timur, and after Timur's death, of his fourth son and successor Shah Rukh.

Sayyids and Lodis

SAYYIDS : For nearly fifteen years after the invasion of Timur there was no regular sultan's government at Delhi. From A.D. 1414 to A.D. 1450 Khizr Khan and his three successors administered Delhi and a fluctuating territory adjoining it. Khizr Khan claimed

to be a *sayyid* or a descendant of the Prophet and hence some historians designate the dynasty founded by him as the Sayyid dynasty. But it is doubtful if he was really a descendant of the Prophet though he might have come from Arabia. The history of the period is a record of numerous raids to collect revenue or tribute and of futile attempts to subjugate the kingdom of Jaunpur to the east. Hindu chieftains and fief-holders generally lived at peace in their strongholds. The Delhi troops often disturbed them and they were bought off by small payments and large promises evaded mostly by smooth excuses.

Khizr Khan

In his seven years' rule Khizr Khan attacked the rājā of Etawah four times, those of Katehar and Gwalior thrice and several fief-holders once or twice. The Khokkars from north Punjab frequently raided the territory of Delhi. Ferishta says, 'Khizr Khan was a great and wise king, kind and true to his words, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection'. Khizr Khan died on May 19, 1421.

Khizr Khan's Successors

Khizr Khan's son ascended the throne under the title, Mubarak Shah. He repudiated allegiance to Shah Rukh. Therefore there were raids in the Punjab from beyond the Indus. Mubarak fortified Lahore, but being inferior to his father as a soldier and statesman he was not wholly successful as a ruler. On his way to Kalpi which was being threatened by the Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Jaunpur, Mubarak was assassinated (February, 1434). As he had no sons, Muhammad-bin-Farid, a nephew of his, was enthroned by the nobles. The conspirators who had done away with the old Sultan plotted against Muhammad himself who punished them severely with the aid of his loyal nobles. But soon Muhammad proved himself to be a worthless ruler and so the nobles were on the lookout for a suitable sultan. Some nobles favoured Buhlul, the leader of the Lodi tribe of Afghans, holding the fief of Sirhind, and the others Mahmud I of Mālwa. In response to the appeal of some nobles Mahmud marched with an army to rescue Delhi. The Sultan of Delhi appealed to Buhlul who opposed Mahmud I successfully more on his own account than for the sake of the Sultan. Soon the Sultan quarrelled with Buhlul who on his return to the Punjab styled himself as Sultan.

In A.D. 1444 Mahmud died leaving Delhi and a small territory adjoining it to his son Alam Shah 'world king'. Alam being a pleasure seeker retired to Badaun in A.D. 1448 leaving Delhi to warring factions. A strong man was needed to put down the quarrelling nobles, and so Buhlul was invited to take the throne in April 1451. Alam signified his approval by a letter and continued to live in Badaun till his death in A.D. 1478.

LODIS : Sultan Buhlul Lodi may truly be described as the first Afghan Sultan. He was a good soldier and a simple man who resolved to restore the kingdom to its former eminence. He was very courteous to his nobles, and during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet. Early in his reign Multan was captured by a Baluch chief and was not recovered from his successors, the Langahs, until after Babur's conquest of Hindustan. He brought under control the minor principalities round Delhi and the Doab, Dholpur and Gwalior. After a continuous war of about a quarter of a century he ousted Hussain Shah from Jaunpur and appointed his son Barbak Shah as viceroy. He succeeded in restoring the old frontier of the kingdom to Delhi as far as Bihar.

Buhlul was succeeded by his son Nizam Khan who took the title Sultan Sikandar Ghazi (A.D. 1488). He expelled his incompetent brother from Jaunpur and annexed it to the sultanate. Bihar was also annexed and Tirhut was compelled to pay a tribute. The Rājputs of Dholpur, Chanderi and Gwalior submitted to his authority. Sikandar's kingdom extended from the Punjab to Bihar and included the country between the Sutlej and Bundelkhand. He was the greatest of the three Lodi kings that ruled over Delhi. With great energy he put down the power of the Afghan oligarchy. He enforced strict audit of accounts and punished corruption severely. He forbade common Hindu religious practices like bathing in ghats and shaving. Being interested in medicine he ordered a Sanskrit work of medicine to be translated into Persian.

In the reign of Ibrahim the prices of commodities were lower than in the days of his father and there was a series of abundant harvests. He made Agra his residence, and Sikandra, where Akbar's tomb now stands, is called after the Lodi Sultan.

Sikandar died towards the end of 1517 and his eldest son, Ibrahim

became king. As usual there were attempts at palace revolutions. His rebellious brother or uncle Jalal was taken prisoner and killed. As Gwalior supported Jalal it was besieged and captured in 1518. Ibrahim fell out with his Afghan nobles. He jealously guarded the royal prerogatives and made Afghan chiefs stand motionless in his presence. His rigorous insistence on rules of petty etiquette greatly irritated the nobles and when Ibrahim attempted to suppress revolt among his nobles there was widespread dissatisfaction. The fief-holders regarded their holdings as their own of right, and not due to 'any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign'. Ibrahim made himself so intolerable that his uncle Ala-ud-din fled to Kabul to solicit the aid of its king Babur, a descendant of Timur. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Punjab revolted and also appealed to Babur for help (A.D. 1524). Babur had already made some indecisive raids on the Indian border. He found that Daulat Khan and Ala-ud-din were faithless allies. Finally in A.D. 1523 as he writes in his memoirs, 'putting his foot in the stirrup of resolution, and taking in his hand reins of faith' he marched against Sultan Ibrahim. Ibrahim was defeated and slain in the field of Panipat, on April 21, 1526.

CHAPTER XII

THE NATURE AND EFFECTS OF MUSLIM RULE

THE GOVERNMENT : Legally the sultanate of Delhi was a part of the Eastern Khalifate. But in fact the sultans though professing a nominal allegiance to the Khalifate acted quite independently in spiritual as well as temporal matters. With the exception of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak and Firuz Shah, the sultans entirely ignored the direct representatives of their Prophet in Mesopotamia or Egypt. With a few exceptions, prayers in Indian mosques were said in the name of the reigning sultan instead of in the name of the Khalif. The name of the Khalif did not, as a rule, appear on any Indian coinage. Firuz Shah created a precedent by acknowledging the authority of Khalif and by sending some of his proselytes to Mecca. But his personal influence made no impression on the development of Islam in India which showed a marked tendency to differentiate itself from the western forms of the faith. In fact the sultans themselves assumed the authority of the Khalif. Ala-ud-din was called Khalif by his courtiers and poets. But he does not seem to have assumed the title for himself.

The sultan acted as an independent sovereign and his form of government was despotic. Just as the Hindu king was subject to *dharma*, the sultan was subordinate to Muslim Law (*shar'*) which he had to protect and enforce, with no authority to alter it. The force of this check depended very largely on the personal character of the ruler. The government of a Hindu king was more impersonal than that of the sultan, for the former had, at all events, to submit to *dharma*. The sultan was the pivot of the administration and his court was the centre of the political and social life of the empire. There was a rigid and exacting system of court etiquette enforced by a staff. The sultan was all in all. He was the patron of learning and arts and the fountain of honour.

The royal household was an important department by itself

under the *wakil-i-dar*. To supply the court with provisions and equipment needed workshops called *karkhanas*. As already observed there was no regular law of succession to the sultanate. In practice it wavered between hereditary succession and election by nobles. Although the slaves had no rights of their own, yet the monarch had to rely on them against his nobles. Extensive slave hunting such as was promoted by Firuz Shah must have caused much misery among the people.

Ibn Batuta has left a detailed description of the court of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak for which we have no place here. It may be mentioned that princesses captured in wars during the year were made to dance and sing on festive occasions at the court. When the sultan returned from a successful tour to the capital he caused gold and silver coins to be discharged among the people from catapults mounted on elephants. Ala-ud-din started the practice in order to win over the people to his side. It is said that Muhammad-bin-Tughlak used to dine in the company of eminent persons in the audience hall, 'the Hall of Thousand Columns'. 'The menu included loaves like cakes, other loaves split and filled with sweet paste; rice, roast meats, fowls and mince'.

ADMINISTRATION : The head of the civil administration was the vizier (*wazir*). His portfolio was finance. His position was one of dignity though an overpowering sultan might render it difficult. He drew a high salary and his camp rivalled that of the sultan in splendour. The *wazir* was assisted by a deputy or *naib wazir*, an accountant-general (*mushrif-mumalik*), and an auditor-general (*mustaufi-i-mumalik*). The supervision of revenue collection was in the hand of *nazir* and the control of expenditure vested in *wakuf*. The chief justice was called *kazi-i-mumalik*. He had both religious and secular functions. He was responsible for the enforcement of the *shar*. He was also in charge of the department of religious affairs, pious foundations and education. The officer in charge of the royal correspondence was called the *diwan-i-insha*. The commander-in-chief of the army was called the *arid-i-mumalik* and he was responsible for the recruitment, payment and inspection of the troops as also for transport and commissariat. The officer in charge of the royal post and news agency was known as the *barid-i-mumalik*. The

news agency and an elaborate system of espionage were meant to be checks on the oppression of the people, by officials. Culprits were brought before the judges by an officer called *amir-i-dad*. He had also the power of enforcing the decisions. The head of the police was called the *kotwal*. There was a censor of public morals called *muhtasib*.

REVENUE : The sources of revenue were twofold, religious and secular. The former called *zakat* was due only from the Muslims, the latter included land tax and *jizya* which the non-Muslims had to pay. One fifth of the spoils of war belonged to the State. The heirless property was taken over by the State. Notable variations of collection of revenue under individual sultans have already been mentioned. In effect, non-Muslims had to pay much more than the Muslims. The main heads of expenditure were the royal household, the administration, the army, the pious and charitable organizations, social services, public works 'including irrigation and the rewards, gifts and presents bestowed by the sultan'. The sultans had a treasury with a great reserve as may be judged by the fact that Muhammad-bin-Tughlak was able to pay out the gold and silver coins in return for copper money, real or counterfeit.

ARMY : The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephant corps. It was not however kept up-to-date which accounted for the dismal failure in the battle of Panipat in A.D. 1526. Turks, Persians, Afghans, Indians and others were recruited to the army. The army was organized on a decimal basis. The pay of soldiers varied according to their service and rank. The annual salaries of military officials were graded in accordance with their importance. Petty officials were paid from one to ten thousand *tankas* according to rank and service. A *khan* was paid 200,000 *tankas*. Under the Lodis the army became tribal and feudal, the control of the sultan being practically eliminated. There was a fleet of river boats under an *amir-i-bahr* charged with police and transport duties.

PROVINCES : The provinces were under governors called *amirs*. Control from the centre was lax especially over distant provinces. The local officials were mostly Hindus who played an important

part in the rural life of the period. The Hindu rulers held tributary status in different parts of the realm. The unit of administration continued to be the village with its headman and accountant. Peace was maintained by garrisoning strategic centres and by improving communications. The peasant's ownership of land was recognized and large loans were advanced to peasants. It may be mentioned that Firuz Shah wrote off all loans given by Muhammad-bin-Tughlak as they could not be easily collected.

PLACE OF HINDUS : The empire was not a homogeneous political entity. The authority of Delhi over States paying a precarious tribute was weak. Even Mahmūd Ghazni maintained a large corps of Hindu horse. His son Masūd wanted his officers to respect the susceptibilities of Hindu soldiers. Tilak, a Hindu barber's son, was appointed to suppress the rebellion of the Muslim Ahmad Niyaltigin. This shows that the process of assimilation between the Turks and Indians began very early. Hindu women were often married by high placed Muslims and Hindu converts were admitted to all the honours of Muhammadan nobility. Barani, an orthodox Muslim historian, bewails the privileges enjoyed by the Hindus under Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. He says that even in the capital, the Hindus 'build houses like palaces. . . . they employ Muslims as their servants who run in front of their horses and the poor among the Muslims beg alms from them at their palace gates. Inside the very capital of the sultanate. . . . they are called *rai*, *rana*, *thakur*, *sah*, *mehtah* and *pandit*'. It is said Timur invaded India on the pretext that the Turkish sultans were unduly tolerant towards Hindus. The Muslim element of the population increased continuously in three ways, namely, by emigration, by conversion, and by birth. But the Muslims formed a minority of the whole population and hence it became necessary for the sultans to enlist the cooperation of the Hindus in the details of day-to-day administration. However, the bulk of the population in the country were never truly reconciled to the rule of the sultanate.

Social and Economic Conditions

For the period of the sultanate we have no record from an observer of the calibre and outlook of Alberuni. We have to depend on

accounts of court poets and Muslim historians. Ibn Batuta, a traveller, although not sympathetic towards the Hindus, writes with commendable frankness showing clearly that antagonism between the rulers and the ruled was the dominant factor in the social life of the age.

There was not much of a social intercourse between the Hindus and the Muslims. Even among the Muslims the ruling class who belonged to the Sunni sect treated the Shiahs with contempt. The kings never appointed any but men of noble birth to high offices. The nobility was by no means a homogeneous class. Among the nobles the Turks predominated and there were also Arabs, Afghans, Abyssinians, Egyptians and some Javanese, besides Indians. The very composition of the nobility was such that there could have been no unity. Therefore the nobles failed to act as a check on the absolutism of the king. Further the sultans except Ala-ud-din Khilji and Muhammad-bin-Tughlak were under the influence of the *ulama*.

It has already been noted that Ala-ud-din followed a policy of deliberately impoverishing the Hindus. If there was any abatement in the oppressive zeal of the government it was mainly because of the pressure of war or the fear of Mongol raids. The Hindus never got an opportunity to grow to their full stature. The rule of the sultanate extending over more than three hundred years was a period of subjugation of the Hindus. The increasing intolerance of the sultans may be seen from their coinage. The legends on coins were at first in *Nāgari*. Then Arabic letters were adopted with one or other of the Indian types. Finally purely Muslim type of coins became universal. The last specimen of the mixed type belongs to Balban's reign.

The liberty of women was much restricted. Firuz Shah forbade their visits to the tombs of holy men outside the capital. The *purdah* became common among the Muslim and Hindu women. In spite of their seclusion they were held in esteem. Deval Rani, Rupmitī, Padminī and Mīrā Bai are outstanding examples of cultured Hindu women of the times. *Sati* was practised among a certain class. According to Ibn Batuta a permit from the government was necessary in each case of *sati*. Masses that were uncontaminated by urban life lived in amity despite their religious differences and it was hard to distinguish Muslims from Hindus.

Ibn Batuta praises the hospitality of the Hindus and notes that

caste rules were strictly followed. Moral offences were severely punished notwithstanding the social position of the offender. People believed in magic, witchcraft and miracles. We have evidence to show that performances of yogis were witnessed even by the sultans.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE: With the establishment of the settled rule of the sultanate there was no longer a drain of the country's treasure as in the days of Mahmūd Ghazni. Balban was the first ruler to organize internal peace and order. Although there were famines, agriculture prospered owing to irrigation works. Necessaries of life were generally abundant and cheap. We have seen that Ala-ud-din's attempt to control prices and ensure cheap living was successful during his life-time. After his death prices and wages rose high but there was no deficiency of crops. The financial stability of the State may well be gauged by the fact that the country stood well enough even the disastrous economic experiments of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. It must be said to the credit of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak that the severe famine which lasted for nearly a decade was combated by him with remarkable energy. He was able to do so because he had accumulated stores of grain. His opening of free feeding houses deserves praise.

The sultans took pleasure in planting fruit gardens. Sikandar Lodi was proud of the pomegranates in Jodhpur, which in quality excelled those from Persia. The traditional organization of industry and trade in the form of guilds remained intact and continued to function during this period. Interest on loans was ten per cent, sometimes rising to twenty per cent on small sums. The State gave full encouragement to industry and ran extensive workshops (*karkhanas*) of its own. It was, therefore, possible to give employment to hundreds of weavers of silk and to other people in connection with the production of articles needed at the court. In these times Bengal and Gujarat were famous for their manufacture and export of cotton and other textile goods. Foreign merchants have attested to the honesty of Indian merchants. India's exports were often paid for in gold. The period between A.D. 1351 and A.D. 1388 may be regarded as economically prosperous. The revenue collected during this period was perhaps the highest. The Doab alone gave

eighty-five lakhs of *tankas*. It was towards the close of the fourteenth century when Timur invaded India that the sultanate broke down and economic distress followed. But in the later half of the fifteenth century, there was economic recovery.

Religion

The mutual influence of Islam and Hinduism is a subject on which there has been a divergence of opinion among scholars. The psychological aspect of the impact of Islam on Hinduism is comparatively important, but the materials for the study are not to be found in the writings of Muslim historians and brahmanical books which, for the most part, pass over the Muslim invasions in silence. However, from a study of such materials as are available, we may say that the sword of Islam was not altogether an unmitigated disaster to India.

Buddhism had lost its intellectual influence in India before Islam gained the footing in the Indus valley and as the storm of Muslim invasion spread over Hindustan, Buddhism was entirely broken off. In attempting to find a *modus vivendi* both Islam and Hinduism have given clear evidence of their capacity to react to changing social stimuli, each retaining its central core. Islam laid stress on the unity and omnipotence of God in whose presence differences among men count as nothing. This concept had been elaborated in Hindu scriptures long before the advent of Islam; but during this period it gained emphasis and gave an impetus to liberal movements of reform in religion. Islam in Indian surroundings took on some features of Hinduism. Only in the north-west and in east Bengal did the majority of the population turn Muslim. In the rest of India Muslims constituted a relatively small minority. Conversion usually proceeded by families and groups rather than by individuals and converts retained their peculiar usages of family and in particular marriage tradition; so that the Islamic principle of social equality was not fully adhered to. Islam has had also to countenance the cult of saints. It includes in its hagiography a number of Christian saints and pagan deities besides genuine believers. Hindu mysticism even from pre-Buddhist days has had an influence on other religions.

In order to understand the influence of mysticism on Islam a

study of the development of Shiah Islam is necessary. The Shiahs though originally of the same race as the Sunnis, rallied to their side the converts which Islam gained from the older and more highly developed religious systems of India. In this attempt they absorbed into their own teaching a great deal of the mysticism of Aryan and Indo-Aryan religion; so that the dividing line between a follower of Zoroaster and a Persian Shiah, or between an orthodox Hindu and an Indian Shiah, 'was more a question of ritual than of esoteric religious doctrine'. Ritualism, in any religion, psychologically satisfies individual participants, and welds them together into a unified and integrated whole.

One of the marked traits of Hindu culture is its social exclusiveness. Restrictions in the matter of food and marriage, particularly in the period under reference, hampered the freedom of different sections even within the Hindu fold. Naturally, therefore, the social gulf between the Hindus and Muslims was never bridged. The work of Alberuni familiarized the Muslim world with the Indian religion and philosophy. When the storm and stress of invasions ceased, and Hindus and Muslims settled to a common life, the most thoughtful and progressive leaders developed among themselves a mutual regard for one another. This process was hastened by the Sufi saints who disseminated their idea that Hinduism and Islam, in essentials, did not differ much. Hindus began to venerate Muslim saints and Muslims showed an equal veneration for Hindu *sadhus*. Besides this, there was a great deal of intercourse in the realm of the sciences and arts like astronomy, medicine and music.

One of the notable features of the time was the evolution of Urdu (camp language). Urdu is a Persianized form of Western Hindi as spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Its grammar is mostly like that of Hindi and its vocabulary predominantly Persian. Urdu is the result of the Hindus and Muslims coming together.

The most important feature of Hinduism at the time was the added impetus given to the *Bhakti* movement. The religion of *bhakti* was restated by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, and Madhva, all from South India. It may be said that the brahmanism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sought to shape the metaphysics of Islam to guide its statecraft and to reconcile the racial and social antipathies by bringing it into the Hindu synthesis—an effort that

had relatively little tangible success in the north; but in the south which was comparatively free from Islamic domination, it produced such great religious teachers as have just been mentioned. The great leaders of the *bhakti* movement of this period deserve mention.

RĀMĀNANDA: Rāmānanda, a great religious leader of the fourteenth century, began to preach in the language of the people, Hindi. He laid the foundation for creeds which sought to express Hindu and Muhammadan devotion alike. We have no definite knowledge of when and where he was born. He rejected caste and admitted men from all classes as his disciples. Among his disciples were a Rājput cobbler and a Muhammadan weaver. Rāmānanda was a worshipper of Rāma and his followers are still numerous in the Gangetic plain. *Bhaktimālā* of Nabhaji (A.D. 1600) is a favourite work of the followers of Rāmānanda. Mīrā Bai (15th century) was a Rājput princess. Meeting with adversity early in life she fled from her home in Chitor and became a disciple of a follower of Rāmānanda. She embodied Rāmānanda's doctrines in Hindi and Gujarati verse of high quality.

VALLABHA: Another offshoot of the *bhakti* movement was the Kṛishna cult of Vallabhāchārya. He belonged to a Telugu brāhmin family and was born in A.D. 1479 in Varanasi when the family was on a pilgrimage to the holy city. When he was young he was looked upon as a prodigy. After finishing his education he went on his travels. At the court of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar he scored a triumph over the Saivas in public debate. After visiting Mathurā, Brindāvan and other places, he finally settled in Varanasi. He composed many works including *Bhāgavata Tīkā Subodhinī*. He taught the doctrine of *Suddha*-advaita which denied any distinction between Brahman and the individual soul and regarded *bhakti* as the means for the soul to escape its bondage due to delusion. In spite of Vallabha's stress on self-control and renunciation, his doctrine came to be known as *pushṭi-mārga*, for his successors laid stress on the physical side of Kṛishṇa's sports, so that the creed came to be called as 'the Epicureanism of the East'.

CHAITANYA: He was a contemporary of Vallabha. He was born of a learned brāhmin family of Nudia in A.D. 1485. At the age of

twenty-four he became an ascetic, and spent the rest of his life preaching the message of love and devotion. He made extensive travels in the Deccan and Northern India. His followers included Hindus from the lower strata of society and some Muslims. He denounced caste and proclaimed the brotherhood of man. He spent the last years of his life in Puri in Orissa district where he died in A.D. 1533. Chaitanya's cult was mostly emotional. He wrote nothing himself. He achieved success by the sheer force of his personal influence.

KABIR AND NANAK: The most significant figures of the time were Kabir and Nanak. According to their creed God is one and the same to Muslims and Hindus.

KABIR: Kabir, a Muslim weaver, was one of the greatest pupils of Rāmānanda. According to tradition he was the abandoned child of a brāhmin widow. He grew up as the foster-child of the weaver Niru and his wife. He flourished, most probably, in the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century. He composed beautiful verses in Hindi which are still familiar in Northern India. His followers are called *Kabirpanthis* meaning 'the travellers in the path of Kabir' and Kabir himself was claimed to be 'at once the child of Allah and of Rām'. When he died both Muslims and Hindus claimed his corpse. The story goes that when they raised the shroud covering the corpse, they found nothing but a heap of flowers. The Hindus took half and cremated it at Varanasi; the Muslims buried the other half near Gorakhpur.

NANAK: Nanak was born of a Khatri family in A.D. 1469 at Talwandi in the Lahore district. He spent his life preaching the gospel of tolerance. In order to put an end to the religious conflicts he laid stress on moral virtues. 'Religion consisteth not in mere words,' said Nanak; 'he who looketh on all men as equal is religious. Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation. Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage. Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way to religion.' Sikhism attracted several Muslims to its side.

As a result of the spread of *bhakti* movement Hindus and Muslims sometimes took part together in the practice of adoring saints. The details of the ceremonies with such adoration are more Indian than Islamic.

Literature

The religious movements led to the development of popular literature in the different languages of India. Rāmānand and Kabir wrote poems in Hindi. Kabir's *dohas* and *sākhis* have been incorporated into the Granth or Sikh scripture, as also one of Rāmānand. Mīrā Bai, one of the preachers of the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult sang in the Brajabhāshā. Nanak and his disciples wrote in Panjabi, not unmixed with Hindi. Chandidās in Bengal wrote lyrics which are still popular among the commonfolk. The Muslim rulers of Bengal engaged scholars who translated Hindu epics in Bengali. Bhagavadgītā was translated by Mālādharvasu. Vidyāpati Thākur of Mithilā, a Bengali poet, enjoyed the patronage of a Hindu chief as well as of the sultans of Bengal.

One of the most important of early works in bardic literature was the *Prithirāj Rāssa* written by Chand Bardai. He was the court poet of Pṛithvīrāj, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi at the close of the twelfth century. He wrote it in the old form of the Brajabhāshā dialect. It is a long poem consisting of 100,000 stanzas, giving not only a chronicle of his master's deeds but also a contemporary history of this part of India. This poem has had many interpolations, but still it is a worthy monument of Rājput chivalry.

Sanskrit: Sanskrit continued to flourish and find patronage among the Hindu princes. About A.D. 1300 Pārthasārathi Miśra wrote a number of works on Mīmāṁsā, some of which are still studied. In this period Yoga, Vaiśeshika and Nyāya systems were expounded in several works. There were notable contributions by the leaders of the *bhakti* movement. Mention may be made of *Aṇubhāshya* of Vallabha (A.D. 1479–1531). Lyrical poetry is represented by the superb *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva of somewhat earlier date. It was on the drama that the Muslim conquest had most depressing effect. However, this section of literature is also fairly well represented.

Among the works of the period may be mentioned *Gangādāsapratāpavilāsa* celebrating the fight of a prince of Champanir against Muhammad II of Gujarat (A.D. 1443–52) and *Hammīra-madamardana* by Jayasingh Suri (A.D. 1219–29). One of the greatest Sanskrit dramatists of the time was Rūpa Gosvāmī, minister of Husain Shah of Bengal. Smriti and grammatical literature flourished in Bengal and Mithilā. Jimutavāhana in all probability wrote his *Dharmaratna* before the fifteenth century. This is the work which dominated the views of Bengal on inheritance. There were also other works dealing with the law of succession. Lakshmidhara, foreign minister of Govindachandra of Kanauj (A.D. 1105–43) wrote *Smṛitikalpataru*, a comprehensive digest including religious, civil and criminal law and the law of procedure.

PERSIAN: Persian literature found encouragement at first in Lahore under the Ghaznavids and later in Delhi and the provincial courts. In this period Delhi developed into a competitor with Bukhara, the famous University-city of Central Asia, and with Baghdad, Cairo and Constantinople. We have already mentioned Kutb-ud-din Aibek's generosity to poets and scholars. Owing to the pressure of Mongol conquests most of the literary men from beyond the Hindu Kush flocked to Delhi. Among such migrants was Amir Khusru, the prince of poets, 'the parrot of Hindi'. He was a prolific writer of very elegant poetry, prose and music, and had been a contemporary of four sultans from Balban to Ghiyas-ud-din, before he died in A.D. 1325. In his writings many Hindi words occur. He was well versed in the technique of music and he is known to have had discussion with Gopāl Nāyak, a renowned musician of the South in his time. Another famous poet of the time was Badr-i-Chach, a native of Chach or Tashkend, who adorned the court of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, and whose odes are read even today. Among the writers of historical prose must be mentioned Zia-ud-din Barani. Firuz Shah himself was an author of some repute. He established colleges with mosques attached to them and patronized many distinguished literary men. After Timur's disastrous invasion interest shifts to the provinces, many of which grew into independent kingdoms. Following the example of Alberuni several Muslim scholars studied Sanskrit and translated some works into Persian. Firuz Shah

ordered Maulana Iz-ud-din Khalid Khani to translate a work on philosophy, divination and omens into Persian.

Art and Architecture

It is quite appropriate to describe the art and architecture of this period as Indo-Islamic as it derives its character both from India and from Islam. Over the question of relative contribution of Islam and Hinduism to the development of architecture in this period, there is a difference of opinion among scholars. One extreme view is that it is entirely Persian or Indo-Saracenic, the other is that it is entirely Indian in 'body and soul'. Modern scholars accept neither of these views. It is claimed that the so called Saracenic architecture of this period gave an impetus to Indian art. Certainly it had a certain undefinable influence on the development of architecture of this period. But its influence on Indian aesthetic principles seems to have been precious little. The home of this 'Saracenic' culture has not so far been definitely located. However, it may be described as a mixed culture of the Persian, Egyptian, Turkish and West-European. For thousands of years Persia was an integral part of the geo-political region of the Indo-Aryans and before Persians embraced Islam, they had been members of the Indo-Aryan family. The architecture of Persia was in fact founded upon the old Buddhistic building traditions which India gave to Western Asia. The pointed arches and the half-domed porticos and windows of Persian mosques were an adaptation of the niched shrines in which Buddhist images were placed. Therefore, it is best to describe the architecture of this period in India as mainly a new development of Indo-Aryan culture.

The new Islamic culture began when Mahmud of Ghazni made the royal craftsmen of Mathurā and Kanauj build for him the great mosque of 'the Celestial Bridge' of which no trace exists at present. It was in everything but name a Hindu Renaissance. The tomb of Mahmud and two minars or Towers of Victory erected by Masud now in ruins are the only extant monuments of note. The minars were the prototypes of the famous Kutb Minar at Delhi. Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat, was constructed by Ahmad Shah during A.D. 1411 to 1441. The city was truly created by the royal craftsmen

of Rajputana: Dr. Burgess describes this style as 'combining all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is deficient in their own (Muhammadan) works.' The mixed style of architecture in Bengal is characterized by the use of bricks in the main. This is the Muslim adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully curved Hindu symbolic decorative designs like the Lotus. The Gaur of the Musalman sultans was a new Laknauti; Varanasi was the mother of Jaunpur; Dhar, the mother of Mandu. The royal craftsmen of Vijayanagar rajas built the capital of the Muslim dynasty of Bijapur. To speak of the proportionately high contribution of Indians to Indo-Islamic architecture is not to minimize the specific contribution of Muslims to the architectural development of the period by their free use of concrete and mortar without which arches and tombs cannot be built; also of note are 'Their construction of minar and minaret, and the graceful decorative use of sacred texts and historic inscriptions interwoven with flowing arabesque or intricate geometric devices, and the use of coloured stones and marble as well as encaustic tiles of varied bright hues.'

Variations in local styles are due to differences in climate, religious practices and geographical surroundings. The Muslims took care to adapt each of these styles to their own requirements and ideals. It must be mentioned that the arch is not a foreign importation of India as the Hindu architects had already been familiar with it.

The Arabs in Sind produced little of architectural interest. Delhi shows well the development of Indo-Islamic architecture. When Kutb-ud-din Aibek occupied it in A.D. 1191 it was the fort of Rai Pithaura, the oldest of the 'seven cities' of Delhi. It included the strong citadel known as 'Lal Kot'. Inside this citadel sprang up a remarkable series of Muslim monuments, with a mosque, Kuwwat-ul-Islam 'the Might of Islam' erected by Kutab-ud-din. 'Within two years of its completion, i.e. in A.D. 1198, an arched screen of characteristically Muslim design was erected across the front of the prayer chamber, the central arch is 53 feet high with two lesser arches on either side and the carvings of sacred texts which enrich the facade of the screen are superb, an instance of fine co-operation between

the Muslim calligraphist and Indian carvers.' In A.D. 1230 Iltutmish made additions of strictly Islamic design to the prayer chamber and screen and more than doubled the area of the mosque with materials specially quarried.

Kutb Minar was perhaps meant as a tower from which the muezzin could summon the faithful to prayer, but soon it came to be considered as a Tower of Victory. When it was completed by Iltutmish, it had four storeys and rose to a height of 225 feet. In the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlak, Kutb Minar was struck by lightning and then the fourth storey was replaced by two smaller ones and red stone faced with white marble and thus the Minar's height rose to 234 feet. Again in A.D. 1503 Sikandar Lodi repaired the upper storeys of the Minar.

Balban's tomb in the south-east quarter of the Fort of Rai Pithaura is a simple square domed chamber. It marks an advance in construction by the appearance of the true arch and indicates the growing reaction against Hindu influence which had begun under Iltutmish.

Under the Tughlaks the style of architecture became severely simple and puritanical. All ornamentation and richness of detail were scrupulously avoided. This is in consonance with the orthodox outlook of Muhammad and of Firuz of sterner stuff. This simplicity of style may probably be due to the necessity for economy as there had been a loss of State revenue because of the defection of several provinces, and lack of skilled craftsmen after the disastrous depopulation of Delhi. Muhammad-bin-Tughlak had his attention divided between Delhi and Daulatabad. The fortress of Daulatabad deserves description here. The lofty fortress, says Abdul Hamid Lahori, the official chronicler of Shah Jahan's reign, 'is a mass of rock which raises its head towards heaven. The rock has been scarped throughout its circumference, which measures 5,000 legal yards, to a depth which ensures the retention of water in the ditch at the foot of the escarpment. The escarpment is so smooth that neither an ant nor a snake could scale it. Its height is 140 cubits, and around its base a ditch forty cubits in width and thirty in depth has been dug in the solid rock. Through the centre of the hill a dark spiral passage like the ascent of a minar, which it is impossible to traverse even in daylight, without a lamp, had been cut, and the steps in this passage are cut out of the rock'. An iron gate closed it

at the foot of the hill, and at its head near the entrance to the citadel is 'a large grating of iron which is shut down in case of necessity, and when a fire is lighted upon it the ascent of the spiral passage becomes impossible owing to the intense heat'. In the reign of Firuz, Hindu influence in architecture was reduced to its lowest ebb. The architecture, in the reign of Firuz, suffered perceptibly from the lack of Hindu craftsmanship and forms a contrast to the work of Lodi or early Mughal periods, when 'the touch of Hindu genius had again endowed it with life and warmth'. Important among Firuz's monuments that have survived in Delhi is Kotla Firuz Shah (the palace-fort of Firuzabad). Within its walls the best preserved monuments are the Jami Masjid and a pyramidal structure crowned by the Aśoka pillar from Topra. The tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Telingani with its octagonal tomb-chamber surmounted by a single dome and encompassed by a low-arched verandah was a novel type of funeral monument, improved and elaborated under the Sayyid and Afghan dynasties till it reached its consummation in the magnificent tomb of Sher Shah.

Under the Sayyid and Lodi kings the empire shrank so that they could do no more than build tombs for themselves. The tomb of Sikandar Lodi built in A.D. 1517-18 by his son Ibrahim is interesting, because it gives unmistakable proof of reviving a richer and more lavish display of ornament. A more significant feature of the tomb is the double dome which was to play a great part in imparting wonderful symmetry to the buildings of the Mughal period.

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CHAPTER XIII

MINOR MUSLIM KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH (A.D. 1200-1600)

For some years in the first half of the fourteenth century the sultanate of Delhi included nominally the whole of India with a few minor exceptions. It has been already noted that the control of the centre over the outlying kingdoms was feeble and that the disintegration which began in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak was completed by the anarchy following Timur's inroad. The attempt at recovery under the Lodi kings was a failure except for the extinction of Jaunpur. In a general history like this it is not possible to give a detailed account of each of the kingdoms that broke away from the sultanate of Delhi. But to complete the history of the period it is necessary to deal with those kingdoms at least in a summary fashion.

Jaunpur

The foundation of the city of Jaunpur by Firuz Tughlak in A.D. 1359-60 has been mentioned. In A.D. 1394 Muhammad Tughlak appointed Sarvar Khwaja Jahan as the Lord of the East (*Malik-ush-Shark*) with headquarters at Jaunpur. All the territory from Kanauj to Bihar was in his charge. He acted with vigour and subdued refractory chieftains.

In the confusion that followed Timur's invasion, Mubarak Shah Sharki proclaimed himself an independent king. When he died in A.D. 1400 his younger brother Ibrahim succeeded him with the title Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shah Sharki. He was the ablest of the six rulers of the Sharki dynasty and had a prosperous reign of forty years. He patronized art and learning and made Jaunpur an important centre of Muslim learning. Kazi Shihab-ud-din Malik-ul-Ulama, a great scholar, lived at his court. Ibrahim's design against Delhi was

foiled by the threat of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat to his own territory. He succeeded in reducing the power of the over-mighty minister Raja Ganesh of Bengal.

Mahmud Sharki, son of Ibrahim, died in A.D. 1457. His son Muhammad succeeded him but soon the nobles deposed him for his cruelty and enthroned his younger brother Husain who was the last independent ruler of Jaunpur. He suppressed the zamindars of Tirhut, led a successful expedition into Orissa and invested Gwalior in A.D. 1466. But he raised the siege accepting a large indemnity from Mansing, the ruler of Gwalior. He was defeated by Buhlul Lodi and expelled to Bihar (A.D. 1479). Thus ended the Sharki dynasty.

SHARKI ART : All the members of the Sharki dynasty were patrons of Persian and Arabic literature. They built fine monuments in Jaunpur, of which there are a few survivals. The *Atala Masjid* is the finest example of the Jaunpur style which has adopted many Hindu features. The Jaunpur buildings are unusually massive, having no minarets. Their stately gateways with sloping walls form a distinguishing feature of the Jaunpur style. The most notable buildings among the survivals showing a blending of Hindu and Muslim traditions form a link between the architecture of the sultanate of Delhi and of the Mughal period.

Bengal

In the previous chapter we have mentioned how Bengal under Fakhr-ud-din revolted successfully against Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in A.D. 1338 and how later Firuz Shah Tughlak practically renounced all claims to suzerainty over it. Bengal, 'a hell filled with good things', continued to be virtually independent of central control till it came under Akbar in A.D. 1576. Between A.D. 1340 and 1526 when the sultanate of Delhi came to an end, its history is filled with wars, rebellions and assassinations, the sordid details of which are of little interest to the general history of India. Bengal owing to its profuse wealth and distance from Delhi managed to maintain its independence, virtually cut off from the rest of India.

Jaimal, the son of Rājā Ganesh, the virtual ruler of Bengal, had

been converted to Islam. When Ganesh died in A.D. 1414, Jaimal, under the name of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, became king of Bengal. Perhaps the bulk of Hindu population of Bengal were converted to Islam in his reign (A.D. 1414-31). His son, Shams-ud-din who succeeded him proved himself to be a tyrant and was put to death in A.D. 1442. The next ruler of note was Rukn-ud-din Barbak (A.D. 1459) who earned the distinction of being the first king elevated to high rank from among Abyssinian slaves, numbering about 8,000. Between his death in A.D. 1474 and 1493, Bengal was ruled by several kings, the last of whom was Shams-ud-din Muzaffar Shah (A.D. 1490) whose three years' rule was an unbearable tyranny, ended by the army under an Arab minister of the State Husain by name, a Sayyid who was then raised to the throne after he gave guarantee of good rule.

HUSAIN : The dynasty founded by Husain ruled Bengal for about fifty years with some distinction. Husain may be regarded as the greatest Muslim king of Bengal, Iliyas excepted. He restored order in the kingdom, put down the power of the palace guards, mostly Hindu infantry, and of the great body of Africans, and enriched the capital and other towns with buildings. He gave refuge to Husain Shah Sharki who had been driven out of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodi; the Sharki died in A.D. 1500. Husain of Bengal showed his military skill by recovering some lost territory and extending the limits of his kingdom to the borders of Orissa. His invasion of Assam in A.D. 1498 ended in a disaster but he conquered parts of Kuch Bihar. He died in A.D. 1518 and was succeeded by his son Nusrat Shah.

NUSRAT SHAH : Nusrat was an amiable king. His kind treatment of his brothers was uncommon among the Muslim rulers of that age. Early in his reign he annexed Tirhut. He married a daughter of Ibrahim Lodi and gave shelter to Afghan nobles who came to him after the defeat and death of Ibrahim. He made a demonstration against Babur, but after Babur took Jaunpur, he followed a policy of reconciliation with the Moghul. It was in Nusrat's reign that the Portuguese made their first appearance in Bengal and settled in Chittagong. Acting under instructions, the governor of Chittagong attacked the Portuguese by surprise and confiscated their valuable

property. The Portuguese retaliated by burning Chittagong. Nusrat Shah's character deteriorated as a result of his debauchery and he was murdered in A.D. 1533 by some of his palace eunuchs. The Husain Shahi dynasty struggled on till A.D. 1539 when the last king of the time was expelled from Bengal by Sher Shah Sur. After the death of Sher Shah Sur, the independence of Bengal revived for a time under an Afghan dynasty and the territory finally fell into the hands of Akbar in A.D. 1576.

LITERATURE : Bengali literature of the period has already been briefly mentioned. Kṛittivāsa (born 1346) translated into Bengali the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. Under Nusrat's instructions a Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* was prepared. Bengali literature of the time shows the esteem and trust in which Husain Shah was held by the Hindus.

RELIGION : Bengal was noted for the activity of Muslim fakirs in the fourteenth century. Pandua came to be called Hazrat owing to the presence of many saints of reputed sanctity. A new cult of *Satyapir* (the true saint) was founded by Husain Shah of Bengal. The name is a combination of a Sanskrit and a Persian word which indicates an attempt to unite Hindus and Muslims. The *Sahajia* (nature) cult was peculiar to Bengal. Its greatest exponent was Chandidas who lived in the fourteenth century. This cult laid stress on the analogy between sex love and the mystic union of the soul with the Supreme. Its consequences were disastrous and Chaitanya opposed this cult.

ART : The technical character of the buildings was determined by the principal building materials of Bengal, namely, brick, timber and bamboo. The wide-flung ruins of Gaur and Pandua, the seat of Muslim power, show the wealth and luxury of the times. But it is noticed that the Bengali roof appropriate to bamboo and timber construction did not go well with brick or stone. Among the noteworthy buildings at Gaur may be mentioned the tomb of Husain Shah. The celebrated *Adina Masjid* at Pandua built by Sikandar Shah in A.D. 1368 is the most ambitious structure of its kind ever raised in Eastern India. It has about 400 small domes. The Eklakhi tomb supposed to be that of Jalal-ud-din (son of Rājā Ganesh) is also a notable building at Pandua.

The vast ruins of Gaur are estimated to occupy from twenty to thirty square miles. The *Lotan Masjid* is the best surviving example of style of mosque peculiar to Bengal. It is said to get its name from Nattu (Lotan, Lattan or Nattan), a favourite dancing girl of sultan Yusuf. The carvings of Gunmant mosque exhibit the refinement and spontaneity of the old Hindu school. A mosque at Bagha in the Rajshahi district and the Kadam Rasul mosque completed by Nusrat in A.D. 1530 are built of brick and terra-cotta and show the decadence of buildings of that age.

Mālwa

Mālwa was an extensive region which now forms a large part of Madhya Pradesh. Bounded on the north by the Chambal, on the south by the Narmada, on the east by Bundelkhand, and on the west by Gujarat, Mālwa had been the seat of famous kingdoms in the Hindu period. Iltutmish raided Mālwa in A.D. 1234. In A.D. 1310 Ala-ud-din brought it under subjection and from that time it came to be ruled by Muslim governors until the break-up of the sultanate of Delhi.

THE GHORI DYNASTY : Dilawar Khan Ghori, who had perhaps become governor under Firuz Tughlak, set up as king on his own account as Sultan Shihab-ud-din Ghori (A.D. 1401). He was a descendant of Muhammad of Ghor. He died in A.D. 1406 perhaps poisoned by his eldest son Alpp Khan who ascended the throne as Hushang Shah. The first capital of the new kingdom was Dhar where Rājā Bhoja had once reigned. Hushang Shah transferred his capital to Mandu where he erected many beautiful buildings. Being a man of restless spirit, he engaged himself often in wars and expeditions. In A.D. 1422 he fell upon the Rājā of Orissa, took him prisoner and released him for a ransom of seventy-five elephants. He annexed Kalpi on the Jumna and before his death in A.D. 1435, he founded Hushangabad on the Narmada. His eldest son became king under the title of Muhammad Shah. He was a worthless debauchee and was poisoned by his brother-in-law and minister Mahmud Khan Khalji.

THE KHALJIS : Mahmud made himself king and founded the Khalji dynasty of Mālwa (A.D. 1436) which lasted for almost a century. He was by far the most eminent of the Muslim kings of Mālwa. As a brave warrior he spent a good part of his life in camps. He fought against Ahmad I of Gujarat, Muhammad Shah of Delhi, the sultans of the Bahmani dynasty, and Rana Kumbha of Mewar. The fight with the Rana seems to have been indecisive, as both rulers erected Towers of Victory, the Rana at Chitor, and Mahmud at Mandu. The one at Chitor still stands but the other, a seven storeyed tower has collapsed. Mahmud's fame spread outside India. In A.D. 1465 the Khalif of Egypt recognized him. The ruler of Transoxiana, a descendant of Timur, sent a diplomatic mission to him (A.D. 1468). Mahmud died in A.D. 1469 at the age of sixty-eight and his eldest son Ghias-ud-din succeeded him.

Ghias-ud-din was a lover of peace and a devout Muslim. His eldest son Nasir-ud-din poisoned him and seized the throne (A.D. 1501). Nasir-ud-din was cruel when in power. He died in A.D. 1510 of fever or of poison. Mahmud II, son of Nasir-ud-din, was the last king of the dynasty. He excited the wrath of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, by giving shelter to his rival brother. Bahadur Shah captured Mandu, executed Mahmūd II and annexed Mālwa to his kingdom (A.D. 1531). The Mughal emperor Humayun defeated Bahadur Shah at Mandasor and Mandu in A.D. 1535 and expelled him from Mālwa. Sher Shah who became king of Delhi appointed one of his lieutenants named Shuja' as Khan to govern Mālwa. The Khan's son Baz Bahadur succeeded him. He was an accomplished prince whose love for Rūpamatī, a beautiful princess of Sārangapur, is celebrated in legend and folklore. In A.D. 1562 Mālwa was finally conquered by Akbar who gave Baz Bahadur the command of 2,000 horse as a favour.

ARCHITECTURE : Māndu is Maṇḍapadurga of the Paramāras and Shadiabad of the Muslims. It is perhaps the most magnificent of all the fortress cities of India. The city, now in ruins, stood on a high hill overlooking an expansive plateau. It was protected by walls twenty-five miles or more in length. Once the whole plateau must have been covered with massive buildings of all kinds. But only the royal palaces, mosques and tombs have survived the ravages

of time to be cared for by the Archaeological department. Even in ruins the buildings exhibit much architectural merit. The oldest is the mosque of Dilwar Khan Ghori. Among the buildings noted for their magnificence are the *Jami Masjid*, and the durbar hall known as Hindola Mahal; the impressive grandeur of both is not to be found anywhere in Delhi. Hushang's tomb at the rear of the *Jami Masjid* marks a new departure, being the first tomb made wholly of white marble. Mahmūd Khalji erected a vast group of buildings opposite the *Jami Masjid*, which included a college, a tower of victory, and a mausoleum of the Khalji family. The tomb was of white marble freely adorned with carving and coloured tile work and with inlays of black and white marble, jasper, agate and cornelian. 'It is seen from an inscription of A.D. 1508-09 that Nasir-ud-din was the builder of the palace long associated with the romantic name of Baz Bahadur. The unpretentious palace is a pleasing well-designed structure though it clearly marked the stage when the Mandu style had passed its meridian.'

Gujarat

Although the name Gujarat from the point of view of political geography is of indefinite signification, in the period of Muslim rule, on the mainland, it extended from Sirohi and Bhinmal in Rajputana in the north to Daman in the south, and from the frontier of Malwa in the east to the sea and the Rann of Cutch in the west. The peninsula of Kathiawar was also reckoned as a part of Gujarat. This area roughly corresponds to the modern State of Gujarat.

Muhammad Ghazni's expedition into Gujarat and Ala-ud-din's annexation of the kingdom in A.D. 1297 have already been mentioned. Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert, formally assumed independence in A.D. 1401.

AHMAD SHAH : We may pass over the palace revolutions that followed till we come to A.D. 1411, when Ahmad Shah I, the grandson of Zafar, same as Sultan Muzaffar Shah (A.D. 1407-11), made himself the sultan after poisoning his grandfather. Ahmad ruled for thirty years and may well be regarded as the founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat. At the time of his accession the kingdom

was only a small territory round Asawal; but by his wars, in which he never knew defeat, he greatly extended it.

In A.D. 1414 he defeated Rai Mandalik of Girnar and captured the fort of Junagarh. His arms invariably prevailed against the armies of Mālwa, Khandesh, Rajputana and other neighbouring kingdoms.

In the first year of his reign he built the magnificent city of Ahmadabad and made it his capital. 'Travellers,' says the local historian, 'are agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful, charming and splendid.' As the popular saying goes, the prosperity of Ahmadabad, now as it did then, hangs on three threads—silk, gold and cotton.

MAHMŪD BEGARHA : The next great ruler of Gujarat was Mahmūd Begarha, a thirteen year old grandson of Ahmad Shah, who ruled for over fifty years (A.D. 1459-1511). He was called Begarha on account of his capture of two forts (*begarha*) Junagarh and Champaner in Kathiawar. He was by far the most eminent ruler of his dynasty. He even came to be known in Europe from the account given of him by the Italian traveller, Ludovici di Varthema (A.D. 1503-08). 'His mustaches under his nose,' says Varthema, 'are so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard that reaches to his girdle.' His appetite was so abnormal that he was credited with eating over twenty pounds of food everyday. He was believed to be immune to poison as he had been dosed with it from childhood. His body was so saturated with poison that if a fly sat on any part of his body, it would drop down dead.

Though just a boy when he came to the throne he nipped in the bud a conspiracy against him with a courage and acumen worthy of a mature monarch. He shaped his own policies scrupulously avoiding the influence of those who sought or had won his favour. He had many military achievements to his credit. Twice he helped the Bahmani kingdom against the attacks of Mālwa. He overran Cutch, defeated the sultan of Ahmadnagar, suppressed the pirates of Jegat (Dvārakā) and enlarged the boundary of Gujarat.

Begarha's Dealings with the Portuguese

From the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese

became a factor in the politics of India, particularly that of Gujarat which had perhaps the largest overseas trade among Indian kingdoms. Towards the end of his reign Begarha came into conflict with them. Owing to the diversion of trade along the new sea-route to Europe the prosperity of Egypt was affected. Hence the sultan of Egypt allied himself with Begarha. The Zamorin of Calicut also joined the alliance against the troublesome Portuguese. An Egyptian fleet built at Suez reached India in A.D. 1507 where it was joined by Indian ships. The combined force scored a victory over a Portuguese squadron at Chaul (A.D. 1508) south of Bombay. Lorenco, Commander of the Portuguese fleet and son of Francesco Almeida, the viceroy, was killed in the battle. But two years later Almeida inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslim fleet near Diu. Begarha was obliged to make peace with the Portuguese by granting a site for a factory at Diu. From then on the Portuguese were always able to maintain their possessions against the Indian powers. None of the powers in India, holding coastal regions took the warning to build up an adequate fleet to ward off the new danger. Even Akbar, in spite of his desire to expel the intruders from the soil of India, could do nothing to disturb the Portuguese who indulged in piracy and molested Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.

BAHADUR SHAH : Mahmud Begarha died in November 1511. Between A.D. 1511 and 1526 Gujarat had three insignificant sultans. The last notable sultan was Bahadur Shah (A.D. 1526-37), Begarha's grandson. How he earned a full share of military glory by his annexation of Mālwa has already been narrated. He overran the territories of Mewar and stormed Chitor in A.D. 1534 when in the usual Jauhar about 13000 Rajput women are said to have perished. A Muslim governor was appointed at Chitor. Bahadur came into conflict with Humayun by affording shelter to his rival for the Mughal throne. When surrender was demanded Bahadur sent an insulting reply to Humayun who retaliated by occupying Gujarat in A.D. 1536. Luckily for Bahadur, Humayun had to hurry back to Delhi to encounter the more serious trouble from his Afghan rival Sher Khan. Thus Bahadur was able to regain Gujarat.

In A.D. 1530 the Portuguese captured the port of Daman and next year they failed in their effort to take Diu. But they left a fleet in the

ulf of Cambay to harass the trade and shipping of Gujarat. Under essure from Humayun, Bahadur was forced to secure a promise of rtuguese aid by the offer of Bassein and of permission to fortify Diu, en a port of much importance. For negotiation in this matter hadur Shah had to meet Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor. ahadur went aboard the Portuguese ship never to return. There are ur Portuguese and four Muslim accounts of what happened then. seems that mutual suspicion led to a fatal fray. The sultan fell or as pushed into the sea and died. At the same time Manuel de ouza, the captain of the port of Diu, also lost his life. Bahadur hah died at the age of 31, leaving no heir. After him all was anarchy ntil Gujarat was annexed to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1572.

RCHITECTURE : Gujarat had a singularly beautiful style of archi- ecture with its wood carving of supreme excellence. The *Jami Masjid* at Ahmadabad is one of the most superb and imposing tructures of its class in the world. But the great Jami Masjid and ther mosques at Champaner, while they exhibit great perfection n detail and decorative beauty, fail in point of synthetic unity. The predominance of Hindu principles of design is evident in most f the buildings of the time. The mosque of Sidi Sayyid at Ahmada- ad is a famous monument of Begarha's reign. Its dozen window creens filled with varying foliate and geometric designs are of nparalleled excellence.

Khandesh

The history of Khandesh, a small Muslim State in the extreme north of the Deccan, formed by the lower parts of the valley of the Tapti river between the districts of Berar and Gujarat, was connected with that of Gujarat and Mālwa. Like Mālwa the country was rich in monuments of Indo-Aryan civilization and full of the memories of the long centuries before Muhammadan times.

Khandesh was a part of the Tughlak empire until Malik Raja Farrukhi, its governor under Firuz Shah, declared his independence (A.D. 1388), after the death of that sultan. It took a share in local wars and was sometimes a dependency of Gujarat. Malik Raja who was tolerant to Hindus and promoted industry and agriculture

died in A.D. 1399, and was succeeded by his son Malik Nasir. As the rulers contented themselves with the title of Khan, the kingdom came to be called Khandesh. The importance of Khandesh resulted chiefly from its possession of the strong fortress of Asirgarh. The story of its capture reveals the unscrupulous diplomacy of Malik Nasir. The fort of Asirgarh was the hereditary castle of a Hindu chieftain Asa Ahir, in whose family it had remained for seven hundred years. Asa Ahir was the first chieftain to submit to Muslim military authorities and Malik Nasir was on friendly terms with him and had received from him rich presents. Asa Ahir was a very wealthy man of charitable disposition. It is said that he possessed five thousand buffaloes, five thousand cows, twenty thousand sheep, and a thousand mares. He had a small band of two thousand armed men devotedly attached to his service. Nasir coveted the fort and played a trick on his unwary friend. On the pretext of sending the women of his family for protection during the time of an impending war, he sent soldiers in disguise to storm the fort and capture it. The trick had the intended effect. Nasir was successful neither against Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat nor against his son-in-law Ala-ud-din Ahmad Bahmani. He died in A.D. 1437. No great interest attaches to his successors and the later history of Khandesh is unimportant. It was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1601.

A small kingdom hemmed in by more powerful neighbours on all sides, Khandesh derived its architectural traits from them, particularly Mālwa.

Kashmir

Kashmir in mediaeval history refers only to the beautiful valley on the upper course of the Jhelum, which is about eighty-five miles long and from twenty to twenty-five broad.

In A.D. 1315 a Muslim adventurer from Swat, by name Shah Mirza entered the service of the Hindu prince of Kashmir. After serving different kings for a long time he seized the throne in A.D. 1316, married the late raja's widow and by his liberal revenue policy secured the position of his dynasty.[1] His third son who ruled from

[1]The chronology of the Muslim Kings of Kashmir is unsettled and the dates are only approximate.

A.D. 1359 to 1376 improved the land revenue system, and proved a notable warrior. The kings that ruled Kashmir till A.D. 1393 when the sixth sultan Sikandar became king are of little consequence historically.

SIKANDAR : Sikandar exchanged envoys with Timur but carefully avoided meeting the formidable invader who even made friendly overtures to him. Sikandar was a bigot and many brāhmins who refused to embrace Islam suffered death. Many others were exiled and only a few could be compelled to change their faith. Sikandar patronized Muslim scholars who came in large numbers from Persia, Arabia and Mesopotamia. He died in A.D. 1416 leaving three sons.

The eighth ruler of the dynasty, Zain-ul-Abidin had a long and prosperous reign of about half a century from A.D. 1420 to 1467. He was very different from Sikandar. He recalled the exiled brāhmins, abolished the *jizya* and even allowed new temples to come up. He abstained from eating flesh, prohibited slaughter of cows and was justly venerated as a saint. He made the village communities responsible for local crimes and this made roads much safer than before. Possessing a good knowledge of Persian, Hindi and Tibetan, he patronized literature, painting and music. He caused Sanskrit books like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rājatarangiṇī* to be translated into Persian, and Persian and Arabic works into Hindi. His public works included a number of bridges and many irrigation works. He was a skilled manufacturer of fire works with a good knowledge of explosives. He maintained friendly correspondence with Babur's grandfather, the ruler of Khurasan from A.D. 1456–68 and was on friendly terms with notable rulers of India then. He may well be regarded as the forerunner of Akbar and was perhaps in some respects greater than Akbar as in his faithfulness to one wife. He died in A.D. 1467. The rulers that came after him are not of any importance or of interest. We hear of the Chakks seizing the throne and ruling the kingdom till it was absorbed in the Mughal empire by Akbar.

ART : When Muslim rule began in Kashmir, the art of the stone-mason had been long forgotten and wood was the most common material in use. But the wooden architecture of the epoch carried on the established tradition of the valley with new structural forms

and decorative motifs grafted on to it. The *Jami Masjid* and the mosque of Shah Hamadan at Srinagar are the best examples of the Kashmiri style. They are marked by dignified simplicity and spaciousness as well as the grace of line and natural artistry of all Indo-Islamic monuments. Kashmir architecture which exhibits 'precisely the same fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideals, the same happy blend of elegance and strength', as early Muslim architecture in the rest of India 'is eloquent testimony to the enduring vitality of Hindu art under an alien rule and to the wonderful capacity of the Muslim for absorbing that art into his own and endowing it with a new and grander spirit.'

CHAPTER XIV

THE SOUTHERN KINGDOMS (A.D. 1300–1600)

THE fourteenth century witnesses the assertion of the south against the north. This was a twin movement; the Muslim chiefs revolted against the control of Delhi and Hindu chiefs rose against Muslim domination. The first consists mainly of the story of the Bahmani kingdom which arose in the last years of Sultan Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. The second relates to the rise of the kingdom of Vijayanagar founded with the object of preserving Hindu culture.

As a preliminary to the story of the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the history of Orissa which is intimately connected with them.

Orissa

We have noticed earlier how Orissa (Odra or Kalinga of old) in the early half of the thirteenth century resisted the inroads of Muslims of Bengal and maintained its independence. The most notable of the kings of Orissa was Narasimha I (A.D. 1238–64). He repelled the Muslims of Bengal and built the great temple of the Sun at Konark and completed the Jagannatha temple at Puri. His successors were weak rulers. Bhanudeva IV, the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty was displaced by his minister Kapilendra about A.D. 1434. Kapilendra waged successful war with Bahmani and Vijayanagar rulers and extended the bounds of his kingdom far into the south as far as Kanchipuram. His troops marched even as far as the Kaveri. He was deposed by his half-brother Purushottama in whose reign the Bahmani seized the Godavari-Krishna doab and Saluva Narasimha, the viceroy of Vijayanagar took the territory farther south. Later, however, Purushottama recovered the doab. His son Prataparudra (A.D. 1497–1540) was troubled by the Bahmani kings and Krishna

Deva Raja of Vijayanagar. But Orissa continued to be independent even to the days of Akbar who sought the aid of its king, Mukunda Harichandana (A.D. 1550–1568) against the Afghan ruler of Bengal.

The Bahmani Kingdom

In August 1347 Hasan entitled Zafar Khan drove the imperial forces besieging Daulatabad, forced the abdication of Nasir-ud-din and proclaimed himself sultan under the name Abur Musaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah. He claimed descent from a half mythical hero of Persia named Bahman. So his family became known as Bahmani and his territory the Bahmani kingdom. It is difficult to accept Ferishta's story that he called himself Hasan Gangu Bahmani in memory of his master the brahman Gangu, for it is not borne out by other chroniclers or by coins or inscriptions.

The Bahmani kingdom was ruled by fourteen sultans from A.D. 1347 to 1482 when it broke up into five sultanates, which continued to play an important part in India till A.D. 1526. Of these, three had a natural death, three died from the effects of drink, one died prematurely at a young age for reasons unknown, four were assassinated in cold blood and three were deposed, imprisoned and blinded. The Bahmani dynasty at its zenith is a picture of absolute power, untold wealth, munificence, cruelty, passion, pride and prejudice.

ALA-UD-DIN I BAHMAN SHAH (A.D. 1347–58) : This founder of the Bahmani dynasty ruled for eleven years. He vigorously put down opposition from nobles still loyal to their Tughlak suzerain. By war and diplomacy he extended his sway over a large territory bounded on the north by the Penganga, on the south by the Krishna and stretching from Bhongir in the east to the sea in the west. The kingdom commanded the ports of Goa and Dabhol. Ala-ud-din I made Gulbarga his capital and began adorning it with fine buildings. For administrative convenience he divided the kingdom into four *tarafs* (provinces) each under a *tarafdar* (governor).

MUHAMMAD SHAH I (A.D. 1358–77) : On the death of Ala-ud-din I in A.D. 1358, his eldest son Muhammad Shah succeeded him. He

was chiefly occupied by savage wars with Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal I and Bukka I of Vijayanagar. At last peace was concluded and both the parties agreed to spare the lives of the prisoners and noncombatants.

Muhammad Shah I set the pattern of administration of the Bahmani kingdom and its successor States. He established a council of eight ministers including a Peshwa and controlled the provinces by frequent tours of inspection. He sought to suppress brigandage by massacres; it is said that 20,000 brigands were killed in the course of a few months and their heads piled up near the city gates. Muhammad Shah completed the great mosque of Gulbarga, the only one in India with no open courtyard. Mention should be made of his able minister, Said-ud-din Ghori who lived over a hundred years till he died in the service of the sixth sultan.

FIRUZ (A.D. 1397–1422) : We may pass over the intermediary rulers and palace revolutions and come to Taj-ud-din Firuz Shah, the eighth sultan, son of the youngest brother of Muhammad Shah I.

Firuz was held by Ferishta to be the greatest among Bahmani kings. In the first year of his reign he reorganized the administration of the kingdom. He employed brahmins in important posts. He was successful in two wars (A.D. 1398 and A.D. 1406) against Vijayanagar and Devaraya had to give his daughter in marriage to the sultan together with the fort and district of Bankapura as her dowry. He made Raichur Doab a separate province. In A.D. 1417 he invaded Telingana, killed Katayavema Reddi of Rajamundry in battle and subjugated his country. His attack on Panugal ended in a disaster (A.D. 1420). Completely shaken by it, Firuz who had a vigorous body and keen mind ruined his health and character by hard drinking and debauchery.

Firuzbad, a new city, was built on the Bhima.

Firuz's brother Ahmad aided by Khalaf Hasan, a rich merchant from Basrah, rose in revolt and assumed the royal title in his camp near Kalyani. Firuz who was ill abdicated and died within a few days either strangled or poisoned under Ahmad's orders (A.D. 1422).

AHMAD SHAH (A.D. 1422–35) : Ahmad revolted against his brother because he disliked the administration of the Turki slaves. He

ascended the throne without opposition. He resolved to avenge the losses suffered by the army of Islam in his brother's time. He waged a savage war against Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar was compelled to pay a vast amount of treasure as 'arrears of tribute'. In A.D. 1424–25 he captured Warangal, killed its ruler and put an end to its independence. He defeated Hushang Shah of Mālwa; Hushang's baggage and harem fell into Ahmad's hands. Ahmad had the goodness to send back the women to Hushang Shah.

The location and climate of Bidar so captivated Ahmad that he built there a new city called Ahmadabad Bidar and made it his residence from A.D. 1429. It was about this time that his eldest son, Ala-ud-din married the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. Ahmad's war with the king of Gujarat and his attempt to capture Mahim on the island of Bombay ended in a dismal failure. The Hindu chiefs of Konkan also felt the weight of Ahmad's arms before he died in A.D. 1435 at the age of sixty-four.

Foreigners and Deccanis

Ahmad was succeeded by his son, Ala-ud-din. Before proceeding to his reign, let us refer to the rival factions in Bahmani court at this time. There were Turks, Arabs, Mughals and Persians in the sultan's service. They were generally Shias and hated as 'foreigners' by the Deccani Muslims. The latter comprised the African negroes and Muwallads, the offspring of African fathers and Indian mothers who were all Sunnis. The conflict between these two factions was due to both racial and religious differences and was in no small measure responsible for weakening the sultanate and the succession States.

ALA-UD-DIN II (A.D. 1436–58) : Ala-ud-din put down the rebellion by his brother, pardoned him and appointed him as the governor of the Raichur Doab. In A.D. 1437 he conquered the parts of Konkan. He married the daughter of the raja of Sangamesvar and preferred her to his wife, the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. Thereupon Nasir attempted to avenge his daughter but was defeated. The signal success of Ala-ud-din was due to Khalaf Husan of Basrah, then governor of Daulatabad; the prestige of the foreigners rose high in the court. The Deccani party brought false accusations of

treasonable intent against the foreigners and got the sanction of the sultan for the extermination of all the Sayyids and Mongols in the fort. A number of foreigners including 1,200 Sayyids of pure descent and about 1,000 other foreigners were massacred. Among those that were killed were Khalaf Hasan who helped Ahmad Shah to gain the throne and had subsequently become the prime minister.

Ala-ud-din built a free hospital at Bidar. Before his death he nominated his eldest son Humayun as successor.

HUMAYUN (A.D. 1457–61) : In his reign of three years Humayun earned a terrible reputation for cruelty. He suppressed a conspiracy and two revolts with maniacal ferocity. Men and women, suspected of rebellion, were hewn in pieces or scalded to death by boiling water or hot oil. He earned the title of *zalim* the 'Oppressor'. His good queen had no influence on him. He had an able minister named Mahmud Gavan. Apparently he could not restrain the sultan. Ala-ud-din was killed in a drunken fit by his own servants. The measure of his unpopularity is given by the chronogram of his death meaning 'delight of the world'. His young son, Nizam Shah, aged eight years, succeeded him with the queen mother as regent.

MUHAMMAD III AND MAHMUD GAVAN : The young sultan died in A.D. 1463 and his brother Muhammad III aged nine succeeded him. Muhammad III ruled for nearly twenty years (1463-82). He had the good fortune of having Mahmud Gavan as prime minister for the best part of his reign. Mahmud Gavan was a competent general and administrator. He effectively put an end to the havoc wrought on pilgrims of Mecca and on merchants by the fleets of rajas of Khelna (Visalgarh) and Sangamesvar. He captured Goa, the best port of the Vijayanagar empire. In A.D. 1474 there was a terrible famine which devastated the Deccan. Large numbers fled to Gujarat and Mālwa. This was known as famine of Bijapur because it began in that State. For two years the rains failed and when they came in the third year, 'scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands'. He spent over three years in Telingana and made a dash on Kanchipuram. An immense booty fell to the share of Muhammad who took away nothing but silver and gold which were abundant in Kanchi. However, on his return journey he lost

much of the booty to the troops of Saluva Narasimha. Muhammad was able to capture Masulipatam.

The Bahmani kingdom had now extensive territories. Mahmud Gavan completed a scheme of administrative reform by which Telingana was divided into two *tarafs*. The power of the *tarafdars* was much reduced and a strict system of supervision and control was introduced.

This provoked the hostile party headed by Malik Hasan, governor of Telingana who had unceasingly been planning to ruin Mahmud Gavan. He succeeded in poisoning the mind of the sultan against the minister, producing as a proof a forged letter purporting to have been written by Gavan to the king of Orissa. Without enquiry, the bigoted sultan ordered the immediate execution in his presence of the innocent and loyal minister (A.D. 1481). As Meadows Taylor observes, 'With him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom'. Although Gavan was as fanatic as Muhammad III, he was a great statesman, who, to quote Taylor, 'stands out broadly and grandly, not only among all his contemporaries, but among all the ancient Muhammadans of India, as one unapproachably perfect and consistent—his noble and judicious reforms, his skill and bravery in war, his justice and public and private benevolence have, in the aggregate, no equals in the Muhammadan history of India'.

The sultan discovered the deceit practised on him too late. He dragged on his weary existence in remorse and isolation till his death at Bidar in March 1482, at the early age of twenty-nine. Muhammad III had learning, energy and martial ability, but drink was his arch enemy. He was the last king of the dynasty worth the name.

MAHMUD SHAH (A.D. 1482–1518)—END OF THE DYNASTY : Mahmud, son of Muhammad was twelve years old when he became sultan. He reigned until A.D. 1518 but never possessed real power. He spent most of his time in the company of low-born favourites. Now the provincial governors began to defy the orders from the centre and the disruption of the Bahmani empire began. In A.D. 1490 Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, son of the late Malik Hasan and governor of Daulatabad, persuaded Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Imad-

ul-Mulk of Berar to join him in assuming the royal style and they all did so; this was the birth of the sultanates of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, Adil Shahis of Bijapur and Imad Shahis of Berar. In A.D. 1512 Kutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda followed suit, founding the line of the Kutb-Shahis of Golkanda. It is unnecessary to relate the story of the quarrels and rebellions of the rest of Mahmud's reign or the reigns of the four puppet sultans who followed him. Amir Ali Barid, who was the minister of the last sultan (died in A.D. 1527) became the founder of Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar.

ESTIMATE : Most of the Bahmani sultans were fanatics and their wars with Vijayanagar were full of sickening horrors. Muslim learning and architecture received some encouragement. Irrigation works were constructed in the eastern provinces more for the revenue they brought than from a humanitarian point of view. Most historians are agreed about the general inhumanity of their rule. There is nothing in the observations of Muslim historians to give us an idea of the conditions of life of the Hindu peasantry. A Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin resided at Bidar and travelled in the Bahmani kingdom for four years (A.D. 1470–74) in the reign of Muhammad III. His picture is one of splendour in the Bahmani kingdom at the top of society and squalor lower down. As Smith observes, 'a selfish minority of the luxurious nobles must have sucked the country dry'. The armies of the Bahmani were no better than armed mobs and hence were often routed by small forces of active assailants. But, on the whole, the armed mobs of the Muslim sultans were more efficient than those of their Hindu opponents, and that accounts for their victories.

The Succession States—The Five Sultanates

In this section a brief survey of the most prominent events of the history of the five sultanates of the Deccan will be made.

BERAR : Berar, the northern-most province and the earliest to secede from the Bahmani kingdom was, in extent, more or less equal to Vidarbha famed in Sanskrit literature. This was one of the four provinces into which the Bahmani dominion was divided for adminis-

trative purpose. The defection took place in A.D. 1484 according to some authorities or A.D. 1490 according to others. Then it consisted of two districts, namely, Gawil and Mahur. The founder of the State of Berar was a Hindu convert named Fathullah, the governor of Gawilgarh. As he took the title Imad-ul-Mulk the dynasty founded by him came to be called the Imad Shahi. It lasted for four generations, after which the kingdom became part of Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1574.

AHMADNAGAR : Malik Ahmad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahu who has contrived the death of Mahmud Gavan, was governor of Junnar to the north of Poona. In A.D. 1490 he successfully revolted against Mahmud Bahmani and proclaimed himself an independent ruler. After a time he founded Ahmadnagar and made it his capital. He took the title Ahmad Nizam Shah and his dynasty came to be called Nizam Shahis. After a long effort he succeeded in his ambition to capture Daulatabad which had been the capital of the Yadava kingdom and thus, about A.D. 1499, he consolidated his dominion.

Ahmad died in A.D. 1508 and was succeeded by his son, Burhan Nizam Shah (A.D. 1508–53). He occupied himself in wars with the neighbouring States and made a bold departure by allying himself with the Raya of Vijayanagar against Bijapur. His successor, Hussain Nizam Shah joined the confederacy against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1565.

The subsequent history of the dynasty is given in great detail by Ferishta who spent several years in Ahmadnagar but the incidents are not of much interest. Berar was absorbed in A.D. 1574. Chand Bibi, the dowager queen of Bijapur, who had returned to Ahmadnagar, defended the city heroically against the attacks of prince Murad, Akbar's son, in A.D. 1594, but she had to cede Berar and make peace. She died in August 1600 during the second attack on Ahmadnagar, taking poison or being murdered according to different accounts. Akbar never became master of more than half the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the rest was annexed in A.D. 1637 by Shah Jahan.

BIJAPUR : Bijapur founded in A.D. 1489–90 by Yusuf Adil Khan was the most important of the five kingdoms. The dynasty was known as Adil Shahis from its founder. Yusuf's romantic and adven-

turous career is interesting. He was a Georgian slave purchased by Mahmud Gavan. By reason of his own abilities and the patronage of his master who was the minister, he rose to high office ultimately becoming the governor of Bijapur. Ferishta, however, on reliable private information, records that he was a son of Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey. In order to escape the massacre of princes attendant on the accession of a new sovereign he fled to Persia in disguise and there he allowed himself to be sold as a slave. Whatever may be the truth, he proved himself to be a prince every inch of him.

Yusuf was a Shia and made his creed the State religion. But he gave ample freedom to the Sunnis to practise their faith. When he found the neighbouring Muslim princes forming a dangerous confederacy against him, he restored the Sunni faith as the State religion for a while, but later 'he renewed the public exercise of the Shia religion'. Yusuf married a Maratha lady, sister of Mukunda Rao, a chieftain whom he defeated in battle. The lady took the Muslim name of Babuji Khanam and became the mother of the next sultan as well as of three princesses who were married into the neighbouring Muslim royal families. Yusuf gave high offices of trust to Hindus and allowed the use of the Marathi language for accounts and business.

Yusuf waged wars against Vijayanagar and his Muslim neighbours with varying fortune.

The Capture of Goa by the Portuguese

Goa was the favourite residence of Yusuf. It was captured by the Portuguese commander Albuquerque in A.D. 1510 (February) by a surprise attack without the loss of a single man. With a firm resolve, Yusuf won back the city after a few months. In the same year Yusuf died at the ripe old age of seventy-four. Albuquerque received reinforcements to his fleet and was able to acquire Goa permanently in November 1510.

Character of Yusuf Adil Shah

According to Ferishta Yusuf was 'a wise prince, intimately acquainted with human nature'. He says, 'although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and inte-

grity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to those virtues'. Yusuf lies buried at Gugi or Gogi to the east of Bijapur near the grave of a saint whom he venerated.

Ismail Shah

He was a minor at his accession and Kamal Khan was appointed as the regent. He proved faithless and so was assassinated in May 1511. Like his predecessors Ismail spent much of his time in wars with his neighbours. He got back the Raichur Doab from the Vijayanagar but soon lost it to its powerful ruler Krishnadeva Raya (A.D. 1520). After his death Ismail recovered the Doab in A.D. 1529. He was filled with joy to receive an embassy from the Shah of Persia who recognized Bijapur as an independent State. He rests beside his father whom he resembled in his character and ability. His son Mallu succeeded him in A.D. 1534. As he was vicious and incompetent he was blinded and deposed by his brother Ibrahim in a few months.

Ibrahim Adil Shah I (A.D. 1534–77)

This sultan favoured the Sunnis and reverted to the Sunni faith. The foreigners whom he dispensed with entered the service of Raya of Vijayanagar. In A.D. 1535 he went to Vijayanagar and settled a quarrel that arose between Achuta Raya and Rama Raya. In recognition of his services, he received rich presents. Ibrahim waged successful wars against Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda. He died a dishonoured death in A.D. 1557.

Ali Adil Shah (A.D. 1557–79)

Ibrahim's son Ali Adil Shah became the sultan. He resumed the Shia creed with an intolerance unknown under previous rulers. In 1558 he invaded Ahmadnagar along with Rama Raya of Vijayanagar. It is said that Rama Raya behaved insolently towards his Muslim ally. There arose a feeling among Muslim princes that they should combine against Rama Raya because they knew that not one of them was singly capable of combating with success against the forces of Vijayanagar.

Ali Adil Shah married Chand Bibi, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah and his sister was given in marriage to the son of the sultan of Ahmadnagar. All the sultans except the sultan of Berar, according

to Muslim historians, joined in a confederacy to crush Vijayanagar and in 1565, after a battle at Talikota attacked the noble city and destroyed it in the most ruthless manner. Ali Adil Shah could not reoccupy Goa even with the aid of sultan of Ahmadnagar and Zamorin of Calicut. He died in 1579 at the hands of a eunuch whom he provoked.

The next ruler was Ibrahim Adil Shah II. He was nine years old at his accession. Chand Bibi, the dowager queen left the administration to the ministers and went to Ahmadnagar in 1584, and did not come again to Bijapur. The histories of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur merged in the history of Mughal empire about 1598. Ibrahim II survived till 1628. He was an able administrator. People loved him; he was tolerant of all creeds and faiths. He employed brahmins and Marathas in the civil and military services. He made acquaintance with the Portuguese and allowed Christianity to be preached among his people. His dominions extended to the borders of Mysore and he left a full treasury and a well paid army to his successor. Ferishta wrote his excellent history at the command of Ibrahim II. Bijapur survived as a kingdom till its annexation by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1686.

GOLKONDA : Golkonda is one among the three major States formed out of the fragments of the Bahmani empire. The other two were Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. The sultanate of Golkonda was the last of all formed in 1518. It was also the latest survival. Golkonda grew up on the ruins of the kingdom of Warangal which was conquered by the Bahmanis in 1424. Lying mostly between the lower courses of the Godavari and Krishna rivers it was a fertile territory. It extended to the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

The founder of the dynasty was a Turki officer Kuli Kutb Shah, governor of the eastern province, appointed by Muhmud Gavan. After the execution of Gavan he withdrew from the Bahmani court but did not declare his independence before 1512 or 1513. He had a long and prosperous reign till the age of ninety when he was murdered by his son Jamshid (A.D. 1543). Jamshid reigned for ten years and his successor was his brother Ibrahim who joined the confederacy against Vijayanagar in 1565.

Ibrahim had a good and tolerant rule. He employed Hindus freely in State services. He died in 1580 and his son Muhammad

Kuli succeeded him. He ruled till 1611. From then Golkonda ceased to have a separate history, though it was not until 1686 that it was annexed to the Mughal empire. Golkonda, the capital was greatly improved by Ibrahim. Marco Polo who visited Golkonda in the latter part of the thirteenth century carried to Europe fabulous tales of the famous diamond mines of Golkonda and methods by which the stones were collected. Golkonda, for some reason or other, became unhealthy in 1589 and the capital was moved a few miles away to Bhagnagar which came to be called Hyderabad.

BIDAR : The principality of Bidar was just the residue of the Bahmani kingdom, the capital and its neighbourhood, after the other provinces had separated. Kasim Barid, minister of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, was practically his own master from about 1492, and this date is taken by some historians as the year of establishment of the Barid Shahi dynasty. But Kasim Barid and his son Amir kept up the allegiance to the sultan till 1526 making and unmaking nominal sultans after the death of Mahmud in 1518. The dynasty lasted till its territory was absorbed by Bijapur in A.D. 1919.

ARCHITECTURE : There is much evidence of the employment of architects and craftsmen imported from Persia on buildings like the Jami Masjid of Gulbarga, Chand Minar at Daulatabad and the Madrasa of Mahmud Gavan at Bidar. Local tradition asserted itself in later art, particularly in Bijapur where Indian artists were employed in larger numbers.

There are two monuments which are definitely of earlier date than the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom. They are Jami Masjid at Daulatabad and the Deval mosque at Bodhan; both are mere adaptations of Hindu shrines having no bearing on the history of Muslim art. But the fortresses built during the period were a mixture of the work of Hindu, Tughlak and Bahmani sovereigns. Among important forts may be mentioned Ellichpur, Mahur, Bidar and Golkonda. Parenda shows clear traces of the influence of European models due to Turks and other foreigners in Bahmani service.

Gulbarga and Bidar were the centres of the civil architecture of the Bahmanis. The tombs in Gulbarga are some of them single, others double, with the details varying with each reign. The mauso-

leum of Firuz Shah and his family bears witness to the growing strength of Hindu influence as also to a new preference for Persian ornament, particularly in the shining plaster and painted decoration of the interior. The finest of the tombs of later sultans at Bidar is that of Ahmad with its interior decorated with paintings in brilliant colours in the Persian style and bands of inscriptions in letters of gold on a ground of deep blue or vermillion. About the Madrasa of Gavan (A.D. 1472) Percy Brown says, 'Here was an Islamic college, complete with lecture halls, library, mosque, and ample accommodation for both professors and students in an architectural style resembling in every particular those stately university buildings which adorn several Persian cities; in short it might have been moved bodily from the Rajistan at Samarkand'.

The Golgumbaz with its enormous dome covering an area of 18,000 square feet, and the Mihtar Mahal (A.D. 1620) which is not a palace as its name implies but an ornamental gateway to the courtyard of a mosque, are the most notable buildings among those that have survived in Bijapur.

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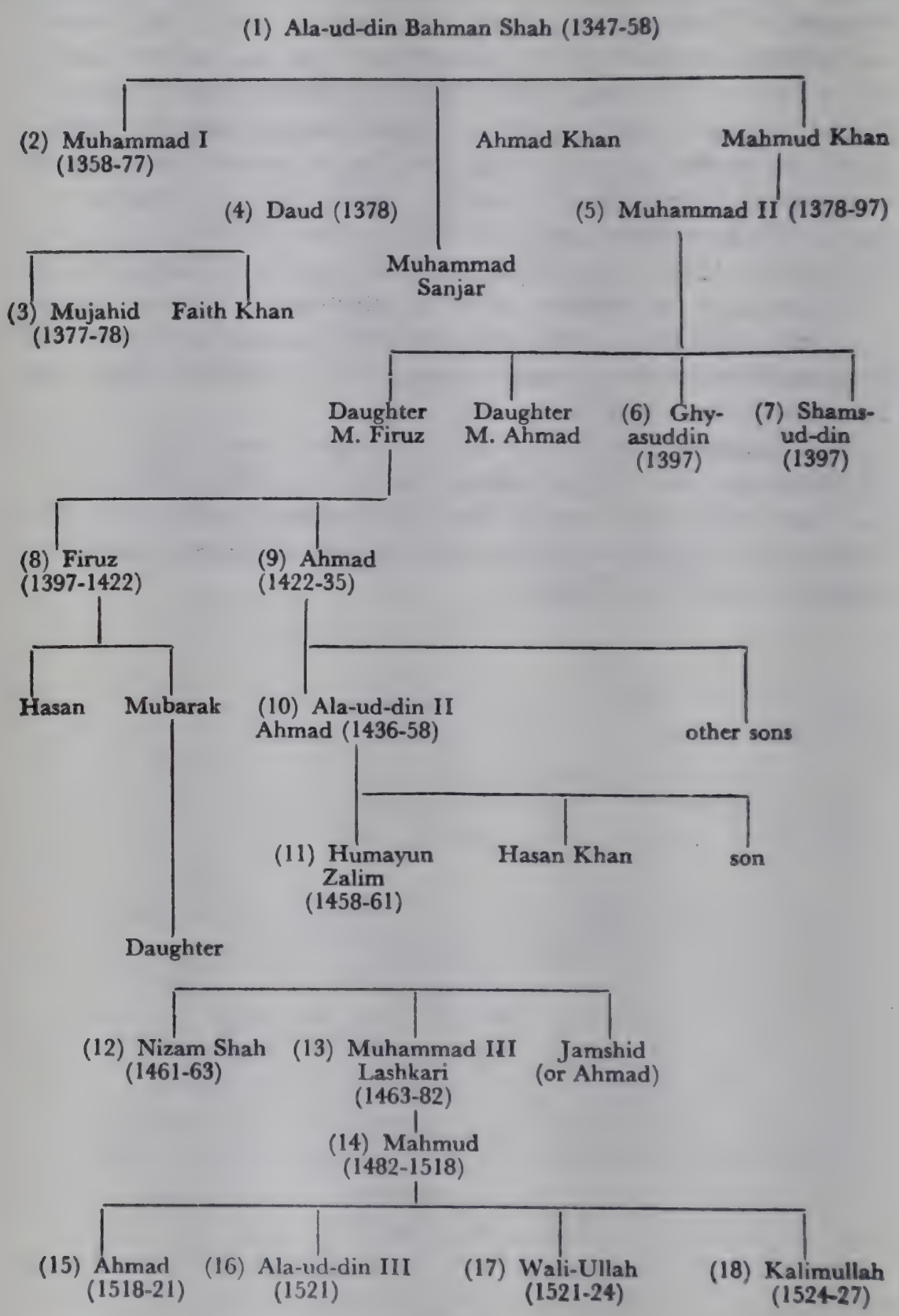
GENEALOGY

Bahmani Kings



The Empire of Vijayanagar

FREEDOM MOVEMENT : In the Deccan the people never reconciled themselves to Muslim rule and the movement for its liberation dates back to 1329 when Muhammad-bin-Tughlak left Devagiri for the north. There was a movement among the Hindus for freedom which was accelerated by the revival of Saivism in the form of the Lingayat and Aradhya movements in Karnataka and Telingana. Prominent among the leaders of the political movement were Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family and his cousin Kapaya Nayaka. Among those who co-operated with them was Prolaya Vema, the founder of the Reddi kingdom of Addanki and Kondavidu. The entire coastal region in the east became free by about 1335. In the western Telugu country Somadeva of Chālukya lineage led a revolt against Malik Muhammad, the governor of Kampili. At about the same time Ballala III of Dvarasamudra also threw off his allegiance to the sultan of Delhi and invaded Kampili. The sultan of Delhi sent the brothers, Harihara and Bukka for the relief of Malik Muhammad. These were two of the sons of Sangama who had been taken captives on the fall of Kampili in 1327. When they came to the south, as lieutenants of the sultan, they felt drawn into the freedom movement. They perceived the necessity of stemming the tide of Muslim domination in the south by creating a strong Hindu government. They had the powerful support of sage Vidyāranya under whose influence they renounced Islam, returned to the Hindu fold and founded the city of Vijayanagar, also known as Vidyanagara after the sage, on the south bank of the Tungabhadra in 1336. This rapidly grew to be the capital of the great Vijayanagar empire. Elsewhere Kapaya Nayaka, the successor of Prolaya Nayaka defeated the Muslim governor of Telingana. Thereupon Malik Makbul, the governor, fled to Delhi to hold high office under Firuz Shah. Kapaya Nayaka and Ballala III together succeeded in ousting the Muslim garrisons in the forts of Tondaimandalam. They restored the rule of Sambuvarayas there. Now arose Hindu principalities in all parts of the country like Pithapuram under the Koppulas, Kondavidu under the Reddis, and Rajakonda under the Velamas. The loss of Madura to the Muslims was a sore point to the Hindus and Ballala III in a war with the sultan of Madura (A.D. 1342) lost his life. The Hoysala kingdom was easily annexed by Bukka in 1344.

He followed it up by the conquest of Tulunad in the west coast. Two years later Harihara and Bukka and their three brothers met at Sringeri for a *vijayotsava* in the presence of the Hindu pontiff and celebrated their conquest of dominion from sea to sea. The times craved for a leader and the five sons of Sangama acting under the influence of the ascetic, Vidyāranya, had struck a blow and became the originators of the great Vijayanagar empire.

Vijayanagar was established to protect Hindu *dharma* in the peninsula from the inroads of Islam. This is well authenticated by numerous inscriptions and the writings of foreign travellers and indigenous authors. A critical study of tradition and epigraphy has made it clear that Vijayanagar owed its origin to Telugu chieftains and not to the subordinates of the Hoysalas as has sometimes been thought. However, the origin of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar is regarded by some writers as still a matter of controversy.

The history of the Vijayanagar empire is bound up with endless wars with its northern Muslim neighbours, the Bahmani kingdom and the five sultanates. On the whole the country south of Tungabhadra remained essentially Hindu but the Raichur Doab and the country north of the Krishna on the east coast often changed hands. At this time the Portuguese formed an important link between the Vijayanagar empire and the outer world.

Sangama Dynasty : Harihara I successfully repelled the attacks of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, the first Bahmani sultan. His brother Bukka sent an embassy to the King emperor of China in 1374. His wars with the Bahmani sultans resulted in great sufferings to his subjects. An important event of his reign was the overthrow of the sultanate of Madura by his son Kumara Kampana II (1365-70). Bukka was followed on the throne by his son Harihara II (1377-1404). He had for his minister the celebrated Sāyanāchārya. The ports of Goa, Chaul and Dabul were taken from the Muslims. The Reddis of Kondavidu were deprived of large portions of their territory in Kurnool, Nellore and Guntur (1382-85). Prince Virupaksha led an expedition to Ceylon and laid it under tribute. In the closing years of the fourteenth century Harihara had to face a fierce war with the Bahmani Firuz Shah. In this war many Hindus and much treasure were lost. We may pass over the two rulers who succeeded Harihara

and come to Devaraya I who celebrated his coronation on 5 November 1406.

Devaraya I

Before his accession to the throne Devaraya in conjunction with his brother Bukka II had, according to the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, constructed a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river with an aqueduct fifteen miles long from the river into the city. Devaraya, as had already been noted, was obliged to accept the humiliation of giving his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour, but it failed to ensure peace between the two kings. The Reddi chiefs of Telingana joined the Bahmani sultan against Vijayanagar. Devaraya captured Panugal which Firuz Shah was unable to recapture even after a siege of two years. The Kondavidu kingdom of the Reddis which had sided with Firuz was extinguished in 1420 by Devaraya. Kondavidu was shared between Devaraya and the Velamas of Rajakonda who were his allies. Devaraya died in 1422 and his successors were weak rulers.

Devaraya II

When Vijaya Raya died in 1426, his son Devaraya II succeeded him on the throne. He put down revolt in Kondavidu and carried his arms into the Kerala subjugating the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains. He spared the Zamorin of Calicut. Abdur Razak, the Persian ambassador, testifies that the Zamorin had a great fear of Devaraya and that Devaraya's kingdom extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malabar. Nuniz confirms it stating that Devaraya exacted tribute from Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tennasserim, besides many other countries. Devaraya II had to surrender a large sum of money as a tribute to the Bahmani ruler soon after his accession. He enlisted Muslims in his service and arranged for better training in archery for the Hindu soldiers. His invasion of Raichur Doab began very well, but after the death of his son, he made peace on the sultan's terms. Devaraya was a great builder and patron of learning. A great Telugu poet, Srinatha, enjoyed his patronage. His successors were feeble rulers.

In the reign of his son, Mallikarjuna, Ala-ud-din II and Kapilesvara Gajapati continued to make wars against Vijayanagar. The latter was able to carry on his raids up to Kanchipuram and

Trichinopoly but the sovereignty of Vijayanagar was upheld by powerful nobles ruling in different parts of the empire, almost independently of the sovereign. Prominent among such nobles were Saluva Narasimha and Tuluva Isvara, his lieutenant, in charge of the central and eastern regions. Mallikarjuna died in 1465; his son being an infant, a regency was set up under Virupaksha (the late king's cousin) who, being a pleasure seeker, lost Goa, Chaul and Dabhol to the Muslims. The authority of the central government was considerably weakened. Saluva Narasimha, ruler of Chandragiri *rajya*, marched on the territories which Vijayanagar had lost to Kapilesvara Gajapati. Finding that the central government was rapidly losing its control, Saluva Narasimha dethroned the worthless ruler of Vijayanagar at the time and made himself king in 1486.

SALUVAS : Saluva Narasimha had to meet with the opposition to his usurpation. He put down the recalcitrant feudatories of the empire. He re-established the control over Tulu country and its ports such as Mangalore which enabled him to revive the import of horses, which for a time had been dislocated by the loss of the more northern ports. He also subjugated the Tamil country before he died in 1491 leaving his two sons in charge of Narasa Nayaka, the son of Tuluva Isvara.

The administration of Vijayanagar was so good that the Europeans called it 'kingdom of Narasinga'. Narasimha's sons were unlucky. His younger son, Immadi Narasimha became king but he was rendered powerless by Narasa Nayaka.

TULUVAS : Narasa Nayaka who took up the reins of government invaded Raichur Doab which was part of Vijayanagar kingdom. Although Yusuf Adil Shah had a military success by treachery, the Doab remained part of Vijayanagar empire till 1502 when it was recaptured by Bijapur. Narasa Nayaka continued the work of his master Saluva Narasimha and laid the foundations of the great age that followed under his talented son Krishnadeva Raya. He led an expedition to the south up to Cape Comorin restoring peace and order. He subdued the Heuna chief Nanjaraya of Srirangapattinam and conquered the west coast up to Gokarna (1497). He died in 1503. His place was taken by his eldest son, Immadi Narasa Nayaka, better known as Vira Narasimha.

The lawful king Saluva Narasimha was assassinated in 1505 and Vira Narasimha made himself king. He may be regarded as having inaugurated the Tuluva and the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. He ruled for six years and his reign is uneventful except for a treaty he concluded with the Portuguese who were just establishing themselves in the west coast. The Portuguese agreed to train Vijayanagar troops. Vira Narasimha died in 1509 and was followed on the throne by his half-brother Krishnadeva Raya, the ablest and best remembered of the Vijayanagar sovereigns.

Krishnadeva Raya

Krishnadeva Raya was less than twenty-five at the time of his accession. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese merchant who met him ten years later writes, 'the king is of medium height and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage'. He kept up his physical vigour by regular exercise. He led his armies in person, and showed marvellous courage in the presence of danger. He was loved and respected by all and his soldiers regarded him as 'gallant and perfect in all things'. Krishnadeva Raya captured the fortress of Kovilkonda. He refused to assist the Portuguese in their attack on the zamorin of Calicut, although they offered to give him the monopoly of the supply of horses. Albuquerque gained Goa from Bijapur and obtained the permission of the Raya to erect a fort at Bhatkal (1510). The Raya's military achievements included the capture of Doab, successful march on Gulbarga and the capture of Bidar. He defeated Gangaraya of Ummattur and captured Penugonda. Sivasamudram fortress stood a siege of over a year after which the Raya razed it to the ground. Saluva Govindaraya was appointed as the first governor of the conquered territory. Local administration was entrusted to three chiefs, the most famous among whom was Kempa Gauda of Bangaluru (Bangalore) (1510-12).

He turned his attention to the ruler of Orissa, captured Udayagiri in 1513 and on his way back visited Tirupati with his queens Tirumala Devi and Chinna Devi to offer thanks to the God Venkates-

vara (1514). The Vijayanagar army laid siege to Kondavidu and reduced it after some months. Saluva Timma was appointed as the governor of the conquered territory. The Raya paid a visit to Amaravati, returned to the capital by way of Srisailam. Vijayavada and Kondapalli forts were taken. The Raya marched with his army into Kalinga up to Potnur-Simhadri where a pillar of victory was set up. He returned to his capital, ordering his army to press on to Cuttack. Prataparudra sued for peace and offered the hand of his daughter to Krishnadevaraya which was accepted. All the territory north of the Krishna was generously returned to Prataparudra.

When the Raya was away in the east, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur occupied Raichur. Krishnadeva Raya with the help of the Portuguese soldiers defeated the sultan and drove him out of the doab. The Portuguese commander was specially honoured at the next *Mahanavami* festival in the capital. The Muslim rulers were stricken with jealousy and realized the need for concerted action against him. He led a successful campaign against Bijapur, got it for a time and left it 'sadly injured'. The Raya's attempt to revive Bahmani sultanate was a failure and only resulted in irritating the other sultans.

For some reason or other Krishnadeva Raya when he was not more than forty-five years of age, made his six year old son king (1528). But the unscrupulous minister Saluva Timma procured the death of the prince by poison. When the Raya came to know of this, he had Timma with his family arrested and cast into prison. When his illness took a serious turn, he nominated his half-brother Achyuta Raya to rule after him and died in 1529.

Krishnadeva Raya was not only a distinguished warrior, but a great statesman and administrator. The credit of having brought all of south India under one rule goes to Krishnadeva Raya. Himself being a poet, he patronized scholars and artists. His control of local administration was steady and strict. There was no confusion or disorder in the kingdom during his rule. He wrote a Telugu poem in which incidentally he expounds the principles of polity in the light of his practice. His poet-laureate was Allasani Peddana, the most illustrious Telugu poet of the time. He was kind and courteous to foreign merchants and travellers who greatly appreciated his discriminating liberality. He commanded universal respect for his character and ability. He was a great builder and added much to the beauty and amenities of the capital. The temple of Krishna

1515) and the enormous monolithic Narasimha statue (1528) were erected by him.

Achyuta Raya

Achyuta Raya who had been nominated king by Krishnadeva Raya was in confinement at Chandragiri at the time of the latter's death. To be just to Achyuta we have to take into account his initial difficulties. He succeeded the greatest of South Indian monarchs at a time when succession disputes were quite common all over India. His claim to the throne was contested by Rama Raya, the grandson of Aravīti Bukka, son-in-law (*aliya*) of Krishnadeva Raya on behalf of the infant son of the deceased king. Before he could come to the capital Rama Raya had decided upon enthroning the infant and assuming the regency. When the strong hand of Krishnadeva Raya had been removed by death, Ismail Adil Khan occupied the Raichur Doab without opposition. Nuniz who notices only this event has unjustly characterized Achyuta as a weak, vicious and tyrannical ruler.

After having held coronations, one at Tirupati and the other at Kalahazti, Achyuta entered the capital and came to terms with Rama Raya who lost ground when the infant son of Krishnadeva Raya died soon after.

Achyuta repelled an invasion of Gujarat, foiled the attempt of Kuli Kutb Shah, put down the rebellion raised by a Saluva chieftain, Vira Narasimha (Chelleppa) and reinstated the Pandyan ruler who had suffered at the hands of the southern allies of Vira Narasimha. During his campaign in the south he fixed his camp at Srirangam and married the Pandya princess offered to him. After the death of Ismail Adil Khan in 1534, Achyuta recovered the Raichur Doab.

Rama Raya who had been secretly plotting against Achyuta took in his employ 3,000 soldiers dismissed by Ibrahim of Bijapur on his accession in 1535. He seized Achyuta Raya and imprisoned him. Out of deference to the nobles of the court, he enthroned Sadasiva, a nephew of Achyuta and conducted the government in his name. The outbreak of revolts drew Rama Raya to the south. In his absence Achyuta regained his freedom. Patching up a truce with the rebels in the south, Rama Raya hurried to the capital only to find it besieged by Ibrahim Adil Khan. Ibrahim played the

part of mediator between the Hindu rivals and received rich presents for his services. It was agreed that Achyuta should be the king and that Rama Raya was to rule his estates without interference from Achyuta. This compact was observed by both parties till the death of Achyuta in 1542.

Achyuta Raya was followed on the throne by his son Venkata I, a minor. His maternal uncle Tirumala acted as regent. The queen mother suspected her brother and appealed to Adil Khan for help. Now Rama Raya liberated Sadasiva from his prison and on his behalf appealed to Bijapur. Adil Shah responded by invading Vijayanagar. The citizens in their bewilderment proclaimed Tirumala as king. They inflicted a defeat on Adil Shah and then caused Venkata I and all the members of his family to be assassinated. Tirumala proved himself to be an unbearable tyrant. Rama Raya defeated and killed him in a battle. Sadasiva was crowned as emperor. But the real power was in the hands of Rama Raya who kept Sadasiva constantly under guard.

Rama Raya

Rama Raya did away with the ancient nobility and employed his own relatives and adherents to high offices. He employed Muslims in places of trust. He pursued a policy of interfering in the unending quarrels of the five sultanates, playing them off one against the other. This was advantageous to him for a time, but inevitably led to the disaster of Talikota.

He restrained the Portuguese who were converting people to Christianity, and building churches on the coast. By a treaty with the Portuguese (1547) Rama Raya secured monopoly of the horse trade. He allied himself with Bijapur and Golkonda in a war with Ahmadnagar (1566). Ahmadnagar was taken and sacked and its sultan pursued up to Daulatabad. Soon after, Rama Raya invaded Bidar and forced Barid Shah to become his vassal. Then followed another war between Bijapur and Vijayanagar on one side and Ahmadnagar and Golkonda on the other. The destruction caused by the Vijayanagar army opened the eyes of the Muslim kings. They patched up their differences, formed dynastic and political alliances and made preparations for a war against Vijayanagar.

THE BATTLE OF TALIKOTA : While the Hindu accounts speak

uniformly of the combination of the five sultans, the Muslim histories leave Berar out. The sultans encamped at Talikota on 26 December, 1564, a circumstance which has given the current name to the battle. But this was actually fought on 23 January 1565 on the south bank of the Krishna river at a distance of thirty miles from Talikota. The battle-field lay between two villages, Rakshasi and Tangadi ten miles apart, where the Hindu army encamped. Different estimates of the troops engaged are given and it is not easy to be accurate about the number on either side. Though the Muslim army was probably half of that of the Hindus, it possessed superior strength in artillery. The Muslim commander was convinced of the need for strategy to defeat the overpowering strength of the Hindus. The sultans opened negotiations for peace while they were consolidating their forces for attack. They secretly won over to their side two Muslim commanders of the Hindu army each in charge of seventy to eighty thousand men. When everything was ready, the Muslim army fell upon the Hindus quite by surprise. At first the Hindus fought with success and nearly won the battle, but the issue was decided, says Caesar Frederick, by the desertion of the two Muslim commanders of Rama Raya, 'and when the armies were joined, the battle lasted but a while, not the space of four hours, because the two traitorous captains, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that being astounded they set themselves to flight'. Rama Raya fell into the hands of Nizam Shah who immediately killed his hated enemy and raised his head on a spear for the Hindu troops to see. In the pursuit that followed about a hundred thousand men were slain.

THE DESTRUCTION OF VIJAYANAGAR : When bad news came from the battle-field, Tirumala, Rama Raya's brother, made good his escape with all the treasures, loaded on 1550 elephants and took with him the captive emperor Sadasiva and the women of the royal family. When the victorious army marched into the city panic spread among the people. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few. Besides the enemy soldiers who looted houses and shops, there came into the city robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. 'With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps

in the history of the world,' says Sewell, 'has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city, beaming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.' Vijayanagar never recovered from the blow.

ARAVIDUS : The family of Rama Raya is called the Aravidu family and Tirumala the brother of Rama Raya took his abode at Penugonda. For six years after the fall of Vijayanagar, there was anarchy and confusion and then Tirumala became king. There was disorder everywhere. The Nayakas of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji became virtually independent. In those days there was no consistency in policies relating to religion or politics. Expediency seems to have been the criterion for action. Learning nothing from the recent disasters Peda Tirumala, the son of Rama Raya called in the aid of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur against his uncle, Tirumala, who in his turn, appealed to the Nizam Shah for help. Nizam Shah invaded Bijapur and forced Ali to withdraw from Penugonda (1567). But next year, Ali having made peace with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda besieged Adoni and Penugonda and succeeded in capturing the former.

Tirumala had recognized the independence of southern Nayakas, but the Odeyars of Mysore and the Nayakas of Vellore and Keladi still owed allegiance to him. He divided the kingdom into three parts to which he appointed his sons as viceroys. Sriranga was in charge of Telugu area with Penugondà as his capital, his second son, Rama was viceroy over the Kannada country with Seringapatam as his capital. Tirumala crowned himself emperor in A.D. 1570. After two years he retired and allowed his son Sriranga to succeed to the empire. We do not know what happened to Sadasiva. But his name appears in inscription till A.D. 1576. After the death of Sriranga in 1585 his young brother Venkata II became king.

Venkata was really a remarkable ruler. In his reign of twenty-eight years the empire recovered strength and prosperity. He dealt with the Muslim rulers of the Deccan successfully. He effectively put down internal disorders, and brought about economic revival in the country. After a successful war against Golkonda he extended

his frontier to the Krishna river, gaining control over Udayagiri. But he was not able to control Kondavidu. He put down revolts of Timmaya Gauda in the Kolar region. Against Lingama Nayaka of Vellore he set up Velugoti Yachma Nayaka of Perumbedu (Chingleput and Madurantakan taluque). Lingama was supported by the southern Nayakas. Yachama fought a battle against Lingama and his associates in a place near Uttaramerur and won a victory. Thus the Yachamas gained control over Vellore and Lingama was deprived of the estate (1606). Venkata did much to improve the conditions of the peasantry. He died in 1614 nominating his nephew, Sriranga as successor.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS : The European settlements during Venkata's reign deserve notice. The Dutch established factories in Nizampatam and Masulipatam on the Golkonda coast in 1605 and at Tegnapatam in Jinji territory in 1608 and two years later at Pulicat with Venkata's permission. They fortified Pulicat. The English opened trade at Nizampatam and Masulipatam in 1612, and with the permission of the Dutch at Pulicat in 1621. From there they moved their factory to Armagan a little to the north and ultimately to Madras (1640). The Danes settled at Tranquebar in 1620.

CIVIL WAR : Sriranga was not a strong and wise ruler. He fell out with his nobles and alienated them. The nobles were divided into two camps; one of which led by Yachama Nayaka supported the king; the other upheld the cause of a putative son of Venkata under the leadership of Gobburi Jaga Raya. It is not necessary to give details of the civil war that followed except to say that the Muslim rulers had a golden opportunity to extend their territories and further reduce the truncated empire of Vijayanagar.

The Nayakas took advantage of the conditions of civil war and asserted independence one by one. Jinji and Tanjore fell into the hands of Bijapur sultan. The conquest of Karnataka was completed in 1652 by the sultan. Madura and Mysore could do nothing to stem the tide of Muslim expansion. Sriranga kept court in Mysore with the aid of Keladi, dreaming of reconquering Vellore. In 1675, some time after the coronation of Sivaji in 1674, death came to him as a relief. With him disappeared the empire of Vijayanagar which for three centuries had maintained Hindu domination in the south.

NAYAKAS OF MADURA : Madura was the first province to become independent of Vijayanagar. Visvanatha Nayaka, son of Nagama Nayaka, got charge of the country between Trichinopoly and Cape Comorin together with Salem and Coimbatore. Tanjore was placed under Sevvappa Nayaka who married a sister of the chief queen of Achyuta Raya. Visvanatha organized his territory as *palayams* under hereditary military chieftains. Each chieftain had to pay tribute besides maintaining order and joining the army of Nayaka whenever necessary. Visvanatha died in 1564. After him came five Nayakas up to 1623. During this period Marava country (present Ramnad district) was organized under the Setupatis (1605). At this time Robert de Nobili, an Italian Jesuit settled in Madura. He lived in Indian style and was able to spread Christianity in the country.

The most distinguished of the Nayakas of Madura was Tirumala Nayaka (1623-59). He definitely threw off his allegiance to Vijayanagar and intrigued with the enemies of the empire, particularly the Muslim sultans of the Deccan. He invaded Travancore twice and held the Setupati under his control. About 1634 he made Madura his capital and adorned it with many fine buildings. His palace and the temple of Minakshi-Sundaresvara which still survive are the most remarkable. The Mysore ruler Kanthirava Narasa Raja invaded Madura territory in Salem in 1656 to punish Tirumala Nayaka for his intrigues with Muslims. Raghunatha Setupati saved Madura by defeating and driving back the Mysore army which had advanced as far as Dindigal. During this period the Portuguese and the Dutch were contesting the mastery of 'the pearl fishery coast'. But Tirumala's relations with them were neither strong nor well thought out. Towards the Madura Mission of the Jesuits which was growing strong he followed a vacillating policy. The renowned Sanskrit scholar Nilakantha Dikshita, author of several works, is reputed to have been Tirumala's minister.

TANJORE : Sevvappa Nayaka (1541-80) of Tanjore declared his independence after 1565, but he and his successors were friendly to the emperors and supported them in wars. The greatest ruler of the dynasty was Raghunatha (1600-34). He supported Yachama Nayaka in the civil war and was largely responsible for his victory at Topur (1616). He helped Sankili Kumara of Jaffna against the Portuguese. His reign was marked by great literary and artistic acti-

vity. He and his minister Govinda Dikshita produced the *Sangita Sudha*, a treatise on music. Ramabhadramba was a famous poetess of the times. The last ruler of the Tanjore Nayakas was Vijayaraghava Nayaka (1663-73). It was impossible for him to cope with the troubles from Nayakas, the Muslims and the Europeans. Tanjore was taken by Bijapur troops in 1659 and was occupied for a time. Vijayaraghava died in an invasion of Tanjore (1673) by the grandson and successor of Tirumala Nayaka.

JINJI : Jinji was ruled by a dynasty of Nayakas from the time of Krishnadeva Raya. Krishnappa Nayaka II was a great warrior. Solaga, the tyrannical chieftain of Devi-kota at the mouth of the Coleroon and Lingama Nayaka of Vellore were his feudatories. Krishnappa was a staunch Vaishnava and his efforts to renovate the shrine of Govindaraja in Chidambaram brought him into conflict with the Saiva priests of the Nataraja shrine. His successors were weak and their rule was terminated by the Bijapur army in 1649. China Comma Nayaka of Vellore, subordinate to Jinji, deserves notice for his patronage of Appaya Dikshita, the author of many learned Sanskrit works on grammar and philosophy.

IKKERI : Ikkeri, otherwise known as Keladi covered the Shimoga district of the Mysore State and South Kanara. Sadasiva Nayaka (1513-60) helped Rama Raya in his wars against the sultans of the Deccan. Venkatappa I (1582-1629) declared his independence after defeating Bhairava Devi of Gerosoppa, a feudatory of Bijapur, annexing her territory. His friendship was sought by the Portuguese. His grandson Virabhadra changed the capital to Bednur (Nagur) in 1639. He was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bijapur for some time. Bednur continued to be a separate State till 1763 when Haidar Ali put an end to the dynasty.

MYSORE : Mysore emerged as a distinct entity under Raja Odeyar (1578-1617) who claimed Yadava descent. He took no part in the civil war but engaged himself in consolidating his rule. He was succeeded by his grandson Chamaraja Odeyar (1617-37), a distinguished ruler. He annexed Chennapattna. Bijapur's attempt to capture Mysore under the rule of his successors failed. But the Mysore ruler had to consent to hold his territory north of the Kaveri as

governor for Bijapur. Sriranga III came and lived in his territory after he lost his kingdom.

Of the ancient dynasties of the Tamil country, the Pandyas alone continued to survive in the extreme south of the peninsula in the Tinnevelly district with their territory considerably reduced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The details of their history cannot be set forth here. But it must be mentioned that some of the kings distinguished themselves as authors in Tamil and patrons of art. The temple of Kasi Visvanatha at Tenkasi (1450) is one of the finest memorials of their rule.

GOVERNMENT : The fundamental question of the times was how to protect and encourage the Hindu *dharma*. Naturally, therefore, this question formed the basis of the king's authority in the Vijayanagar age. In theory the Vijayanagar empire was a hereditary monarchy of the traditional type. But there were frequent changes in the ruling dynasty, which have to be understood in the light of the difficulties that the Vijayanagar kings had to encounter. The times were hard and there was no room for weak kings on the throne. In internal administration the sons of Sangama and their successors had to solve the problems of continual recurrence of civil wars, usurpations and rebellions on the part of the princes and potentates placed over the different provinces of the empire. Guarding the northern parts of the empire against frequent Muslim inroads was a great problem of the Vijayanagar monarchs. That was an age when the monarchs stood forth as the embodiments of might and power. The ruler had to create proper political environment in order to foster all that was best in Hindu culture. Inevitably, the despotic will of the monarch became a prominent feature of the Vijayanagar ruler; but the monarchs always tried to secure the goodwill of the people.

Krishnadeva Raya in his *Amuktamalyada* says: 'A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *dharma*'. The same ruler laid down the following rules to guide the general conduct of a king: 'A king should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecraft, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and exploit the same, should levy taxes from his people moderately, should counteract the acts of his enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects...' Political writers of the times inculcated the older notions of the

paramount importance of the king but dwelt less frequently on his divine nature.

Ministers were recruited from the ranks of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The office was sometimes hereditary, and sometimes rested on selection. There was a large secretariat and a number of officers of the royal household. Nuniz has some details to give about the feudatories of the kingdom and secretariat: 'The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisanga, as well as those who are at court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the king is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace. And the king also, when he leaves his palace, takes with him on his own account secretaries, who write what the king says and the favours he bestows and with whom he spoke and what his determination was . . . no written orders are ever issued, nor any charters granted for the favours he bestows or the commands he gives, but when he confers a favour on anyone it remains written in the registers of these secretaries'.

The empire was divided into a small number of great provinces, often under members of the royal family. Provinces or *rajyas* were further subdivided and for each subdivision a *nayaka* was appointed. The viceroy on behalf of the central government supervised the *nayakas*. The *nayakas* had their own agents at the capital as noted by Nuniz and were in turn subject to espionage from the centre. The village was the unit of local government but the old autonomy of Chola times was not much in evidence and control from the centre became stricter.

ARMY : The organization of government was dominated by the military needs of the empire. The turbulent age necessitated the maintenance of a large and powerful army. Foreign travellers were struck by the immense army of Vijayanagar. The figures given by some of them like Paes are astonishingly high. The standing army was paid regularly in cash by the emperor. Besides this, there were military fiefs all over the country under about two hundred *nayakas* (nayaks) each of whom had to maintain the stipulated number of elephants, horses and troops ready for imperial service in any emergency. There were military schools for the training of soldiers.

Fortresses played an important role. From the fact that there was a successful expedition to Ceylon it may be deduced that there must have been a navy, but it was not strong enough to drive back the Portuguese.

REVENUE : In respect of land revenue assessment, determination of sources of revenue and State expenditure, the Vijayanagar monarchs acted in conformity with the precepts of the ancient and mediaeval Hindu writers. A great number of taxes is mentioned in inscriptions; the principal source of revenue was land. Taxes were paid in kind or cash.

Under Vijayanagar there was certainly a rise in the rate of assessment. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Vijayanagar kings were not unaware of differential taxation. The statement of Nuniz that the ryots pay 'nine-tenth to their lord' is disputed. The system of farming out revenues was applied to all sources that were exceptionally productive, for example, forests and area palms. Owing to constant wars, the State's need for money was great. The tax-rates must have been heavy and we hear of some village revolts against the tax burden.

According to Abdur Razzak, the Vijayanagar monarchs were typical autocrats; Nuniz says the brāhmanas were the law-givers. This can only be partially true, for the source of law was neither the despotic will of the monarchs nor the brāhmanas, but the body of regulations which emanated from the classical law givers, strengthened by constitutional (custom and) usage, received in Vijayanagar the status of laws. In the interpretation of the *dharmasastras* the Hindu kings sought the counsel of brahmanas.

COURT : The court ceremonial was extremely elaborate. The king was always dressed in white. He wore 'a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff, all of fine silk and he was barefooted'. His jewels were, of course, magnificent.

Punishments were severe and included mutilation, impaling and being thrown to the elephants. The people were so subject to the king that if you told a man on the part of king that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it. The result was there were 'very few thieves

in the land'. Duelling was common and encouraged. Courtesans played a prominent role in the life of the palace and city and were under constant State supervision, besides contributing substantial sums of money to its revenue. Animal food was commonly used and the shops offered clean and fat mutton and pork in every street, besides birds and game animals, poultry and hares in abundance and at cheap rates. Animals were sacrificed to deities and on the last day of the 'nine days' festival '250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were slaughtered'.

THE CITY : 'The story of Vidyaranya is given in an inscription dated A.D. 1336, signed by Sri Virupaksha; according to which Hariharesvara was seated on the throne as directed by Vidyaranya, the *yati* in the temple of Virupaksha. Harihara made the sixteen great gifts resplendent in the *nagara* (or city) called Vidya (or Vidyanagara) of vast dimensions—and he gave it the name of Vidyaranyapura. And for the worship of the god Mahesvara of Srisaila he granted Chiravarapalli. By order of the king the Sasana was engraved by the Sasanacharya Naga-deva'.

Vijayanagara is described as 'the principal jewel in the middle of the pearl necklace the Tunghabhadra, that encircled the Hemakuta mountain as if it were the throat of the lady earth'.

Foreign travellers have testified to the splendour of the capital, its vast extent, and its huge battlements. Vijayanagara (city of victory) survived the fatal shock of A.D. 1565 and the capital of the monarchs was always called Vijaya whether at Anegundi, Hampe, Chandragiri or Penugonda.

The earliest memories which rise up with the name Vijayanagara are those of Kishkinda of the *Ramayana*. The site of the city has a halo over it because of the god Virupaksha, the patron deity of Hampe (Pampa). Sewell records a tradition that at Pampa there existed a town as early as A.D. 1100. The spirit of struggle which the sons of Sangama imbibed was perhaps drawn from the history which surrounded the three principalities of Kurugodu, Kampili and Anegundi.

The first line of defence was a belt of forest. 'The country,' says Ferishta, 'is full of fastnesses and woods almost impenetrable to troops.' The city 'is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade

extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse however bold can advance with facility near the outer wall.'

In creating seven lines of defence the Vijayanagar kings followed the classical model. The significance of number seven is to be sought in the Theory of Mystic Numbers, and in India we have the seven Rishis, seven planets, seven sacred places, etc.

Nicolo Conti who visited the capital city in the fifteenth century A.D. observes: 'The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its height is thereby increased.' Perhaps there is some exaggeration in this, for according to Caesar Frederick, 'the circuit of the City is four and twenty miles about, and within the walls are certain mountains'.

To Abdur Razzak it was a thickly populated place. 'Between the first, second and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and houses are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars situated opposite one another.' As early as 1378, admits Ferishta, the Rayas were greatly superior in power, wealth and extent of their territory to the Bahmani kings. The commerce of Goa and the other ports on the west coast brought prosperity to the empire. Abdur Razzak records: 'The city is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth.'

Domingo Paes visited Vijayanagar at the height of its glory during Krishnadeva's reign in 1522. Though the hills prevented his seeing the whole of the city at once, he thought that it was as large as Rome and contained more than 100,000 houses. He admired the lakes, water-courses and orchards. It was 'the best provided city in the world'. He found thirty-four streets in one part of the palace enclosure and saw one room 'all of ivory, as well the chamber and the walls from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses, all of ivory and all well executed, so that there could not be better.' Nuniz, who wrote some thirteen years later, saw that 'all the utensils in the royal service were of gold and silver, some of the gold vessels being of immense size'.

PATRONAGE OF LITERATURE : The Rayas, themselves being scholars,

greatly patronized Sanskrit and Telugu literature. Sayana, the celebrated Vedic commentator (died 1387) was the minister of Harihara II, and his brother Madhava, equally learned, served Bukka. The rulers gave privilege to religious institutions. The *svamis* of the Sringeri Matha for example were recipients of great honours and privileges at the hands of the Vijayanagar kings. The achievements of Saluva Narasimha were celebrated by Telugu poets. Titles were bestowed on men of learning. To the celebrated poet Allasani Peddana, Krishnadeva Raya gave titles as well as the coveted anklet called *kavigandapendara*. The tradition of patronizing scholars and poets was kept up by Rama Raya and others of the Aravidu dynasty. Under the protection of Rama Raya and his brothers there was a great revival of Vaishnavism.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : South Indian art attained under Vijayanagar a new fullness and freedom of expression. The Vijayanagar type of temple exhibits beauty in its rich and intricate structure and organization. Its prominent features are the addition of a large pillared hall, a *kalyanamandapa* and pavilion to the old type of temple. Another feature is the towering gateway. Goddesses begin to have separate shrines of their own. The most striking feature of the style is the varied and ornate treatment of the pillar. The shaft furnishes a core round which is grouped a vast amount of statuary of great size. The buildings of this style are scattered throughout the country south of the Tungabhadra, but the finest group is in the deserted city of Vijayanagar itself. The Vitthala temple is by far the most ornate. It was begun under Devaraya II, if not earlier, the construction continued under Achyutaraya and was never quite finished. Its *kalyanamandapam* is the most magnificent of its kind. The Hazara Rama temple, probably, the work of Virupaksha II, is a more modest but perfectly finished example of the style. Its walls are covered with relief scenes from the *Ramayana*. Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kanchipuram, Tadpatri and Srirangam are justly celebrated for temples in the Vijayanagar style. The *gopurams* of Tadpatri and Rameswaram are remarkable for their rich and exquisite carving. The so-called horse-court at Srirangam had a colonnade of furiously rearing steeds 'in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel'.

The last stages of the Vijayanagara art are seen in what is sometimes distinguished as the Madura style. Notable representations of

this style are the temples of Madura, Srirangam, Tinnevelly and Rameswaram, besides a few others. The temples of Chidambaram and Tiruvannamalai have some of the features of the Madura style.

The *pudumandapam* outside the temple enclosure in Madura is a large open hall 330 feet by 105. In this the central pillars bear life-like statues of the Nayaka kings of Madura. The latest statue there is that of its builder, Tirumala Nayaka.

The basements of some of the secular buildings which have survived in the city of Vijayanagar justify the praise bestowed on them by travellers who saw it, in its hey-day. The king's Audience Hall shows that it had a hundred pillars in ten rows standing on a basement in three spacious diminishing stages one above the other with fine flights of steps and sides decorated by broad and bold mouldings. The Throne Platform or House of Victory is much the same in design except that it is square in plan.

In the Tirupati temple there are life-size portrait statues of Krishnadeva Raya and his two queens and of Venkataraya besides others of doubtful identity. They show how bronze casting of the period retained the excellence it had attained under the Cholas. The treatment of legendary subjects continued as before.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese who entered Indian politics towards the close of the fifteenth century were the first European nation to come into close contact with India since the time of Alexander. Ocean travel developed in Europe after the Renaissance and the Portuguese led the way. Before their advent into Indian waters, the Arabs held the monopoly of Indian trade.

An extensive trade, both overland and maritime was maintained, as we have seen, during the first three centuries of the Christian era. That trade almost ceased in the fourth century and revived in the fifth and sixth centuries. In the seventh century, when the Arabs conquered Egypt and Persia, direct communication between Europe and India was effectively checked. It was at this time that the trade between India and Europe fell almost completely into the hands of the Muslims. Indian wares were carried from the markets of Levant to Venice which with its monopoly of Eastern

commerce grew enormously wealthy and influential. The Portuguese kings of the fifteenth century looked with envy on the wealth of Venice. The Portuguese, who were enterprising sailors in those days busied themselves in finding a new route to India. The need for such a route became greater, when Constantinople was captured by Turks and the Ottoman empire blocked the trade routes by the eastern Mediterranean. The long series of Portuguese efforts met with success when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed near Calicut on May 17, 1498, with the aid of a Gujarati pilot. Soon the Portuguese showed that they were a power, mightier than Mughal or Maratha, Afghan or Turk.

INITIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE PORTUGUESE : The Portuguese had a number of initial advantages. Their ships were stouter and larger than other ships in Indian waters at that time. At the time of their arrival in India Egypt was threatened by the Turks. In Persia a new dynasty was building its power. North India was divided. Although Gujarat was strong, it had not the fleet necessary to check the Portuguese advance. In the Deccan the Bahmani kingdom was disintegrating. None of the great powers then had a navy worth the name. In fact they did not think at all in terms of naval power. Arab shipowners and merchants who had been dominating the commerce of the Indian ocean were no match for the Portuguese who showed great drive and unity. Malabar then was cut up with a number of small States divided by mutual jealousy. At that time Malabar depended on import by sea for its supply of rice from the Coromandel coast and so the kings on the western coast feared a Portuguese blockade by sea. That was an age when might was right and the Portuguese had no compunction in using every method, calculated to give them success.

Da Gama returned to Lisbon with cargoes of spice in August 1499. Glad at his success, the king of Portugal sent out a larger fleet under Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil. Cabral reached Calicut with six vessels in September 1500. Soon he quarrelled with the zamorin of Calicut. He sailed to Cochin where he found a better welcome because of the enmity that existed between the Cochin raja and the zamorin. Cochin had a good harbour and was within easy reach of the pepper country. In 1502 Da Gama led a second expedition. He regarded the Muslims as his enemies. He wanted the

zamorin to expel the Muslims from his territory. When this was refused, Da Gama bombarded Calicut and committed atrocities. The zamorin and the moplas failed signally in their effort to beat off the Portuguese. In Cochin the Portuguese built a fort. De Almeida was sent out as viceroy in order to guard the trade of the Malabar coast. He came with a larger fleet and 1,500 soldiers. After strengthening the Cochin fort, he built a second fort at Cannanore and fortified one of the Anjediv islands near Goa. He had Cochin for his headquarters. When the appearance of the Portuguese seriously threatened Muslim trade with Europe, the Mameluk sultan of Egypt sent an armada of twelve vessels to dislodge the Portuguese. Although this Muslim fleet had an initial success, the Portuguese were able to recover the command of the sea (1509).

ALBUQUERQUE : Albuquerque was sent in 1506 with instructions to operate against the Muslims in the Red Sea and to succeed Almeida in the chief command at the end of his term in 1507.

Albuquerque seized Socotra, an island near the entrance to the Red Sea and built a fort there. Next he took and fortified Ormuz in the Persian Gulf after sinking every vessel in the port. When he reached Cannanore Almeida refused to give up the government and imprisoned him on the ground that his expansionist policy was dangerous. In 1509 Almeida had to resign and hand over charge to Albuquerque.

Albuquerque occupied Goa in 1510 and made it the seat of Portuguese authority. The territory of Goa, sixty miles by forty, with its self-governing villages, its well-wooded forests, its plains yielding rice and coconut in plenty and its wide and sheltered harbour enjoyed great prosperity and splendour for the next hundred years. In 1511 Albuquerque seized Malacca and fortified it despite the opposition of the sultan. Thus he implemented his policy of seizing strategic points and maintaining command of the Indian ocean. Against all opposition he made Goa the centre of the Portuguese power in the east, for he had the wisdom and foresight to perceive that 'a dominion founded on navy alone cannot last'. He was able and courageous and not unlike other leaders used methods, which were sometimes dubious, to gain his ends. He justly deserves being called the founder of the Portuguese power in the East.

Between 1515, the year of Albuquerque's death and 1560, the year in which Philip II of Spain annexed the Portuguese crown, Portuguese fleets were supreme on the Indian seas and established numerous trading and naval stations. With Malacca as base, the Portuguese conquered Moluccas, valuable for its spices, gained a settlement at Macao off the southern coast of China, and carried trade and missionary activities in Japan. In Ceylon they built a fort at Colombo in 1518 and managed to command the trade of the Island. A number of settlements grew up on the Bay of Bengal, Nagapatam, San Thome, Chittagong and Hugli, but none of them was of any great importance. The failure of the combined attempt of the Turks and the Sultan of Gujarat to dislodge the Portuguese has been described earlier. Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat was compelled to agree to stop the Turks from entering his kingdom and to have all Gujarati ships touch at Bassein, pay customs dues and take Portuguese permits for trade.

The reality and immensity of Portuguese power in India was proclaimed to Europe by an embassy to the Pope from the king of Portugal (March, 1514) with a cortege of 300 mules loaded with rich carpets, a horse from Ormue, a panther from Persia and an elephant from Goa which made three genuflections before the Holy Father. The ambassadors rode horses decked in pearls and precious stones, and having stirrups of solid gold.

The story of the death of Bahadur of Gujarat who went to negotiate peace terms with the Portuguese has been narrated already. Neither the Turks nor any Indian power at that time could shake the Portuguese 'maritime dominion covering a commercial monopoly', in the Indian ocean.

Any ship in the vast area stretching from Malacca and Ceylon on the east to Mozambique on the west and Ormuz on the north, found without a Portuguese pass or *carta* or infringing its terms was caught and confiscated with all its cargo. Thus Portugal absorbed the European trade of the east. Then she was herself absorbed by Spain for a time (1580-1640).

System of Government : The sole direction of colonies and possessions, both political and commercial was assumed by the crown. In India, the head of the administration was the viceroy who served for three years with his secretary and in later years, a council. The

viceroy or governor of India exercised supreme civil and military authority living in semi-regal style. He had control of all Portuguese establishments in the east. It was said that in the first year he learned his duties, in the second he filled his purse and in the third he visited the subordinate governments to collect presents.

Next in importance to the governor came Vedar de Fasenda who was in charge of arsenal, docks and mint. He had plenty of opportunities of making money while disposing goods sent to India on the king's account and providing the stores needed for the dockyards. In 1544 a single Chief Judge (Ouvidor General) was replaced by a court of several judges. All criminal sentences had to be confirmed by the governor and important civil cases might be taken on appeal to the supreme court at Lisbon. The judges were generally young and needy and justice was venal, slow and expensive. The administration of the city was vested in a corporation modelled on that of Lisbon. The aldermen and other officials were elective in theory; in practice, however, nominated by the king or by the governor. Mozambique, Ormuz, Colombo and Malacca were the chief centres under Goa, each headed by a captain. Often the perquisites of an official were very much higher than the actual salary. For example, the annual salary of the Captain of Malacca was about £300, but his perquisites came to £20,000. Control from Lisbon was weak and unorganized. A council of Indies was not set up till 1604 when Portugal had passed under the Spanish crown.

Religious Policy : The chief condition under which the Church of Rome had recognized the exclusive right of the Portuguese in Eastern waters was the propagation of the Christian faith. The Portuguese who had been crusading against Moors in North Africa came to the East with the same zeal and hostility to all Muslims. They were keen on propagating Christianity by means of mixed marriages and the offer of honours to converts. Goa became an Archbishopric in 1560 with subordinate sees under it. The religious orders of the Franiscans, Dominicans and Jesuits also became active in Portuguese India. The Jesuits became as prominent in education as in conversion. In 1623 it was said that at Goa and elsewhere there were twice as many priests as Portuguese laymen. Religious intolerance developed early; and the Portuguese appeared to have gone a step further than the Muslims in exhibiting their crusading spirit.

In 1567 Christians were forbidden to employ infidel servants and the public worship of both Hindus and Muslims was banned. Non-Christian residents were compelled to attend Christian sermons on Sundays. It was ordered that orphaned children should be brought up in the Christian faith. In 1575 under order from Lisbon it was laid down that the property of a heathen dying without children went to his nearest Christian relative. According to this the converted members of Hindu joint families could claim immediate partition and the female converts could claim the same share as males. The converts were allowed all the legal privileges of Portuguese nationality. The introduction of inquisition, and its cruel persecution, not only alarmed the people, but had an adverse effect on the trade of Goa. The Hindu and Muslim merchants shunned it for trade purposes. As few women were allowed to come from Portugal and Portuguese settlers soon became Indianized.

THE DECLINE OF PORTUGUESE POWER : Portugal was a small country. It opened up an empire in Brazil which was a drain of the best section of the population of Portugal. Recruitment for the Portuguese army and navy in India from Portuguese nationals rapidly declined. Forces for India could only be maintained by recruitment in India. 'The Officials were corrupt; the fortresses unrepaired and unarmed; trade was declining. Even more significant was the dissolution of Portuguese union and solidarity.' By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese power in India had begun to decline. The best and bravest elements of the population were sacrificed at the altar of empire. Even as early as 1538 criminals and outlaws and men of little civic virtue had to be sent out to man the settlements. These men mated with the lowest elements among the indigenous population and only bred offspring of similar character.

The emergence of powerful dynasties in Egypt, Persia and North India and the rise of the Marathas in the neighbouring territories reduced considerably the local advantages of the Portuguese in India. Cruelties and inquisitions had their own reactions against the Portuguese. The Dutch became their competitors in Brazil and Africa. The route to India had been kept secret for some time but when it was leaked out, the Dutch and the English competed with the Portuguese for supremacy in the Indian ocean and on the decline of Spain, the Portuguese empire in the east fell, never to rise.

CHAPTER XV

THE EARLY MUGHALS AND THE SURS (1526-1605)

BABUR : The series of Mughal or Mongol emperors begins with one of the most brilliant and attractive figures in the whole of Asian history, Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, better known as Babur (Tiger). It is possible for the historian to dwell on Babur with an accuracy unobtainable with any king of any clime because he left behind a biography of himself, his thoughts, his acts, his failures and his successes—truly quite an extraordinary record.

By his father, Babur was the fifth lineal descendant of Timur, 'Earth Shaker'. His mother was a descendant of Chingiz Khan who a hundred years before Timur had swept over Europe to Moscow and in the east to China like a devastating flame. Babur proudly called himself a Turk and hated the very name Mughal or Mongol. He wrote:

If the Mughal race had an angel's birth,
It still would be made of the basest earth.

But long established usage confers on Babur and his descendants the title of Grand Mughals. Babur was born in 1483. He became king of Ferghana, a fragment of the Timurid empire. It was situated in the upper valley of the Syr Darya. About the natural beauty of Ferghana, Babur in his memoirs gives a colourful picture. The ten years that followed his succession to the throne are full of battles, and dangers, bold exploits and severe defeats, brilliant successes and heavy losses. Now he was on the throne of a great kingdom and again a most abandoned fugitive on the inaccessible gorges of his native mountains. We have no place here for his adventures during that period. Commenting on his withdrawal from the native country

in 1504 Babur says, 'thus for the sake of Ferghana I had given up Samarkhund, and now found I had lost the one without the other'. Samarkhund, the capital of his great ancestor Timur had a great fascination for Babur. With its palaces, its mosques, its gardens, its halls, its colleges it was indeed a wonderful fine city. More than once Babur staked to gain possession of the city. Having had to yield before the supreme power of the Uzbegs, he fled across the mountains to Afghanistan followed by a band of brave and loyal soldiers who had great admiration for their young leader. He came to Kabul which had remained with Timur's descendants ever since his raid into India. When in 1512 his third attempt to capture Samarkhund failed miserably, he turned his attention to India. That was the time when the Safavis in Persia and Uzbegs in Central Asia were rising to power and squeezing between themselves the Timurid empire which had fallen to a number of principalities. In 1519 Babur laid a siege to Bajaur and ruthlessly massacred its defenders. He then crossed the Indus and claimed the Punjab as his, by virtue of Timur's conquest a hundred and twenty years before.

Daulat Khan, the governor of Punjab, invited Babur to assist him against Ibrahim Lodi, sultan of Delhi (1524). The uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, Alam Khan Ala-ud-din, appealed to Babur to accept the invitation of the Punjab. This was his fifth entry into India and it seemed a favourable moment, and he was resolved to set his face towards Delhi. India, as we have seen was at this time, the scene of countless jealousies, seething rebellions, open disunions, and Babur thought that conquest was easy. He had a Lodi prince by his side to legitimize his invasion. Babur took Lahore from Ibrahim's troops which had been sent against Daulat Khan. Then he captured Dipalpur. Daulat Khan realized the danger and ceased to support Babur. Babur heard that the Uzbegs had besieged Balkh, and went back to Kabul for a time in November 1525. He returned to India with reinforcements. He had not more than 12,000 men under him and with this he managed to conquer, showing how a well-disciplined small army equipped with artillery, under the command of an able general, could win brilliant successes in India. Daulat Khan capitulated and died soon after leaving Babur master of the Punjab.

Babur was now free and so renewed the attack on Delhi and fulfilled his ambition. Ibrahim Lodi met Babur on the plain of Panipat

(April 21, 1526), with an immense host of 100,000 men and 100 elephants. In his biography Babur dismissed Sultan Ibrahim as being 'inexperienced, careless in his movements, one who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight'. Babur followed the same tactics as Alexander against Porus at Jhelum. The battle which began before ten in the morning lasted till sunset, when Ibrahim lay dead on the field with 15,000 of his followers. Babur records with satisfaction 'this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust'.

Occupation of Delhi and Agra: Babur's signal success at Panipat made the way clear before him. He seized Delhi and Agra without apparently much blood-shed. The *khutba* was recited in his name at Delhi on Friday, April 27, 1526. Humayun, his son, presented him a diamond of enormous value. This is identified by some as the famous Koh-i-nur which now adorns the British crown. Humayun had got it from the family of the late Vikramajit, Raja of Gwalior, who died on the battlefield of Panipat. Babur, who did not care for wealth, returned it to his son as a gift. He distributed the treasures gained in wars among his followers reserving just what was necessary for the State to send a silver coin to every living soul in Kabul, bond or free, and to pay the army and the government. Babur deplores that he found few things in India for which he cared. Nevertheless he made up his mind to establish himself as emperor of India. He was aware that all around him, in Marwar, in Gujarat and everywhere except along the line of his march there were enemies. Hitherto, the northern invaders had sought relief from the oppressive heat of India going back to their cooler climes. It seemed, though in the very hour of success, there was danger to Babur. Unable to bear the heat of the Indian summer, his troops insisted on going back to their country. He had given them fiefs so that they might maintain themselves and their adherents in a state of comfort but nothing could persuade them to continue to stay in India. The irritable Babur spoke to them at a full review, 'Are we to turn back from all we have accomplished and fly to Kabul like men who have been discomfited! Let no man who calls himself my friend ever again moot such a thing, but if there be any of you who cannot bring himself to stay, let him

India in A.D. 1525

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go!' This appeal to personal friendship met with better success than Alexander's in a similar situation.

RANA SANGA : Many of the Muslim governors and petty kings acknowledged Babur as suzerain. He forced others to submission. There were some Afghan chiefs who would not yield to the conqueror; and Mahmud, the brother of Ibrahim Lodi, made common cause with the Rajputs headed by Rana Sanga, the head of the Rajput State, Mewar. Shaikh Zain testifies to the fact that 'in Northern India there was no king who was able to make head against him'. He was the grandson of the celebrated Rana Kumbha who made Mewar glorious by defeating the sultans of Malwa and Gujarat and erecting numerous fortresses. Babur had heard of Rana Sanga and his small army quailed before the prospect of conflict with 'the Lion of the Rajputs'. Babur's army was encamped at Sikri, twenty miles to the west of Agra—'afterwards Akbar's exquisite palace city of Fathpur'. The Rana marched against Bayana and compelled its garrison to join the camp of Sikri. The Rana's Muslim confederates met him there. There were some preliminary skirmishes which convinced Babur that the enemy was one that could not be trifled with. Rana Sanga, though old, was Babur's double in chivalry and vitality. Both knew it was war to the death. Rana Sanga, a man without an eye and an arm, lame of leg and with eighty scars of battle on his body, was in fact a terror to Babur's men. Babur recognized the virtues of his enemies and found that they were animated by a spirit of devotion and national pride. He found that it needed all his powers of self-confidence and persuasion to keep his followers in hand and exhort them to fight. He called in the aid of religion. He proclaimed a holy war, *jihad*. He assembled his troops and before them foreswore wine, breaking his jewelled wine cups and pouring out the stores of liquor. He made his soldiers swear on the *Koran* to fight for him. To the soldiers it was an inspiration.

The battle was joined at Khanua, a village about four miles west of Sikri, on 16 March, 1527. We do not know the exact number of the soldiers Babur employed but it was less than half of the army led by Rana Sanga. In truth, in Rana's army there were too many and their interests were too divided. Suspicion of some treachery is

not lacking. However, both sides fought bravely. Babur adapted the same tactics as at Panipat. The Rana escaped with his life and died broken-hearted two years later. Babur's successes made him the unquestioned emperor of India. He followed up his victory by crossing the Jumna and storming the fortress of Chanderi, held by the great Rajput wazir of Malwa, Medini Bai. Babur won a victory. Humayun who had been sent towards east captured Jaunpur and Ghazipur. Gwalior had been taken earlier by a stratagem. The opposition of the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal was crippled. Babur became a 'master of a wide realm extending from the Oxus to the frontier of Bengal and from the Himalaya to Gwalior'.

DEATH OF BABUR : In December 1530 Babur died leaving a vast empire the different parts of which had been held together mostly by personal loyalty to him. The story that Babur offered his life to save his son Humayun by going three times around Humayun's sick-bed and crying out to God in a prayerful mood 'I have taken the burden' was composed nearly half a century later, when by the order of the emperor Akbar an official history of the dynasty was written. Mahma was the pet name of Babur's wife who had borne him three beautiful daughters and Humayun. By other wives, he had three sons namely, Kamran, Askari and Hindal. It appears that Babur had sent for Hindal (of Hind) the youngest when he was lying ill, but that Humayun and Kamran had managed to send him away to the most distant part of the empire. When Babur was expecting Hindal, Humayun came from Badakhshan. 'His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds, and made our eyes shine like torches. The truth is that his conversation has an inexpressible charm, he realizes absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood'. This reference to Humayun in Babur's memoirs is suspected by some historians to be a later interpolation. Whether Babur's intention was to divide his empire in India between Hindal and Askari making Humayun king of Kabul and suzerain of the empire, giving Kamran some parts in the north-western frontier of the empire, is a matter that requires further investigation. But that Babur named Humayun as his successor is certain.

CHARACTER OF BABUR : Babur had been king for thirty-six years

'crowded with hardship, tumult and strenuous energy'. He had wonderful strength; he could carry a man under each arm and run with them round the battlement of a fortress, leaping the embrasures. His wanderlust is revealed by the fact that he never observed the feast of Ramadan for two years in the same place. Even in March 1529 he writes: 'I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met, except only the Ganges'. His capacity for winning over most men to his side is one of his most salient characteristics. Babur possessed a true artistic temperament to a quite unusual degree. He was a painter, a poet, an author and in the smallest thing he wrote, showed unerring literary skill and taste. To the last India was for Babur, a country of few charms. To him 'the chief excellency of Hindusthan is that it is a big country with plenty of gold and silver', but it had no good food or bread, and no ice or cold water, no grapes or musk melons. Babur was a soldier of fortune. He was adventurous and persevering in all his efforts. He had no time or talent for the details of administration. His rule was that of a strong soldier. 'Ferocious Timurid' though he was, Babur is certainly one of the most human and attractive characters in history.

Humayun

HUMAYUN'S TASKS : Humayun succeeded his father in 1530. He was barely twenty-three at that time. He had served the apprenticeship as governor of Badakhshan and had helped his father materially in wars. The empire which his father had left lacked a consolidated civil administration and was itself in a precarious position. Bengal was unsubdued and many of the hostile Afghan nobles were still at large. No wonder that he had to run for his life and liberty. His enemies were not Hindus but Muslims, and particularly those who were nearest to him.

HIS DEALINGS WITH HIS BROTHERS : At the time of Babur's death, Kamran was in charge of Kabul and Kandahar. He treacherously took the Punjab and Indus valley. Humayun yielded with a good

grace but Kamran showed no friendly disposition towards the king. Humayun gave the government of Sambhal to Hindal and that of Mewat to Askari. The loss of Kabul and Kandahar deprived Humayun of the most important recruiting grounds of his army. Although Humayun possessed Babur's veteran army, still it required to be strengthened as yet to face the strong kingdom of Gujarat on one side and the Afghan chiefs of Bengal and Bihar on the other. The intrigues of his brothers cruelly tried his forbearance all the time. Kamran was a traitor and Hindal and Askari were weak and shifty tools in the hands of ambitious men. His cousins and brothers-in-law opposed him at every turn and betrayed him. Instead of dealing with his enemies firmly one after another Humayun divided his forces and weakened them and wasted much of his time in merry making over petty triumphs.

WARS WITH SHER KHAN : At the commencement of his reign Humayun showed great energy. His first campaign was directed against Mahmud Lodi who had gone over to Bihar after an ineffective opposition to Babur in 1529. In 1532 Mahmud invaded the eastern part of Humayun's territory and captured Jaunpur. Humayun inflicted defeat on the Afghans in the battle of Dadrah near Lucknow. Mahmud greatly relied on the support of Sher Khan who later became famous as Sher Shah. Sher Khan seems to have been very lukewarm in his support of Mahmud. He was a rough-and-ready soldier. Even in Babur's time he did not scruple to tell a friend that in his opinion it would be no hard task to drive the foreign Mughals from Hindusthan for though the king himself was a strong man he trusted too much to his ministers who were corrupt. He had great faith in himself as the leader of the Afghans. Chunar, the stronghold of Sher Khan, was besieged by Humayun. Humayun abandoned the siege in his anxiety about Gujarat, and Sher Khan who knew when to attack and when to retreat made a perfunctory submission. Sher Khan agreed to send his third son Kutub Khan with 500 Afghan retainers for the king's service. While Humayun was away in Gujarat Sher Khan had free time to strengthen his power.

WARS WITH GUJARAT : Bahadur Shah of Gujarat aimed at the

conquest of Delhi and he supported the pretenders to the Mughal throne like Alam Khan Ala-ud-din, the uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, and Muhammad Saman Mirza, the eldest son-in-law of Babur, whom he entertained in his court and refused to surrender at Humayun's demand. Humayun reached Malwa at the end of 1534 when he found Bahadur engaged in the siege of Chitor. He waited in Gwalior and Ujjain till Chitor fell into the hands of Bahadur. Then Humayun marched to Mandasor. Bahadur was under the influence of an able foreign gunner Rumi Khan who had been in communication with Humayun. So Bahadur, instead of attacking the Mughal forces when his army was flushed with victory at Chitor, made up his mind to stand a siege at Mandasor without any preparations for a sustained resistance. After a fortnight, there broke out a famine which decimated Bahadur's ranks. Bahadur slipped away from the camp with only five followers after destroying his jewellery, guns and animals (1535). After capturing Mandasor Humayun went to Mandu in pursuit of Bahadur. With unwonted energy Humayun pursued Bahadur to several places including Cambay. In the siege of Champaner Humayun showed his mettle by scaling the walls and reaching the battlements. Malwa and Gujarat, equal to all the rest of Humayun's kingdom, fell easily into his hands only to be lost as easily. The spoils of war demoralized the Mughal king and his army. Humayun made Askari viceroy of Gujarat at Ahmadabad and devoted himself to festivities in Malwa. Bahadur had the loyal support of his governors and chiefs and with the aid of the Portuguese whom he allowed to build a fort at Diu, he was able to recapture Gujarat. Humayun himself had to go back to Agra for a campaign against Sher Khan, and Malwa too became part of Bahadur's kingdom. Instead of acting quickly Humayun wasted a whole year at Agra hoping to get back Malwa and Gujarat before dealing with the danger in the east. At last in July 1537 he marched at the head of a powerful army and reached Chunar in October. Sher Khan was in Bengal at that time, engaged in a war with the ruler of that country. It was difficult for Humayun to decide whether he should lay a seige to Chunar or press on to Bengal. Finally the siege was decided on. But Humayun was able to reduce the fortress only in March 1538. This gave Sher Shah valuable time for six months to consolidate his forces.

SHER KHAN : Although Sher Khan had no royal blood in him, still he came of a respectable Afghan family of the Sur section of the Mati clan. His real name was Farid and he was the son of a Hasan who held a jagir for the maintenance of 500 horses. When his father died, Daulat Khan procured the imperial firman for the jagir in Farid's name. Farid entered the service of Bihar Khan Lohani who ruled the country from Jaunpur to Bihar in virtual independence (1522). When Farid slew a tiger in a hunting excursion Bihar Khan gave him the title of Sher Khan or Tiger-lord. Through the intrigues of his half-brother Sulaiman, Sher Khan lost his jagir and entered the service of the governor of Jaunpur under Babur (1527). Then he entered Babur's service and caught the attention of Babur who told one of his ministers: 'Keep an eye on Sher Khan; he is a clever man and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead.' Though Sher Khan was suspected by the Afghan chiefs, yet he was able to conciliate his former enemies and organize a strong Sur power in the western half of South Bihar. When in 1528 Mahmud Lodi came to the east, Sher Khan's position became delicate. He had to oppose Babur and had to submit to him with other Surs and Lohanis at the end of March 1529. Jalal Khan, the son of Muhammad Lohani, was restored to his possessions by Babur. As he was a mere boy his mother called Sher Khan and made him her deputy. Sher Khan as governor of Bihar followed the same policy of administrative centralization and revenue reforms as had marked his work on his father's jagir. This made him popular with the peasants though not with the nobles. Here he created a strong bodyguard which became the nucleus of an army at need. He took the fort of Chunar 28 miles west of Varanasi, agreeing to submit himself to Babur. After the death of Babur came the formidable Afghan rebellion headed by Mahmud Lodi and the campaign of Humayun against him followed by the siege of Chunar and the peace (1532) which Humayun concluded with Sher Khan in order to be free to deal with Bahadur of Gujarat. Sher Khan's alliance with Humayun was short lived. Kutb Khan, whom Sher Khan had sent with the Mughal ruler, deserted him with his followers and joined his father. In fact Kutb Khan was in charge of the defence of Chunar when Humayun invested it in 1537-38.

THE RISE OF SHER KHAN : In spite of the opposition and intrigues of Lohani nobles, Sher Khan strengthened his position in Bihar and advanced to Bengal. Jalal Khan went to Bengal in the hope of securing the aid of Mahmud Shah against Sher Khan, his masterful deputy. Jalal Khan with Mahmud's aid invaded Bihar. But Jalal Khan was repulsed. Sher Khan won a decisive victory at Surajgarh, on the south bank of the Ganges, about ten miles from Mungir (Monghyr). He became popular as the defender of Bihar against a Bengali invasion and added the territory as far as Mungir to his possessions in Bihar. Sher Khan took care not to use any kingly titles to keep up his aggression against Bengal. Then he laid siege to Gaur twice. In his first siege in 1536 he retired after receiving a large indemnity from Mahmud Shah. In 1537 when Humayun was besieging Chunar Sher Khan laid siege to Gaur. In April 1538 Gaur fell into the hands of Sher Khan. He transferred the treasures of Gaur to Rohtasgarh, a fortress on the upper Son which he had captured by stratagem some time before. After Humayun recaptured Chunar, Sher Khan opened negotiations with him. It seemed likely that peace might be concluded on the basis of Sher Khan retaining his conquests in Bengal by paying an annual tribute to the Mughal ruler. According to this Sher Khan had to surrender Bihar to the Mughal ruler. But after the capture of Gaur Sher Khan was unwilling to accept the terms of the treaty. However, Mahmud, the dispossessed ruler of Bengal, urged that Humayun should carry on the campaign against Sher Khan in the hope that he would be restored to Bengal. The negotiations for peace failed. Sher Khan made his followers believe that Humayun was bent on the total destruction of the Afghans. This made the Afghans rally round him. Humayun marched eastward with a large army. At this time sultan Mahmud died. Humayun's advance was checked at Teliagarhi, a pass regarded as the 'key of Bengal'. Jalal Khan, the son of Sher Khan, who held the pass allowed the Mughal army to enter Bengal when his father had completed his plans. In August 1538, Humayun reached Gaur only to find it burnt and pillaged and strewn with corpses. However, he enjoyed himself and feasted away six precious months. During this interval Sher Khan went to Rohtas from where he began his campaign against Humayun. He recovered Chunar and his territories in Bihar. He captured Jaunpur and

overran the whole country as far as Kanauj. He began to rule the captured territory like a legitimate sovereign. Humayun sent his brother Hindal from Bengal to Tirhut to bring up stores, but Hindal went off to Agra. There he was persuaded by interested counsellors to proclaim himself emperor. But Hindal's rebellion was put down by Kamran who marched down from the north. Kamran did nothing to help Humayun. The news of Hindal's rebellion and Kamran's march made Humayun move out of Gaur and Bengal. He reached Muner on the Son without any interruption. Now Sher Khan began to harass the Mughal army on its retreat westward from Muner. Humayun failed to make peace, because Sher Khan insisted on Chunar being given to him in addition to Bengal and Bihar.

THE BATTLE OF CHAUSA : Sher Khan surprised the Mughal army at Chausa on the Ganges early one morning and inflicted a crushing defeat. The imperial baggage, treasure and harem fell into his hands. Humayun was wounded. He barely escaped drowning in the Ganges, being rescued by a water-carrier on his inflated leather bag. This water-carrier was rewarded by Humayun by being allowed to sit on his throne for a day.

Sher Khan treated the imperial ladies kindly and sent them to Agra. Flushed at his victory at Chausa, Sher Khan entertained higher ambitions. He allowed Humayun to escape to Agra and refrained from marching on that city immediately. Even in the hour of success Sher Khan acted with great caution and moderation. Humayun's brothers realized the danger of the Afghan rising too late. Sher Khan went to Bengal. The remnants of the Mughal army at Gaur were completely routed. Calling himself Sher Shah and taking the additional title Al Sultan-ul-Adil or the just monarch, he proclaimed himself king (December 1539). Early in 1540 Sher Shah sent a political mission to Gujarat and Malwa seeking their co-operation in the task of expelling the Mughals from India. But after the death of Bahadur Shah in 1537, Gujarat was under a minor king and Malwa was divided among three chiefs. Sher Shah came from Bengal in February 1540 and sent his son Kutb Khan towards Malwa. Kutb Khan found the rulers of Malwa unfriendly. In a battle with a Mughal army in the neighbourhood of Kalpi he lost his life. Kamran was dissatisfied with Humayun because he was not given

chief command of the campaign against the Afghans and on the pretext of his illness he withdrew to the Punjab with the bulk of his troops. In May 1540 Humayun and Sher Shah met in a final engagement on the banks of the Ganges opposite Kanauj. Mirza Haidar who took part in the fight has given a detailed description of the disgraceful manner in which the imperial army grew panicky at the first shock of Sher Shah's attacks. Humayun lost the battle and with difficulty escaped to Agra from where he had to flee to Lahore. Sher Shah reached Agra in a few days and engaged himself in the task of settling the conquered territory. He sent his general in pursuit of Humayun with instructions not to capture him but to drive him out of Hindusthan.

HUMAYUN'S EXILE : Humayun was no welcome guest to Kamran, who, fearing to be embroiled in the quarrel with Sher Shah, withdrew to Kabul, leaving Humayun helpless, who then turned to Sind as a refuge. A personal servant, Jauhar who accompanied Humayun in his exile of fifteen years has given details of the dreary wanderings of Humayun. After two and a half years of many adventures, Humayun found himself a mere wanderer in the desert. At the time when Humayun's fortune was at its lowest ebb, his romantic marriage with a girl of sixteen, Hamida Banu, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, took place. His brother Hindal wanted to marry her and before the betrothal took place, Humayun fell in love with the girl. Her father was a preceptor to Hindal. She was a Shia girl of short stature and it took some time for her to reconcile herself to marrying the tall Humayun who was a Sunni. The marriage took place at Pat in Western Sind at the close of 1541 or early in 1542. Hamida followed her husband bravely to the great desert of India where horses and men nearly died of thirst. After experiencing unheard of miseries they came to the fort of Umarkot. The Hindu chief of the place received Humayun and his party generously and gave him an army for an expedition against Tatta and Bhakkar. While Humayun was away on this expedition, Hamida gave birth to a boy on the night of a full moon day (November 23, 1542). When Humayun was told of the birth of his son, he offered thanks to God. There was no gold in the camp to give to the messenger and others there. All that he had was a bag of musk which the proud father

distributed to his followers as a royal present in honour of an event which would diffuse its fragrance over the whole habitable world.

Humayun conferred on his son the name of Badr-ud-din (Full Moon of Religion). Compelled to quit Sind, Humayun with his wife and child and some half a dozen followers was on his way to Kandahar when news came that his brother Askari was marching against him. Leaving the child (Akbar) behind, Humayun and his wife fled to preserve their lives. When Askari entered the camp he found baby Akbar in his nurse's arms. The child was kindly treated by his uncle who sent him to Kandahar. There he was well looked after by the wife of Askari. Humayun found his way to Herat. He was hospitably received at Kazvin by Shah Tahmasp. In 1544 the Shah sent Humayun with a large army to take Kandahar. In September 1545 Askari surrendered Kandahar and Humayun pardoned his brother Askari. Humayun decided to march against Kamran and captured Kabul. In fright Kamran abandoned his capital and moved towards India. In November 1545, Humayun entered Kabul without opposition. At the end of the same year Hamida Banu came from Kandahar and joined her husband. Father, mother and the child were happy to be united. Then Humayun crossed the Hindu Kush and succeeded in establishing his authority in Badakhshan. Humayun was ill and this gave the signal for the plots and insubordination. In his absence Kamran surprised Kabul and established himself as its ruler (1546). Kamran treated cruelly all those that had helped his brother, even women and children. Humayun, therefore, hastened to recover Kabul. It is said that Kamran exposed the child Akbar on the city's ramparts to the fire of his father's guns. Humayun's guns were naturally put out of action. But even this did not help Kamran. His garrison had to surrender. Kamran escaped and retired to Badakshan (1547). Humayun marched to Badakshan again with his brother Hindal. Kamran submitted and got reconciled to his brother. Askari was also released from prison. When Humayun's expedition to Balkh in 1549 failed, Kamran made himself master of Kabul (1550) and gained possession of Akbar. Later in the year, Humayun defeated Kamran, seized Askari and recovered Kabul with his son. Askari was sent to Mecca and he died on the way. Hindal lost his life in a conflict in 1551 and his fief in Ghazni and its neighbourhood was conferred on Akbar

together with the hand of his daughter Rukaiya Begum. Kamran was captured in 1553 by the chief of the Gakhar clan in the Salt Range and surrendered to Humayun. He was blinded and sent to Mecca where he died some three years later. Rid of his brothers, Humayun went to Kabul to prepare for a plan of invasion for the recovery of India.

SECOND REIGN AND THE DEATH OF HUMAYUN : It will be convenient to complete the story of Humayun before we proceed to the reign of Sher Khan, his Afghan rival. When Humayun was able to invade India, there were four Sur claimants (of the line of Sher Shah) struggling for power. This gave Humayun his opportunity. Towards the close of December 1554 he left Kabul and reached Peshawar. When he crossed the Indus his faithful comrade Bairam Khan joined him. Humayun occupied most of the Punjab including Lahore without any opposition. Early in 1555 the Afghans were defeated in a battle near Sirhind. Sikandar who opposed Humayun was defeated and he had to take refuge in the skirts of the Himalayas. Putting young Akbar in charge of the Punjab with Bairam Khan as his mentor, Humayun marched towards Delhi and occupied it without any opposition. His second reign lasted for barely seven months and he died on 24 January 1556, designating Akbar his successor on the throne. His death was due to an accidental fall from the staircase of his library in Delhi. His death was kept secret until all preparations for the suppression of any possible local disturbances were completed. Then the *khutba* was read in Akbar's name on February 14, 1556. The thirteen year old Akbar was crowned in the small provincial town of Kalanaur where he was encamped.

Sher Shah and the Surs

THE REIGN OF SHER SHAH: After the flight of Humayun, Sher Shah was the master of Hindusthan. The rule of this talented Afghan was generally welcomed by the Indian Muslims. He never oppressed his Hindu subjects and his fiscal and other reforms became the basis of many of Akbar's most famous measures. A Muslim historian says that in Sher Shah's reign travellers and wayfarers

had no need to keep watch, nor had they feared halt in the midst of a desert. No man dared to breathe in opposition to him.

CONSOLIDATION OF POWER: From Agra Sher Shah went to Delhi. Then he marched into the Punjab and forced the turbulent Gakhars to submit. In 1541 he put down the rebellion raised by the governor of Bengal and changed the character of the administration of Bengal. It was cut up into three parts and each was placed under a governor appointed by the emperor and responsible to him. All these three governors were under the general supervision and advice of a learned *kazi* for the sake of the uniformity and smooth working of the administration.

In 1542 Sher Shah invaded Malwa after subduing Gwalior. The fort of Ranthambhor was surrendered to Sher Shah. In 1543 Sher Shah laid siege to Raisen, the fortress of Puran Mal, on the pretext of punishing Puran Mal for enslaving many women of Chanderi, Muslims and Hindus. Sher Shah swore on the Koran that the lives and property of Puran Mal and his relations would be spared and trusting him Puran Mal surrendered. But Sher Shah broke his promise in the most shameless manner. Puran Mal and his soldiers were cut down by the Afghans or trampled to death by the elephants and not a man escaped.

Sher Shah had another powerful enemy in Maldeo, the Rathor ruler of Marwar. He had made himself powerful by annexing fortresses and districts held by officers of the Lodi kings at the time when Babur and Humayun were establishing their power in Hindusthan. Further he was in communication with Humayun after his flight from Delhi. Sher Shah made up his mind to crush Maldeo. In 1543 with an army, the largest he had ever so far put on the field, he marched against Maldeo. His Rajput enemy was so strong that Sher Shah had to use an ugly contrivance for defeating him. By means of forged letters dropped near Maldeo's tent, he roused Maldeo's suspicion about the loyalty of his nobles. In spite of the consequences of Maldeo's suspicions, Sher Shah had to fight hard against the enemy. Maldeo discovered too late that he had been the victim of a fraud. Sher Shah placed Marwar under the authority of his commanders and went to Chitor to receive the keys of the fortress from the commander who held it on behalf of Rana

Uday Singh of Mewar. By now his generals had acquired Multan and Sind. He directed his attack against Kirat Singh of Kalanjar for the reason that he had given shelter to Bir Singh Bundela who had defied Sher Shah. This siege lasted for nearly a year. Sher Shah was fatally wounded, but he died after receiving the glad news that the fortress had been taken and its garrison put to the sword (1545).

REFORMS OF SHER SHAH: Sher Shah was undoubtedly one of the ablest rulers of India. He consolidated his power practically over the whole of North India in a few years. The system of administration that he evolved combined the best elements in the Hindu and Muslim traditions of India. The noble mausoleum at Sasaram which he prepared for himself shows his taste for architecture. He built a new city at Delhi and a second Rohtas in the Punjab.

His administrative reforms were based on Ala-ud-din's institutions in some respects. He had a powerful army of 150,000 horses, 25,000 foot and 5,000 elephants, besides artillery. At strategic points there were garrisons under *faujdars*. Strict discipline was maintained in the army. He took measures to minimize chances of corruption. Sher Shah supervised in person the recruitment of soldiers. He fixed their salaries and had descriptive rolls maintained. He revived the system of the branding of horses to prevent fraudulent musters. In his time land revenue was assessed on the basis of measurement. The assessment was liberal but the collections were strict. People could pay the taxes in kind or cash, but the latter was preferred.

The empire was divided into *sarkars* which were again subdivided into *parganas*. There was a well organized bureaucracy for efficient government. Officers were periodically transferred. The village community was responsible for crimes within its borders. Punishments for crimes were very severe. Sher Shah showed no consideration for rank or position in the matter of punishment for crimes. He did not tolerate any injury done to cultivation. He introduced a reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period and was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835. It may be said that the basis of the existing currency was that of Sher Shah's. The silver rupee of 180 grains containing 175 grains of pure silver became the standard coin. The coins bore the king's

name in *Nagari* characters in addition to Arabic inscriptions. Sher Shah followed the example of Hindu rulers in planting trees, providing wells and *sarais* for the accommodation of travellers. To facilitate movement of the troops and of goods in commerce, he improved the Grand Trunk Road which ran from East Bengal to the Indus, and built several other routes. Considering the shortness of his reign and the turbulent nature of the period it may be said that Sher Shah has shown an admirable record as ruler.

AFTER SHER SHAH: When the strong hand of Sher Shah was withdrawn, weakness and strife led to a welter of anarchy. His second son, Jalal Khan, became the king under the title of Islam Shah, often corrupted into Salim Shah. He was an incapable ruler who alienated his nobles. He was unduly severe in his treatment of his elder brother and his supporters. There were many plots to assassinate Islam Shah but he died a natural death in 1554. His twelve-year-old son Firuz was enthroned in Gwalior, but within a month he was murdered by his mother's brother, Mubariz Khan. The murderer ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He entrusted the government of the kingdom to Himu, a Hindu who from a humble beginning as a salt-seller had risen to high office under Islam Shah. Although he was able, his master's indiscretions worked against him. Adil Shah soon lost Bengal and Malwa. His displeased relatives rose in rebellion against him. His other rivals were put on the throne and the empire came under three kings. Adil Shah held authority over the territories from Agra to Malwa and as far as Jaunpur. Sikandar Shah ruled from Delhi to Rohtas in the Punjab. Ibrahim Shah ruled the territory from the foot of the Himalayas to Gujarat (Punjab). We have already seen how this state of confusion that persisted among Afghan rulers helped Humayun to restore Mughal rule in Delhi.

Akbar (1556–1605)

At Akbar's accession North India was a political chaos. There had been a terrible famine for two years and the economic condition was bad. Ceaseless warfare had desolated many of its fairest provinces. Akbar had to win back his father's lost dominion by

proving himself better than his rival. Two or three members of the Sur family and Himu were still at large. Kabul, administered on behalf of Akbar's half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, was virtually independent. The Afghans of Bengal, the Rajput clans of Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat and the wild regions of Gondwana and Orissa acknowledged no master. In the Deccan there were Muslim States which were constantly at war with one another. Further in the south there was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. These kingdoms of the Deccan formed a separate world by themselves. In the north, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan with several others were free from the control of any central authority.

BAIRAM KHAN: Akbar had to engage himself in war continuously for twenty years to bring Hindusthan under his sway. Himu was looking after Adil Shah Sur's interests, for he had been residing at Chunar. He advanced to Gwalior, defeated the Mughal forces and got both Agra and Delhi. These successes made Himu assume the historic title of Raja Vikramaditya and proclaim himself as king. He was indeed Akbar's most formidable rival. Bairam Khan would listen to no counsels of retreat to Kabul. Tardi Beg, his rival, was the commander of the defeated forces at Delhi. He charged him with negligence and put him to death. With Akbar, Bairam Khan advanced to the historic plain of Panipat.

SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT: Himu's army was strong and he attacked the Mughals fiercely, threw their flanks into confusion and rushed against the centre with his war elephants. Just at this time he was hit in the eye by an arrow and rendered unconscious. At the loss of the commander, his soldiers scattered. The second battle of Panipat gave Delhi to Akbar as the first had done for his grandfather Babur. With the vast treasures of Himu, Agra fell into the hands of the Mughals. Sikandar Sur stood a long siege at Mankot and ultimately surrendered in 1557. He was generously treated and was given a *jagir* in Bihar where he died two years later. Ibrahim Sur retired from the contest and Adil died in the conflict with the king of Bengal.

THE DEATH OF BAIRAM KHAN: When Akbar was at Mankot, the

ladies of Humayun's harem joined him from Kabul. At the age of fifteen, the king married the daughter of his uncle Hindal. This was his first wife. About the same time Bairam Khan married Akbar's cousin, Salima Begum, daughter of Humayun's sister. Bairam's chief concern was to continue Akbar's education which began at Kabul. A Persian scholar called Mir Abdul Latif was chosen as his tutor. He failed to induce Akbar to read, but succeeded in teaching him the principle of *sulh-i-kul* or universal toleration based on the view that all religions have one ultimate aim. Akbar took care to build up his body by taking regular exercises. He loved animals, birds, open air, hunting and games. Although he refused to read, he showed great skill in the acquisition of knowledge by having books read out to him. He had a wonderful memory and had a great genius for organization. He was of a contemplative turn of mind and one day when he was alone in the desert he appears to have fallen into an ecstasy. Later in life he appears to have had similar experiences.

Bairam Khan was in charge of the actual administration up to 1560. Gwalior and Ajmer were taken and Jaunpur was annexed to the Mughal empire. An attack on Ranthambhor failed. Plans for the conquest of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues against Bairam Khan. Bairam Khan was a Shia and was not in favour with the Sunnis. He was also disliked because he had executed Tardi Beg. Akbar was then eighteen years old, fully alive to Bairam's ability and faithful services to the family of Babur. But he resented the restrictions which Bairam Khan, a strict mentor, imposed on him.

Understanding Akbar's feelings the ladies of the court who hated Bairam Khan for his haughty ways worked against him. They sedulously poisoned the mind of Akbar against Bairam Khan. Maham Anaga, Akbar's wet-nurse, persuaded Akbar to dismiss Bairam Khan from service. Akbar issued a proclamation announcing to his people that he had taken the sole management of affairs into his own hands, and that in future no orders, except those given under his own seal, should be obeyed. At the same time he sent a message to Bairam Khan to this effect: 'Till now our mind had been taken up with our education and by the amusements of youth, and it was our royal will that you should regulate the affairs of

the empire. But, it being our intention henceforward to govern the people by our own judgement, let our well-wisher withdraw from all worldly concerns, and taking the pilgrimage to Mecca on which he has for so long been intent, spend the rest of his days in prayer far removed from the toils of public life'. What offended Bairam Khan was that this letter was delivered to him by Pir Muhammad, who had been ungrateful and disloyal to him. This provoked Bairam Khan into a rebellion. But at Jalandhar Bairam Khan was defeated and brought as prisoner before Akbar. Akbar forgave him and told him to proceed to Mecca. But on the way at Patan in Gujarat he was murdered by an Afghan who owed him a grudge. Bairam's widow Salima Begum became the second wife of Akbar and her son Abdur Rahim was looked after by Akbar. The harem party became strong and Akbar was under the influence of Maham Anaga and her clique.

The conquest of Malwa was entrusted to Adham Khan, the son of Maham Anaga, and to Pir Muhammad. They easily defeated Baz Bahadur of Malwa. But their success was marred by their savage cruelties. Hundreds of prisoners were murdered and Rupmati, the charming wife of Baz Bahadur, had to commit suicide. When Akbar heard of these atrocities, he left Agra and surprised Adham Khan. But Maham also hurried after Akbar and succeeded in softening matters between the emperor and her son for a time. It was on the way back to Agra that Akbar killed a tiger with a single blow of his sword, and Jahangir in his *Memoirs* relates several stories of this kind about his father.

In 1561 Akbar summoned Shams-ud-din from Kabul and made him minister of the empire. Maham Anaga disliked this appointment. Adham was at the same time recalled from Malwa. In May 1562 Adham Khan attacked the new prime minister in the palace and murdered him in broad daylight when he was engaged in public business. He appears to have had designs on the life of Akbar himself. Akbar heard the noise, came out of his room, and felled Adham Khan with a blow of his fist. He had Adham Khan thrown down the terrace twice, till he was dead. When Akbar told Maham Anaga of this punishment given to her son, she only said, 'Your Majesty has done well' and died forty days after that. Thus ended Akbar's tutelage to the harem party.

AKBAR'S POLICY: The task of consolidating the empire occupied Akbar for the first two years of his assumption of direct rule. He showed an extraordinary dash and courage in his conquests. According to him the king should be the solvent in which caste and creed, even race, should disappear leaving behind them nothing but equal rights, equal justice and equal laws. To secure these ends he realized that it was necessary to make people forget the ravages of war and conquest. Early in 1563 he forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war. He abolished the tax on pilgrims when in camp near Mathura, a great centre of pilgrimage. In the following year he went one step further and abolished the invidious impost of the *jizya*. He married a Rajput princess, the daughter of Raja Bhar Mall (often called Bihar Mall) of Amber or Jaipur and did not compel her to embrace Islam. She became the mother of emperor Jahangir. Akbar made it clear that he was no more the foreign invader, but had adopted India as his home and felt one with all Indians, Hindus and Muslims alike. People realized that he was a man obviously marked out to weld the conflicting elements of his kingdom into a strong and prosperous whole. Tansen, the famous musician of Gwalior, was summoned to court and received with great honour.

CONQUESTS: In his conquests he followed the tradition of Hindu and Muslim rulers of the past. He said: 'A monarch should ever be intent on conquest, otherwise his enemies rise in arms against him.' Asaf Khan, the governor of Kara who had reduced to obedience Ram Chand Bhagel, Raja of Bhath, was told to subdue the kingdom of Gondwana, the north eastern part of modern Madhya Pradesh. It was then governed by Rani Durgavati on behalf of her young son. She was an excellent princess of Chandela extraction and no one could find fault with her administration. She put up a brave resistance and stabbed herself to avoid capture. The capital, Chauragarh, was occupied and the prince fell in battle. An enormous spoil fell into the hands of Asaf Khan who sent only part of it to Akbar and kept most of it for himself.

In 1565 Akbar forestalled conspiracies to set up Kamran's son as a rival to the throne by ordering the private execution of that prince. Many disliked Akbar's Persianized ways and the Uzbeg nobles and officers rose in rebellion under the lead of Khan Zaman

Ali Kuli Khan, governor of Jaunpur. This leader was second only to Bairam Khan in his services to Akbar. But he disliked the strong centralized rule of Akbar which caused dissatisfaction among Akbar's feudatories. There was intermittent war for two years, after which Akbar was able to crush the rebellions and Ali Kuli Khan himself fell in a battle. It was in 1565 that Akbar began building the great fort of Agra which took fifteen years for completion.

AKBAR'S DEALINGS WITH RAJPUTS: Akbar's policy was to capture all strong fortresses. Gwalior, Chunar and Merta had already been acquired. The Rajput stronghold was Chitor and this was besieged in 1567. Uday Singh, the reigning Rana was a coward who left the defence of the fortress to Jaimal Rathor and fled to the Aravalli hills. His son and successor Rana Pratap is said to have bewailed, 'Had there been no Uday Singh between me and Rana Sanga, the Turks would not have become masters of India'. Akbar realised the natural strength of the fortress of Chitor and laid a siege to it methodically and carefully. The fort held out till February 1568. In one of his rounds at night, Akbar by a lucky shot killed Jaimal himself. With their leader gone, the garrison abandoned all hope of success. Akbar saw great flames arising in different places in the city. He came to know that the women immolated themselves on a pyre to save their honour. The remnant of the garrison attacked the Mughals and perished fighting. Next morning Akbar entered the fallen fortress on an elephant, but even then the Rajputs put up resistance of a desperate nature. Akbar was so enraged by the fierce resistance that he massacred 30,000 country people who had taken part in the defence. The Rajputs never forgot the slaughter that followed the fall of Chitor. Akbar showed his appreciation of the defence by causing two statues to be set up in Agra of Jaimal and of the young prince Patta, sixteen years of age, who, with his mother and his bride, all fighting, perished in the defence of Chitor. The statues were subsequently removed to Delhi where Bernier saw them.

FALL OF RANTHAMBHOR: In 1569 Akbar attacked Ranthambhor. Raja Surjan Hara held it as a vassal of the Rana of Chitor. This attack on Ranthambhor was interrupted by the rising of the Mirzas, the Timurid princes. This compelled Akbar to invade Malwa

and drive these princes out. They fled to Gujarat where conditions favoured their predatory activities. At Ranthambhor Raja Man Singh, the nephew and adopted son of Bhagvan Das, entered the fortress to induce Surjan to surrender. Akbar accompanied him disguised as a macebearer. The uncle of Surjan recognized Akbar and relieved him of the task of carrying the mace. Thereupon Akbar took charge of the negotiations and granted Surjan Hara concessions and privileges of a flattering nature. Thus Akbar secured the surrender of the fortress. The Muslim historians do not record the story of the peaceful surrender of Ranthambhor but attribute it to the execution of Akbar's mortars. With the fall of Ranthambhor, Akbar became the virtual master of Rajputana.

The clans of Malwa never submitted to Akbar and kept up fighting during the best part of his reign. But the other Rajput princes were content to be friends with the emperor and accept service under him and marry their daughters in his family. Rajputana became a *suba* (province) of Akbar's empire with Ajmer as its headquarters. Kalanjar, the strong fortress in Bundelkhand, surrendered without resistance (1569). In 1570 Akbar married two more Rajput brides from Bikaner and Jaisalmir. Rana Pratap Singh of Malwa who succeeded Uday Singh in 1572 recovered a number of strongholds. His life was full of perils and privation but he never once thought of surrender. He died in 1597 and his son Rana Amar Singh succeeded him. Because Akbar had his hands full otherwise, he had to leave alone Rana Amar Singh. Moreover, prince Salim who had been appointed to take the command against the Rana himself revolted against the emperor.

GUJARAT: The rich maritime province of Gujarat had been subject to Delhi under the sultanate and also held by Humayun for a short time. Akbar had heard of its wealth and the anarchy that prevailed there attracted his attention. He began a campaign for its conquest in July 1572. There was little resistance and Akbar captured Ahmadabad and secured the person of Muzaffar Shah III, the nominal ruler of Gujarat. Akbar visited Cambay where he sailed on the sea for the first time and met with Portuguese traders from the West. Hearing the news of the revolt of Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, his kinsman, Akbar hurried back and in a battle at Sarnal on the Mahi defeated him. He laid siege to Surat, the headquarters of

Ibrahim Mirza. A small Portuguese force that came to the help of Mirza thought it prudent to enter into negotiations with Akbar. A treaty was concluded by which the journey of pilgrims to Mecca was facilitated. Surat surrendered in February 1573 and Akbar returned to Agra in April. There was a fresh rebellion in Gujarat and Akbar in the course of eleven days was able to rush to Ahmadabad from Agra, a distance of 600 miles, and crush the rebellion. The conquest of Gujarat not only extended Akbar's empire but enhanced the State's income. The Mughals had now free access to the sea which meant increased trade and commerce with foreigners. However, it did not occur to them to build up a navy strong enough to keep the Portuguese off the west coast of India. Gujarat became the training ground for Raja Todar Mal who tried his improved principles of revenue administration for the first time in that country.

AKBAR'S FRIENDS: Akbar found leisure to devote himself to science and art after the completion of his state duties. The famous personages and scholars who adorned his capital became his friends. Every Thursday evening, a circle of these were collected for intellectual conversation and philosophical discussion. His closest friends were two highly talented brothers, Faizi and Abul Fazl. These were the sons of Shaikh Mubarak who put into Akbar's mind the idea of becoming the spiritual as well as temporal leader of his subjects. Faizi was a poet and Abul Fazl a scholar and they both shared their father's outlook on religion. Abul Fazl joined Akbar in 1567 during the siege of Chitor. In him, Akbar found a man after his own heart and he became Akbar's closest and most trusted friend and the historian of his achievements. Akbar's circle of friends included Badauni, a Muslim of the narrowest orthodoxy, who disliked much that he saw and heard of Akbar's court. He wrote a history of Akbar's reign which he was able to publish only after Akbar's death. Rajah Birbal, who began his life as a minstrel, stood closest to the emperor. His pure intellectuality, his quaint humour and cynical outlook on life seem to have given Akbar the nerve tonic which as a dreamer, he appears to have needed.

Raja Man Singh, nephew and adopted son of Raja Bhagavan Das of Amber, was one of Akbar's best generals and governors. Raja

Todar Mal rose from humble beginnings to high offices in the imperial service. He was a good commander in the field as well as an unrivalled revenue expert. He compelled Hindus to learn Persian by requiring that the revenue accounts should be maintained in that language and script. Abul Fazl says of him that being unselfish he 'devoted himself to the service of the state and earned an everlasting fame'. According to a modern historian Todar Mall 'was on the whole the ablest and most upright of the great imperial officers'.

REFORMS: The two years that followed the conquest of Gujarat witnessed the inauguration of important administrative reforms which were perfected in subsequent years. To prevent fraudulent musters, Akbar renewed the expedient of branding horses in the service of government. Akbar had only partial success in wiping out corruption in this direction for he had to meet with a sullen opposition from interested persons. He sought to convert *jagirs* into crown lands whenever possible with a view to lessen the power of the fief holders and to increase that of the central government. This reform enhanced the fiscal resources of the government and reduced chances of revolt by influential local magnates. He elaborated the system of *mansabdars* and built up a bureaucracy. The officials were given definite salaries. The military offices (*mansabs*) were classified into thirty-three grades, of which the three highest ranging from 7,000 to 10,000 horses were reserved for princes of the royal family. The other *mansabdars* ranged from 10 to 5,000. The higher *mansabdars* drew high salaries. The numbers used for grading seldom corresponded to facts. The regular army was a relatively small force and in war time it was increased by contingents provided by *mansabdars*.

BENGAL: When the power of the Sur dynasty declined, Sulaiman Kararani, who had been governor of Bihar under Sher Shah, established his independence in Bengal. He pleased Akbar by acknowledging his authority and sending him tribute occasionally. His son Daud succeeded him in 1572. His father had left him a large army and immense treasure and so he thought that he had strength enough to defy Akbar. He captured a frontier fort while Akbar was still in Gujarat. Daud's rashness provoked Akbar to turn his

attention to the conquest of Bengal. He sent Munim Khan, an aged general to deal with Daud. Being unable to bring Daud to book, he laid siege to Patna and wrote to the emperor asking him to come himself. In 1574 Akbar organized an expeditionary force which as usual in campaigns in the lower Ganges was assisted by an armed flotilla. He then proceeded partly by land and partly by river into the eastern part of Bihar which was under Daud's government. Akbar took Hajipur on the north bank of the river, the depot from which the garrison of Patna drew its supplies. Daud evacuated Patna by night and fled, and Akbar took the city with enormous booty. Leaving Munim, Todar Mall and other generals to finish the campaign, Akbar returned to Fathpur Sikri. Early in 1575 Daud was defeated at Tukaroi, but Munim Khan, the commander-in-chief, being eager to bring the campaign to a close, let off Daud on easy terms in spite of the protest of Todar Mall. In the campaign that followed, Daud was finally defeated and killed and Bengal was annexed to Akbar's empire.

Man Singh led two campaigns against Orissa, one in 1590 and the other in 1592. He conquered Orissa and the sacred area of Puri and Jagannath was classified as crown land to satisfy Hindu sentiment.

Even after the death of Daud, the Afghan landowners in Bengal continued to give much trouble, for they were very much dissatisfied with the action of the retainers of the Mughal viceroys in depriving them of their estates. The conquest of Bengal in 1576 made Akbar master of all Hindusthan including the entire basins of the Indus and Ganges excepting Sind and lower course of the Indus. Sind was however captured later.

FATHPUR SIKRI: Akbar revered Muslim saints. He met Shaikh Salim at Sikri, a village near Agra. In accordance with Salim's assurance Akbar's eldest son was born in August 1560 and was named Salim after the saint. Next year his second son Murad was born. As a mark of gratitude to Shaikh Salim Akbar built a splendid city at Sikri and named in Fathpur Sikri. It took many years for Akbar to build the city. He used it as his capital till 1585 and abandoned it thereafter. He paid a short visit to it in 1601. Probably for the commemoration of his conquest of Gujarat, Akbar built in the city the Buland Darwaza, a Lofty Portal of the Mosque.

He also built the Fathpur palace. Of easy access from the throne room was Akbar's Diwan-i-am, a hall of public audience, where he frequently appeared to transact public business.

IBADAT KHANA: Akbar built at Fathpur Sikri a 'House of Worship' called Ibadat Khana for holding discussions among the learned doctors of all schools of thought in Islam. The building rose near the mosque in the gardens of the palace. Before the discussions could get under way questions of seating and precedence had to be settled. 'So it was ordained that on the south side should sit the Learned Doctors; on the north, the Ascetics and Mystics; on the east such nobles as cared for these matters; on the west reputed descendants of the Prophet. And Akbar presided over them all; not enthroned in immovable dignity, but moving in his restless way freely among them, and talking now with one and now with another.' Akbar was dissatisfied with the discussions among the Ulama. He was no doubt the true son of the Renaissance who claimed the right of interpreting the Islamic scriptures in the light of scientific knowledge of his time. Akbar ordered some of the Ulama to write a commentary on the *Koran*. But this, says Badauni, 'led to great rows among them'. At this time some Portuguese priests appeared at the court. He questioned them closely upon the philosophical basis of Christian doctrines and seemed to be much impressed for he requested the authorities at Goa to send him experts to give him further instruction. The choice fell on two Jesuits, Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, a young Neapolitan, who 'won respect by a life of extreme asceticism', and Father Antonio Monserrate, a Spanish scholar was directed to prepare a history of the mission. His history written in Latin is one of the valuable authorities for the reign of Akbar. The mission visited Fathpur Sikri in March 1580 and was received with great honour. The Jesuits had high hopes of converting Akbar to Christianity. Akbar accorded permission to build a chapel at Agra. He made one of the priests assist in the translation of Greek literature into Persian. Faizi was ordered to prepare a Persian translation of the gospels. The court painters copied many of the sacred pictures in which Akbar showed much interest. Personally however Akbar disappointed the expectations of the good fathers. Although sometimes he joined reverently in divine service at the Christian church he

clearly showed that his attitude was that of an ardent scientific inquirer. He caused his son Prince Murad, a child of ten years, to be instructed in the Christian doctrines so as to try the effect of Christianity on him. The experiment on his son was by no means convincing, for Prince Murad like both of his brothers grew up into a confirmed drunkard and eventually died of delirium tremors at the age of twenty-eight. The second mission sent from Goa in 1590 convinced the Jesuits that Akbar's mind was inscrutable, though he was most friendly towards them and desired to have some of them always by his side. Akbar's interest in the doctrines of Christianity was no doubt genuine, although his critics have not correctly interpreted his attitude.

In April 1578, he had ordered in the Punjab one of his enormous hunts. At this hunt there were thousands of beaters employed to form a ring forty or fifty miles in circumference. These beaters would narrow the circle and drive the game against the emperor and his nobles who hunted the animals. After ten days of preparation Akbar suddenly countermanded the order. All animals were allowed to escape free; a vast revulsion from hunting the unoffending animals was felt by him. On such occasions Akbar went through some mystic experiences which left their effects behind. The discussions in the Ibadat Khana reached the climax in 1578 when Abul Fazl put forward for discussion the proposition that the king should be regarded by his subjects not only as a temporal ruler but as a spiritual guide. The Sunni Ulema might have agreed to it, if they had had no doubts of Akbar's orthodoxy. There were prolonged and stormy discussions without any agreement being reached. Akbar took a bold step to silence the Ulama. At the first Friday service of the month of *Fumada'l-awwal* in 1579 he took the place of the court Imam and commenced to read the *khutba* before the assembled court, to signify that henceforward the Padshah would be the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the empire of Hindusthan. The poem composed by Faizi to celebrate the solemn occasion ends with these lines,

'Allahu Akbar—God is great.'

All opposition to Fazl's proposal collapsed. Akbar got the legal sanction to the Padshah's assumption of the position of final arbiter

in all matters of dispute regarding religious questions, by making the Ulama sign a document, which ends thus:

> 'Further we declared that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the *Quran*, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.
>
> 'This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year 987 (September 1579).'

This damnatory clause in the document is considered by some as wholly opposed to Akbar's tolerant views in religious matters. Probably it was used as a common legal formula and not intended to be taken literally.

This has also been called very incorrectly, 'the Infallibility decree'. From the thirieth year of his reign, an expanded creed appeared on his coins. It read: *Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalala*. The translation is 'God is most great, eminent is His glory'.

As soon as Akbar formally assumed the spiritual leadership of Islam he took into his own hands the administration of the department of crown lands which included lands given by the crown as benevolences. He ordered that all those who held more than 500 *bighas* should bring their *firmans* to court for inspection or in default forefeit their *syurgals* (*madalimash*—assistance for livelihood). Badauni gives a pitiful account of the sufferings of the families of the 'great and noble and the renowned and famous who lost respect, of the schools and mosques which were closed for lack of endowments'. This led to the cry of 'Islam in danger' by the orthodox Muslims, and perhaps in a way to the rebellions in Bihar and Bengal.

Possibly the Ibadat Khana went soon out of use after Akbar became the final authority on debated questions of Islamic religion. Akbar is believed to have ordered the destruction of the building. Akbar went on his annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja

Muin-ud-din at Ajmer and kept up other practices like the five daily prayers for some time after the famous decree of 1579. Relying on Badauni, some historians accuse Akbar of deliberate hypocrisy. So did the Christian fathers. But the truth evidently was not so simple.

SULH-I-KUL: Akbar was deeply interested in religion and philosophy. With unabated zeal he listened to the arguments of the Sufi and Shia divines, and the disputes between Brahmans, Buddhists, Muslims, Parsis, Jains and Christians. He added to his library Persian translations of important works of philosophy, science, history and religion. From 1579 to 1582 representatives of different religions were invited to joint religious debates which were held in the private apartments of the palace, but after 1582 the debates ceased. In fact, Akbar was an assiduous student of what we now call Comparative Religion. He saw good men professing different creeds and *Sulh-i-Kul* seemed to him the only proper ground of reconciliation among them. Finding the Christian missions dogmatic and intolerant, Akbar's attraction towards Christianity faded off. He told the Christian priests that they could build churches and live freely in his empire just as the Hindus were doing. There are accounts that exaggerate the influence of Christian missionaries on Akbar. Akbar was not less attracted by the doctrines of the Jains and by the ancient Persian faith of Zoroaster.

The influence of Hinduism on the emperor was certainly great. He forbade the killing of animals on certain dates. The influence of Dastur Meher-ji Rana or Hiravijaya Suri was not insignificant for, in accordance with the worship of Sun, he had in the palace a sacred fire never to be extinguished. He liked some features in each religion and adopted them, but in each case he stopped short of conversion. To the Hindus he gave full freedom of worship. Presumably under the influence of his Rajput wives he adopted some of their customs. This did not prevent him from legalizing the re-marriage of widows or prohibiting the burning of unwilling wives on the pyres of their husbands. He also forbade child-marriage, trial by ordeal and animal sacrifice.

MUSLIM OPPOSITION: The whole trend of Akbar's political and religious policy offended the Muslims of India who nearly for four

centuries had looked upon themselves as the privileged ruling class in India. The Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal regarded Akbar's conduct as a deliberate attack on their position and religion. They considered Akbar as an apostate and Mulla Muhammad of Yazd, the Kazi of Jaunpur, decreed, 'that rebellion against Akbar was a religious duty'. The leaders of the rebellion turned to Kabul where Akbar's younger half-brother Muhammad Hakim was governor. Although a drunkard, he was orthodox. In 1580 the rebellion broke out and was supported by Hakim's invasion of the Punjab. Leading courtiers were involved in the conspiracy. Shah Mansur, one of Akbar's able financiers, was punished for having written letters to Muhammad Hakim. Akbar however pardoned him and restored him to his position when he repented of his offence.

Akbar resolved to meet the danger from Kabul in person. He made careful preparations leaving nothing to chance. He took with him all influential Muslims who opposed him. Monserrate, who did not like Akbar's ways, accompanied him as Murad's tutor and wrote a detailed account of the campaign. Akbar cowed the traitors by the timely execution of Khwaja Shah Mansur, his finance minister. Muhammad Hakim, who had advanced as far as Lahore, fled when he heard of Akbar's march. Many of the nobles of the Punjab met Akbar at Machiwara and submitted themselves to his authority. After a visit to Nagarcot, Akbar continued his march. He wrote to his brother commanding him to see him at Kabul as his sovereign. No reply came and Akbar ordered Murad and Man Singh to go in advance towards Kabul, instructing them to give Muhammad Hakim an opportunity to make his submission. Later Akbar joined his son Murad at Kabul from where Muhammad Hakim had fled. Appointing Bakht-u-Nisa Begum, his sister, to the government of Kabul, Akbar returned to Fathpur Sikri (December 1581).

DIN ILAHI: Akbar's assumption of the leadership of Islam should be considered not only as a means of curbing the arrogant temper of the Ulama but as an act of far-seeing statesmanship intended to ensure the peace of Hindusthan and the security of the Mughal dynasty. The psychic atmosphere of Hindusim was still electric with the religious fervour excited by Chaitanya's mission, thirty years before Akbar's time. Akbar's political intuition must have

told him that if he did not take the lead at that critical period religious fanatics would disturb the minds of his subjects. His spiritual craving was not satisfied by the discussions he had with the experts of the other religions. Therefore it was not mere vanity which prompted him at last to assume the lead by using the formula, 'There is no God but Allah and Akbar is His Khalifa'. This formula summarizes Akbar's teaching of new Islam. Finding the diversity of India's religions a great obstacle to the unity of India, he formulated a creed that should unite all men of good will. He felt that he alone symbolized the unity of diverse elements which made up the empire. So in 1582 he formally promulgated the new creed known as *Touhid Ilahi* (Divine Monotheism) or *Din Ilahi* (Divine Religion). Bartoli, a Jesuit author, says: 'the council specially summoned by Akbar accepted the new creed unanimously'. Badauni, however, says that Rāja Bhagavan Das had raised a feeble voice of dissent and his protest was repeated by Man Singh in 1587.

It is greatly to Akbar's credit that though he often tried to influence his most valued officials by argument, he always respected the 'conscientious objector' and never used his authority to compel anyone to accept the membership of his Order. Badauni attacks the *Din Ilahi* violently as an organization intended for the subversion of the creed of the Prophet and treats all of Akbar's ritualistic innovations as clear proofs of his apostasy. Pious Muslims accepted the *Din Ilahi* not as a new religion but as a religious brotherhood for uniting the seventy-two sects of Islam and Indians of other beliefs in the common aim of serving the State.

There were many staunch Muslims who were horrified at any proposal for revising the established ritual of Islam. Akbar regulated divine worship by the Sun and used fire and light as symbols of divine power. The orthodox Muslims railed at him as a Parsi or Hindu unbeliever. Little did they consider that Islam itself like every other creed fixed its festivals and religious observances by the same means. He enjoined members of the Order to abstain from eating meat, to be content with one wife—except should she be barren—and allowed Muslim youth to consider for themselves the propriety of the rite of circumcision. All these gave mortal offence to the orthodox Muslims.

By a decree Akbar fixed the commencement of the Ilahi era as the year of the Padshah's accession to the throne. He ordered that

this reckoning should be stamped on the imperial coinage and used in all official documents. The court festivals were rearranged according to the new computation of the year. State patronage was no longer to be given to the old-fashioned Arabic learning, but the study of philosophy, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history and imaginative literature was to be encouraged. At the same time Akbar showed respect for the founder of the Muslim faith by ordering a history of the thousand years to be written from the death of the Prophet.

The essence of the Din-Ilahi was contained in the high-minded and unflinching devotion to the common weal which Akbar himself showed in the highest degree and expected from those who were admitted to the membership of his Order. The orthodox Muslims condemned Akbar as a hopeless heretic. Akbar's answer to the charge was characteristic. When the king of Turan, Abdulla Khan Uzbek, wrote to him regarding the reports he had heard of the Padshah's apostasy he replied: 'Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—then how should I?'.[1]

In his irritation with the Muslim theologians who opposed his order, Akbar impaired his own toleration by ordinances particularly directed against Islamic practices. He forbade the use of the name Muhammad and the erection or repair of mosques. He enforced in his court the *sijdah* or prostration till then reserved for divine worship. Akbar appeared in public with Hindu sectarian marks on his forehead.

The Divine Faith was of course a failure. As a creed it was so simple as to fall under the reproach of being vague and empty. In fact, 'The religion, which was to have united all, pleased none'. Only a few of his courtiers accepted it. But Akbar's eclecticism never left him. The concept embedded in Din Ilahi, that no man should suffer on account of the way he chose for worshipping God, continued to influence all men of good will long after the dissolution of the Order upon Akbar's death. True, Akbar was not cut out for a religious leader, but in his pursuit of the material and political unity of his empire, he was no fumbler.

[1] Cited by Havell, p. 517; Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, p. 468.

FURTHER CONQUESTS: In the midst of pre-occupation with religion, Akbar never forgot his worldly ambitions. He made himself secure by building a fort at Allahabad in 1583. In 1586 Akbar made war on Kashmir. The sultan refused to submit to Akbar.

The fierce tribe of Yusufzais on the north-west frontier were a source of trouble to Akbar. Zain Khan, a Mughal general who was engaged in subduing the tribes of north western frontier, was compelled to ask for reinforcements. Akbar chose two of his favourite courtiers, Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fath, neither of whom had any special qualifications or experience in military affairs, though at the Mughal court every man of rank was assumed to be a soldier. Raja Birbal in a night march was inveigled into an ambuscade in a narrow defile, where his troops were cut to pieces and he himself, with many other officers, was killed. It was with very great difficulty that Zain Khan and Abul Fath managed to escape on foot to the fortress of Attock.

The death of Birbal was a serious shock to Akbar for he was the only Hindu who had embraced the Divine Faith. Akbar was even more grieved by the loss of his favourite poet than by the disaster to the imperial arms. Akbar reached Srinagar from Lahore in 1589. From there he went to Kabul. There he heard of the deaths of the two other beloved companions, Bhagavan Das and Todar Mall. In 1591 Sind became a part of the empire as a result of a campaign conducted by Abdur Rahim, the able son of Bairam Khan. Orissa was conquered by Man Singh in 1592 and Baluchistan with the coast region of Makran was added to the empire in 1594. A year later, Kandahar was surrendered by its Persian governor. Thus Akbar's empire extended over an area greater than that of Harsha. He was master of all India north of the Narmada, besides Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar with their dependencies, and Orissa.

FAMINE: There was a terrible famine which began in 1595 and lasted for three years. Conditions were made worse by a pestilence that raged. 'In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger', says a chronicler, 'men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked with corpses, but no assistance could be given for their removal'. The pestilence was raging in Lahore in 1597 and the Fathers baptized many children abandoned by their parents.

THE DECCAN CAMPAIGN: Akbar now turned his attention towards the regions south of the Narmada. He was intent on driving his Christian friends into the sea. It cannot be said with any certainty whether Akbar aimed at the conquest of the Deccan or only sought its aid to assist him against the Portuguese. He sent diplomatic missions to the sultans of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar (including Berar), Golkonda and Bijapur, inviting them to recognize his suzerainty and agree to pay tribute. Khandesh promised obedience but the other States politely evaded the demands. Akbar was determined on war and sent Abdur Rahim and Prince Murad as joint commanders of the Deccan campaign. Prince Murad, a slave to drink, could not agree with Abdur Rahim. Their quarrels interfered with the operations against Ahmadnagar which began in 1593. The city was defended gallantly by Chand Bibi, one of the heroines of Deccani folk-lore. Her successful defence resulted in a treaty in 1596 by which Berar was ceded to Akbar and Ahmadnagar was allowed to retain its independence.

Akbar was greatly worried in mind over the prevalent famine, the failure of Murad and the growing insubordination of his eldest son, Salim. Akbar had vain hopes of getting back his ancestral territory beyond the frontiers of India. For thirteen years he was pinned to the Punjab out of fear of Ozbeg invasion of India. The death in 1598 of Abdullah Khan, the Ozbeg ruler of Transoxiana, came as a relief to Akbar. To set matters right in the Deccan, Akbar sent Abul Fazl to take the command in 1597. Even then things did not come well. So Akbar decided to go there himself. Leaving Salim in charge of the capital and Ajmer and ordering him to complete the subjugation of Mewar, Akbar went south.

ASIRGARH: Salim ignored Akbar's order and caused no trouble to the Rana. Before Akbar left for the south in July 1599, Murad had died in delirium tremors in May. Miran Bahadur Shah threw off his allegiance to Akbar who crossed the Narmada and captured Burhanpur in 1600 without opposition.

Khandesh trusted to its great fortress of Asirgarh, the most formidable in all India. It was a huge mass of rock enclosed by a triple line of fortifications, commanding an unfailing supply of water from wells and reservoirs, and well stocked with provisions enough

to support the garrison for ten years. The capture of Asirgarh was no simple affair for Akbar. Abul Fazl was by the side of Akbar to conduct the siege. In the meantime Daniyal, Akbar's son captured Ahmadnagar in August 1600 after the death of its bold defender Chand Bibi. By that time the siege of Asirgarh had lasted six months and Akbar came to know that Salim had openly revolted at Allahabad. Bahadur who was defending Asirgarh, finding it difficult to continue the struggle offered to submit if the fortress and country were restored to him and prisoners released. These terms were granted, but when Bahadur came into the emperor's presence, he was not allowed to go back. Bahadur, suspecting foul play, had ordered his Abyssinian governor of fort not to yield under any circumstances. Akbar was disappointed in his hopes to get heavy guns from the Portuguese. Resorting to assiduous bribing, Akbar bought over the most important of the defenders. The Abyssinian governor took poison and died. His son who had been carrying on negotiations with Akbar on behalf of Bahadur came to the Mughal camp and stabbed himself to death before Abul Fazl and other Mughal chiefs. The keys of the impregnable fortress were taken by corrupt means in the early days of 1601.

The newly acquired territories in the Deccan were constituted into three *subas* (provinces) and Daniyal was sent as Viceroy over them together with Malwa and Gujarat. Akbar returned to Agra before the middle of 1601.

Akbar's Sorrows: The last year of Akbar's life were rendered sad and lonely by the misconduct of his sons and loss of friends. Daniyal, the son-in-law of Abdur Rahim and the younger son of Akbar, died of hard drinking in Burhanpur in 1604. We have noticed that Murad had already died.

Salim, the first born child of many prayers, caused Akbar no small trouble. He felt that his father had lived long enough and it was time that he got the throne for himself. So when Akbar was in the south, Salim thought of seizing Agra with its vast treasure. The fort of Agra was under Kulich Khan, the loyal commander. Salim had not the nerve to face him. Salim went to Allahabad where he assumed and exercised sovereign powers. From Asirgarh Akbar sent a companion of Salim as the messenger with a letter to Salim demanding explanation of his conduct. Salim won the

messenger to his side by making him his chief minister.

On his return from the Deccan Akbar heard that Salim was marching on Agra with 30,000 horsemen. He sent messengers to stop the advance and made him the governor of Orissa and Bengal. Salim went back to Allahabad, but kept up all his pretensions, behaved to his father as one king to another and had the impudence to send him specimens of the coins he had issued in his own name. Towards the middle of 1602 Akbar informed Abul Fazl of the rebellion of Salim and recalled him from the Deccan to his side. Fearing that Abul Fazl's presence near Akbar would be injurious to him, Salim engaged the Bundela chief Bir Singh Deo to kill Abul Fazl. On an August morning Bir Singh fell upon Abul Fazl with 500 horsemen and killed him. His head was carried to Salim, who gloated over the sight of the head of his father's dearest friend.

When the news of the brutal murder reached Akbar his grief and anger knew no bounds. For three days Akbar secluded himself from the public gaze. He ordered that Bir Singh should be caught and killed on the spot. But Bir Singh contrived to escape. Probably as a statesman, Akbar took into account the disastrous consequences of a war with his own son. Salim's step mother, Sultan Salima Begum, went to Allahabad and persuaded Salim to return with her to Agra. There a reconciliation was brought about and Salim received a turban just taken off from the emperor's head. Salim was proclaimed is heir-apparent (April 1603).

Akbar wanted Salim to resume the unfinished Mewar campaign. The prince had no intention to pursue the matter and kept on asking for more men and more money. At last he was allowed to go to Allahabad. Akbar's anger against Salim increased. A new fear crept upon Salim that he would be superseded by his son, Khusru a popular youth of attractive graces of person and manner. Khusru's claims were supported by Raja Man Singh and by his father-in-law Mirza Aziz Koka, the foster brother and close friend of Akbar. Khusru himself joined his supporters in slandering his father to the utter mortification of his mother who committed suicide (May 1604). Her death struck Salim deeply and he wrote a letter to his son conveying his most affectionate condolence.

Salim's continued evil ways and his acts of barbarous tyranny shocked Akbar more and more. Akbar realized that Salim was his only surviving son. He decided to bring his son to his senses by

force of arms (August 1604). But Akbar's mother tried to intercede. When her effort failed she was overcome with grief and fell dangerously ill. Akbar who had started on his expedition against Salim turned back in remorse to Agra. Two days later the old queen died and her body was conveyed to Delhi to lie by the side of Humayun.

The loss of his mother greatly grieved Akbar. Both father and son felt a little softened towards each other. Salim really felt that if he did not submit to his father, his claim to the throne would be overlooked. So he went to Agra and prostrated himself humbly before his father who received him with many signs of affection. However, Akbar suddenly lost control of himself. He drew Salim apart into an inner room, slapped him soundly on the face and reproached him with all his unfilial misdeeds. Salim was arrested and deprived of wine and opium for a number of days. Persuaded by his wives, Akbar restored Salim to freedom. Salim was appointed as viceroy of the Deccan provinces, but he continued to reside at Agra as the acknowledged heir-apparent.

DEATH: The loss of friends, the ignoble and untimely death of his two sons, the rebellion of Salim and the death of his mother had cast a gloom on Akbar. He took seriously ill in September 1604. Khusru's supporters planned to arrest Salim when he came to visit his father. But at a meeting held for the purpose, Khusru's succession was strongly opposed. As his end came near, Akbar called Salim to his side and by gestures told him to put on the imperial turban and gird on the sword of Humayun which hung at the foot of the bed. Akbar died after midnight on 25/26 October, a month before completing his sixty-third year of age. He was buried at Sikandra near Agra in a splendid mausoleum which he himself had planned sometime before his death. Poor Akbar was not allowed to rest in peace even in his grave. The Jats who rebelled against Aurangzeb in 1691 attacked the mausoleum, broke open the massive bronze gates, took away the costly ornaments and destroyed everything which they could not carry off. The most shocking outrage that they committed was that they dragged out the bones of Akbar and burnt them.

ESTIMATE: Akbar in his later life, as described by his son Jahangir, 'was of middle height, of a wheat coloured complexion, with black

eyes and eyebrows. His beauty was of form rather than of face, and he was powerfully built, with a broad chest and long arms. On his left nostril was a fleshy mole, very becoming of the size of a split pea, which physiognomists understood to be an augury of great wealth and glory. His voice was extremely loud, and in discourse and narration he was witty and animated. His whole air and appearance had little of the worldly being, but exhibited rather divine majesty'. Akbar's mode of life was regular and abstemious. He followed a carefully planned programme of day-to-day activities. He slept little and ate only one moderate meal a day. He took meat only twice a week. He was a man of great energy and was always fond of manly exercises. He was strong enough for heavy and sustained work. He was a fine polo player and played the game even by night using fire balls. He took great delight in the chase. He took an interest in making guns. He devised a new method of making guns which would not burst and a machine to clean sixteen barrels at a time and another by which seventeen guns could be fired simultaneously. He learnt by ear what people generally learn by their eyes through reading books. He loved paintings and encouraged painters. He had a great love for music and patronized letters. He was indeed a great king who won the respect, love and fear of his subjects. He was always glad to pardon an offender if just grounds for doing so could be shown. Through his Rajput wives, he converted the perpetual opposition which the Hindus and Rajputs had kept up against the Sultanate of Delhi into active and enthusiastic co-operation. He was a born statesman.

Akbar's policy towards the Hindus may be considered as being dictated by the facts that the continual influx of fresh recruits for the army and the services from abroad had ceased with the virtual separation of Kabul from India. There was also the turbulence of the remaining Turkish officers in India which was hard to check. If indeed his policy was dictated by these considerations, the means Akbar devised to get over the difficulty were worthy ends in themselves. His wise deeds of statesmanship continued to bear good fruit until Aurangzeb's ill-judged reversal of policy shook the empire to its fall.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH (1605–1707)

Jahangir (1605–1627)

SALIM assuming the title of Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi ascended the throne eight days after his father's death. *Nur-ud-din* means 'Light of the faith' and *Jahangir* means 'Holder of the world'. At the time of his accession, Jahangir was in his thirty-seventh year and was by no means lacking in ability. There is ample material to write the story of Jahangir. The emperor himself wrote his own very revealing memoirs and there are many descriptions from European travellers. Accounts of him show that he was 'a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness'. He loved his ease better than the duties of royalty. He indulged in drink and opium to the detriment of his health. He himself used to say that he wanted only a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry. Being a pleasure seeker, he was ready to let others take all the serious businesses of the State out of his hands.

Unlike his father, Jahangir had little feeling for religion. He was friendly towards the Jesuit Fathers so long as there was the possibility of getting the aid of the Portuguese in a fight for the throne. He studied religious problems as a hobby and enjoyed disputes between the Mullas and the Fathers just as he enjoyed a fencing match or a cock-fight. His personal religion seems to have been that of the heretical Muslim Sufis or the very similar doctrines of certain Hindu sages. He did not, however, imitate his father in adopting Hindu practices. He had no desire of persecuting anybody on account of his religion. His persecution of Jains of Gujarat was for their sedition, not for their religion.

At the time of his accession he made two solemn promises, one was that he would protect the Muslim religion and the other that he would not persecute the supporters of Prince Khusru; he honestly kept both the promises.

KHUSRU'S REVOLT : Prince Khusru could not escape the feeling that the crown was within his easy grasp. Ambition and fear combined to goad him into a revolt. He slipped out of Agra Fort in April 1606 on the pretext of visiting Akbar's tomb, collected a large number of followers, raised money in several ways and hastened to the Punjab. Khusru was handsome, brave and generous and so was extremely popular. His revolt was therefore a serious menace to Jahangir. Jahangir went in pursuit of Khusru. The governor of Lahore refused to take Khusru as a refugee. While Khusru was attempting to cross the Chenab, he was captured by his father, who ordered that he was to be rigorously guarded, and that the chains were not to be removed from his feet. His captains were tortured a whole night and disgraced the next morning. Each of them was made to ride upon an ass, his face turned towards the tail to be jeered at by the people. Two or three hundred adherents of Khusru were hung from trees or impaled on stakes set up on either side of the road. Khusru was led along the road to witness the sufferings of his followers. Khusru was ultimately blinded, not however completely, and kept a captive. Roe and Terry testify that even after being half-blinded Khusru retained his personal charm.

GURU ARJUN : The Sikh Guru Arjun, out of compassion for Khusru who was in dire distress, had given him money. Jahangir came to know of this, summoned the Guru and fined him two lakhs of rupees for his offence. Guru Arjun refused to pay. For five days he was subjected to torture until he died (June 1606).

Jahangir promoted Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl to high office. This caused general resentment. Ghias Beg, a Persian who had served Akbar well, became the revenue minister with the title of Itimad-ud-daula and Zamana Beg, a capable and upright soldier, was ennobled as Mahabat Khan. Raja Man Singh, the maternal uncle of Khusru, was sent as the governor of Bengal. Jahangir provided a bell of justice to be used by any suppliant

who wished to draw the emperor's attention. But there is no instance of its actual use on record.

NUR JAHAN : Jahangir married Nur Jahan, the daughter of Ghias Beg in 1611. Her original name was Mihr-un-Nisa (Sun of Woman-king). She was married to Ali Kuli Beg, better known as Sher Afghan (Tiger-thrower), who was placed under Prince Salim in his campaign against Mewar. When Salim revolted against his father, Sher Afghan went over to Akbar. However, Jahangir at his accession forgave Sher Afghan, gave him an office and *jagir* in Burdwan in Bengal. When he was suspected of treason, the emperor ordered Kutb-ud-din Khan, governor of Bengal to arrest Sher Afghan and send him to Agra. When the governor and Sher Afghan met, there was a scuffle and both of them were mortally wounded. Sher Afghan's widow was sent to Agra and placed under the care of the dowager queens. In the New Year's day celebrations of 1611 Jahangir fell in love with her and married her two months later. He gave her the title of Nur Mahal (Light of the Palace) which soon gave place to Nur Jahan (Light of the World). The legend that Jahangir had fallen in love with her in childhood, and later procured Sher Afghan's murder to be able to marry her himself is not supported by contemporary history. Nur Jahan's charm and beauty were unequalled. Her devotion to Jahangir was great. Indeed she was an asylum 'for all sufferers and helpless girls'. She was an extraordinarily intelligent, energetic and capable woman. Jahangir himself writes, 'how she killed a tiger at one shot from his gun'. She was somewhat selfish and favoured her own relatives. Jahangir placed himself completely in Nur Jahan's hands. Her father Ghias Beg became the prime minister. Her brother Asaf Khan was raised to the highest office in the court. Coins were struck with Nur Jahan's stamp. The imperial firmans were covered by her signature. Every morning the amirs came to prostrate before her and receive her orders. No doubt she was the empress of India. Her niece Arjumand Banu Begum, better known as Mumtaz Mahal, daughter of Asaf Khan, was married to Prince Khurram, who later became emperor as Shah Jahan.

REBELLIONS AND WARS : In the early years of Jahangir's reign there were rebellions both in Bengal and the Deccan. In 1612

Usman Khan, the leader in Bengal, died in a stiff battle and with his death the rebellion in Bengal which had begun under Akbar came to an end. Jahangir followed a policy of conciliation towards the Afghan leaders in Bengal.

In the Deccan Ahmadnagar continued to defy the Mughal emperor. It was administered by an able Abyssinian called Malik Ambar. Hostilities dragged on indefinitely from the beginning of Jahangir's reign. There was no agreement among the Mughal commanders to reduce Ahmadnagar to submission. Malik Ambar prepared for a war by training the mountaineers of Maharashtra in guerilla tactics which, later, Sivaji perfected so as to be the despair of Aurangzeb. In 1614, Rana Man Singh died in the Deccan and Jahangir ordered Khurram to bring the war against Mewar to a close.

Submission of Mewar : With the assistance of Mahabat Khan, prince Khurram threw himself into the war with great energy. The Rajput forces were reduced to the verge of starvation. Rana Amar Singh and his son Karan were obliged to submit to Prince Khurram. Rana Amar Singh agreed to come and wait on the prince, provided he was excused attendance at court where his son Karan would represent him. On Amar Singh promising not to fortify Chitor again, a treaty was concluded. The Rana was not required to attend the court nor was any woman of the royal family required for the imperial harem. Khurram rose high in the esteem of his father and won great reputation as a general. He was given the title of Shah and appointed to the Deccan command in place of the incompetent Parviz. Khurram's arrival in the south produced a change. The Adil Shah and Malik Ambar expressed their readiness to make peace. The latter agreed to return Balaghat and surrender Ahmadnagar and other forts. Khurram met his father at Mandu and received fresh honours.

Plague : Bubonic plague appeared in an epidemic form in the Punjab early in 1616. It spread to almost every locality in the north during the next six or seven years. A contemporary chronicler records accurately the symptoms of the epidemic. Fortunately Fathpur Sikri was saved though Agra twenty miles away was greatly afflicted in 1619.

SURRENDER OF KANGRA : Through Khurram's effort the long siege of Kangra was brought to a successful end in November 1629. This was the most notable military achievement of Jahangir's reign. The fortress of Kangra had defied even Akbar. Jahangir was extremely proud of having captured it. Khurram was obliged to go to the Deccan to the assistance of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim who was pressed hard by Malik Ambar and his confederates. He took with him his brother, Khusru. With the assistance of a contingent from Kalpi, Khurram advanced to Burhanpur and infused fresh vigour into the campaign against Malik Ambar. As Malik Ambar had seized several *jagirs* the nobles helped Khurram against the Abyssinian soldier. Malik Ambar sued for peace offering to surrender all territories held by the Mughals and to secure an indemnity of five million rupees from the States of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda. Khurram accepted the terms but Malik Ambar continued his old ways till his death in 1626. 'Ambar', says a contemporary writer, 'was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory warfare which, in the language of the Deccan is called *bargigiri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour'.

SHAH JAHAN VERSUS NUR JAHAN; MURDER OF KHUSRU : Khusru spent some time in Burhanpur regulating the administration which had been dislocated by warfare. He noticed that his successes did not evoke the admiration of his father as on former occasions. He learnt of the serious illness of his father at Agra. His brother Parviz was near his sick-bed. Khurram feared that Khusru would be his rival to the throne. Early in 1622 he hired an assassin to strangle Khusru to death. He reported to his father that Khusru had died of colic. Jahangir recorded the death of his favourite son without any comments. Shah Abbas of Persia wanted Jahangir to give up Kandahar voluntarily as it commanded one of the most important land routes to Persia. But Jahangir would not do so. In June 1622 the Shah took it by force without much trouble. Jahangir was very much worried by the loss. So he told his son Khurram to take the field in the north-west frontier. Khurram, being anxious to secure his position in the capital, was in no mood to obey his father. He advanced from Burhan-

pur to Mandu and demanded that when he took charge of the campaign he should be allowed to have the fort of Ranthambhor for the residence of his family and should be the sole commander, and also governor of the Punjab. Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan suspected each other's designs. After the death of her parents in 1621 there was no one to restrain Nur Jahan's impetuosity. Shah Jahan refused to move out of Mandu until after the rains. So he was required to send back his chief officers and the best troops to the emperor's aid. Shahryar was appointed to the command of the Kandahar forces. *Jagirs* of Shah Jahan in the Punjab were transferred to him. Thereupon Shah Jahan set up a standard of revolt. He was joined by the seventy-year-old Khan Khanan and others. Asaf Khan, his father-in-law, thought it prudent to keep aloof. Shah Jahan's intention was to march on to Agra and seize the treasure. To stop him from proceeding, an army under the command of Parviz assisted by Mahabat Khan was hastily despatched. At Balochpur the battle was fought (1623). Shah Jahan was defeated. He fled to the south. Khan Khanan surrendered and was kindly treated. Shah Jahan fled to the Deccan across Malwa and from there he reached Bengal after traversing Telingana. For a time he occupied Bengal and Bihar. Mahabat Khan who pursued him defeated him in a battle again. So Shah Jahan ran to the south once more and tried to make friends with his old enemy Malik Ambar. Finally he thought it prudent to seek reconciliation of his father. In 1625 he surrendered the fortresses of Rohtas and Asirgarh and sent his sons Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb to court as hostages for his good behaviour. He himself stayed away in Rajputana and the Deccan till his father's death.

MAHABAT KHAN : In 1626 Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan made up their minds to ruin Mahabat Khan because they found him constantly opposing them in their plans. They charged him with having retained a large share of the booty in Bengal for himself without making it over to the State, and had him summoned to the court. Mahabat Khan understood the situation and marched north with five thousand Rajput troops towards the imperial camp on the bank of the Jhelum. The royal couple were there on their way to Kabul. During the night Mahabat Khan swooped down on the imperial camp, overpowered the guards at the bridge, burnt some of the boats, cut others adrift and then Jahangir awoke from his drunken

sleep and found himself a captive, in the hands of Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan's attempts to rescue the emperor by force failed. Jahangir continued his journey to Kabul as prisoner. Nur Jahan voluntarily shared the emperor's captivity. She achieved by cunning what she had failed to effect by force. She lulled the suspicions of Mahabat Khan and succeeded in securing the release of Jahangir in the neighbourhood of Rohtas. There the emperor's adherents had collected a large force and Mahabat Khan had to submit to the emperor and release Asaf Khan whom he had made prisoner.

Meanwhile Shah Jahan who heard of Mahabat Khan's *coup de main*, left the Deccan with the intention of getting Sind with the aid of the Shah of Persia with whom he had been in friendly correspondence. Shah Jahan laid siege to Tatta. He found that it would be a difficult and prolonged siege. The Shah of Persia did not encourage him in his effort. In fact he advised Shah Jahan to be loyal and obedient to his father. Mahabat's failure was disquieting news to Shah Jahan. He heard also of the serious illness of Parviz. Mahabat Khan was sent by Jahangir against Shah Jahan at Tatta. But instead of fighting, he joined the Prince. Parviz died in October 1626 of drink. Shah Jahan became stronger than before to oppose his father. It was widely rumoured that Shah Jahan had Parviz poisoned. A chronicler says that years later Aurangzeb hurled the charge of murder against his father in an angry letter.

THE ENGLISH EMBASSY : In the reign of Jahangir several Englishmen visited the court in search of privileges for the East India Company that had come into being in 1600. In 1608 Captain William Hawkins came with a letter from James I of England to Jahangir. Jahangir was much impressed with him and made him a commander with an annual salary of Rs. 30,000. Hawkins was a genial companion in Jahangir's nightly orgies for three years. The Portuguese effectively prevented Hawkins from gaining any tangible success in his mission. So Hawkins found his way back to his ship at Surat. The accounts that Hawkins has written about the Mughal court are very interesting.

Then came another envoy by name William Edwards in 1615. His mission too was a failure. In the same year there came a more formal embassy headed by Sir Thomas Roe, a veteran soldier and diplomat. He met Jahangir with many valuable presents and formal

credentials from James I. He stayed in the Mughal court for three years but did not succeed in making the emperor enter into an agreement with him. However, the privileges he secured for the English Company made it thenceforth a factor in the Indian politics. We get valuable information about the daily life of the Mughal court from the accounts of Roe and Edward Terry, his observant chaplain.

JAHANGIR'S DEATH AND SUCCESSION DISPUTE : Jahangir died after a short illness (October 1627) in a village near Bhimbar at the foot of the hills on his way back from Kashmir. It must be said that Jahangir left the empire much weaker than he had found it at the time of his accession. Kandahar was lost and nothing was gained elsewhere to balance it. His death was followed by a struggle for the throne. On receipt of secret information from Nur Jahan, Shahryar, who had married Nur Jahan's daughter by Sher Khan, proclaimed himself emperor at Lahore. He used the provincial treasure to gain the support of the army and some of the nobles. But Asaf Khan favoured his son-in-law, Shah Jahan. He took charge of Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb at Bhimbar and imprisoned his sister Nur Jahan, and put Khusru's son, Dawar Baksh temporarily on the throne and sent news to Shah Jahan of what had happened. The remains of Jahangir were carried to Lahore and buried in a beautiful tomb at Shah dara on the banks of the Ravi. Shahryar was caught and blinded. Shah Jahan hurried from Junnar and issued orders that all his male collateral relatives should be executed. Dawar was among the victims according to Indian accounts. But European witnesses say that he was allowed to escape to Persia. Shah Jahan reached Agra in February 1628 and was proclaimed emperor. The ruthless massacre that preceded his accession very much tarnished the memory of Shah Jahan. Nur Jahan retired into private life, wore the white robe of mourning and did not appear in public. She was given a pension till her death in 1646.

Shah Jahan

After putting an end to the short reign of his nephew Dawar Baksh, the son of Khusru, Shah Jahan found himself in undisputed possession of the throne in 1628 when he was at the age of thirty-six. After he became emperor, he exhibited geniality and moderation

as ruler. He showed great perspicacity in the choice of capable officials and exercised a strong personal supervision over the administration. By his ability as a general and administrator he made himself a welcome ruler after the impotent government of his father. His mother and grandmother were Rajput princesses and he commanded the support of the Rajputs. Asaf Khan, his father-in-law who had been largely responsible for getting him the throne, was the ablest statesman of the time. Mahabat Khan and other most distinguished officers of the army were on the side of Shah Jahan. However, Shah Jahan had to meet with risings and disorders which were the aftermath of the last years of Jahangir's weak reign.

THE REBELLION OF JUJHAR SINGH : Jujhar Singh, the son of Bir Singh Bundela, revolted in Bundelkhand, the difficult country to the south of the Jumna. Unable to stand against the imperial forces, he made his submission to Mahabat Khan. He was pardoned on his giving up some of his assignments. Jujhar Singh together with his son Vikramajit Singh served the Mughal army in the Deccan for five years. Then he returned to his fief (Orchha). He got back his old ambition to be an independent Raja and so extended his sway over Gondwana. He took the capital Chaugarh and put the Gond Raja Prem Narayan to death. The Gond Raja's son appealed to Shah Jahan who sent Prince Aurangzeb to suppress the new revolt (1634). The Bundela strongholds were captured one by one. Jujhar Singh fled with his family but was murdered by the Gonds in the jungles where he sought to hide himself. The sons of Jujhar Singh were captured and were forcibly converted to Islam. His women were enslaved. No Bundela chief was for several years recognized by the Mughal emperor after this incident.

THE REBELLION OF KHAN JAHAN LODI : Khan Jahan Lodi, governor of the Deccan, was a headstrong and fickle-minded Afghan. During the period of the succession dispute he opposed Shah Jahan and attempted to capture Mandu in Malwa. It was this opposition that forced Shah Jahan to choose the more westerly route from Junnar to Agra. After a time Khan Jahan Lodi made his submission to Shah Jahan who ordered him to recover the Balaghat which had been surrendered to the last Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmadnagar. But Khan Jahan Lodi did nothing to recover the territory. He was, therefore,

recalled to the Mughal court, and Mahabat Khan was made governor in his place. In 1629 Khan Jahan Lodi feared that he would be imprisoned. So he managed to flee from Agra, somehow evading the imperial troops. Immediately the Mughal troops went in pursuit of him. With the aid of Vikramajit Bundela, Khan Jahan Lodi reached Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad across Gondwana. Not wishing to lose the Deccan, Shah Jahan laid his plans with great care and forethought. Putting several armies in the field and giving the command of main forces to Azam Khan, Shah Jahan himself camped at Burhanpur to direct operations. At this time Shahji Bhonsle, father of Sivaji, who was in the employ of Ahmadnagar, offered his services to Shah Jahan because his father-in-law Jadu Rai had been treacherously murdered by the sultan of Ahmadnagar. In spite of the severe famine that raged in the Gujarat and the Deccan at that time, Shah Jahan managed to keep his troops well supplied from northern India. Khan Jahan Lodi fled from place to place; his followers deserted him, and he lost several battles. Through Malwa he attempted to move into the Punjab to see if he could find allies among the Afghans on the frontier. But Shah Jahan anticipated his move and effectively checked it. Even Vikramjit gave up Khan Jahan Lodi who was killed in the end at Sihonda (Banda District) and Shah Jahan was rid of a dangerous rebel.

PEACOCK THRONE : It has generally been held that India was peaceful and prosperous during Shah Jahan's time. One reason for this was the extension of trade due to the increase of European merchants. Bernier's description shows graphically 'how the cancer of commerce and so-called civilisation was eating into the dreamful, slothful, ease-loving, body-politic of the whole peninsula'.

Shah Jahan had a passion for the collection and display of precious stones. Akbar was reputed to be the richest sovereign of his age. Shah Jahan's treasure far excelled that of Akbar. His treasure filled two great underground vaults each seventy feet square and thirty feet high. On his accession, Shah Jahan decided to construct a throne more splendid and costly than that of any monarch in the world. The accumulated treasures were ransacked for suitable gems. Fresh gems were purchased. The construction of the 'peacock throne' was commenced. It went on for seven years under the superintendence of Bebadal Khan. When completed the throne

was a cot bedstead on golden pillars with a roof supported on twelve slender pillars of emerald and surmounted by the figures of two peacocks, ablaze with precious stones. Between the peacocks was a tree set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls and there were three jewelled steps to the emperor's seat. The estimated cost of the throne was a crore of rupees. It remained one of the glories of the Mughal dynasty for a century till it was carried away by the Persian invader, Nadir Shah, in 1739.

FAMINE : Dazzled by the brilliance of the peacock throne and the splendid museums and mausoleums built by Shah Jahan, historians have been prone to regard Shah Jahan's reign the most glorious in the Mughal period. Modern writers have found it necessary to readjust their own vision and see public futility behind the personal extravagance of Shah Jahan and ask seriously how far such reckless squandering can be accepted as index of general well-being. In the fourth and fifth years of Shah Jahan (1630-32) when he was encamped at Khandesh there broke out, as already hinted, an appalling famine in the Deccan and Gujarat. Abdul Hamid who faithfully records the horror of the calamity says: 'inhabitants of these two countries (Deccan and Gujarat) were reduced to the direst extremity; life was offered for a loaf; but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake but none would care for it'. Peter Mundy, a merchant journeying on business from Surat to Agra and Patna during the time of the famine, says that at Surat out of 21 English traders 17 died of hunger and sickness. The testimony of witnesses like Mundy is that the government of Shah Jahan did nothing to help the suffering people. But the author of *Badshah-nama* says that the emperor opened a few soup kitchens and gave a lakh and a half rupees in charity. But this was like a drop in the ocean.

MUMTAZ MAHAL : We have already mentioned Shah Jahan's marriage (1612), when he was a youth of twenty, with Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Asaf Khan. Shah Jahan had two children born to him by an earlier consort. Mumtaz Mahal's marriage was a perfect success during the nineteen years it lasted, and she bore Shah Jahan fourteen children—eight sons and six daughters. Of them four sons and two daughters survived to make history in the last years of Shah Jahan's reign. Husband and wife were devotedly

attached to each other, and during Mumtaz Mahal's lifetime Shah Jahan remained faithful to her, for nothing is heard of the scandalous licentiousness which dishonoured him in later years. In 1631 Mumtaz Mahal died in child-birth at Burhanpur at the age of thirty-nine. Her body was interred temporarily at Burhanpur and was transferred to Agra six months later when Shah Jahan quitted the Deccan. The Taj Mahal, the unrivalled monument that Shah Jahan erected to her memory, was begun in 1632. Although little is known about Mumtaz Mahal's personal character, we may venture to say that she must have possessed uncommon charm to have been able to secure for so many years her husband's unswerving affection.

THE PORTUGUESE AT HUGLI: The Portuguese of Bengal had offended Shah Jahan by declining to help him in the days of his rebellion against his father and taking the side of Parviz. From about 1579 they had developed Hugli into an important emporium. In consequence, Satgaon, not far off, suffered an eclipse, and the revenue of Bengal from customs decreased considerably. The Portuguese had a monopoly of the manufacture of salt. They had a custom house of their own and were specially strict in enforcing the levy of duty on tobacco which had become an important article of trade since its introduction in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In spite of the injury to the customs of Bengal, the Portuguese would have been allowed to continue undisturbed, had it not been for their arrogance and policy of forcible conversion. They seized orphaned children and brought them up as Christians. On one occasion they were bold enough to offend even Mumtaz Mahal by detaining two of her slave girls. Shah Jahan made up his mind to exterminate the foreigners. He appointed Kasim Khan as governor of Bengal with instructions to drive the foreigners out. The Portuguese were known to be capable soldiers with a powerful artillery at their command. Kasim Khan proceeded cautiously. After gathering a large force he laid siege to Hugli in June 1632. There were heavy casualties on either side. More than 4,000 Christians were taken captive and brought to Agra. There they were offered the choice between Islam and slavery under trying conditions. As a Muslim chronicler observes, 'Many of them passed from prison to hell'. Their religious images were broken up and thrown into the Jumna.

DESTRUCTION OF THE HINDU TEMPLES: The Hindus too suffered a lot from the zeal of the 'faith-defending emperor'. In 1633 he ordered the demolition of the newly built temples in the whole of his empire. In the district of Banaras seventy-six temples were pulled down as a result of the order. In the Punjab, Kashmir and Gujarat gradually mixed-marriages between Hindus and Muslims had come into vogue. In 1634, Shah Jahan forbade the practice. He ordered that the Muslim girls should be recovered from the Hindus if their husbands did not turn Muslims. If the husband turned Muslim, the marriage was solemnized again according to the Muslim rituals.

SHAH JAHAN'S DECCAN POLICY: After becoming emperor Shah Jahan resumed the Mughal designs for the complete conquest of the Deccan. In his reign he achieved a great deal but the complete conquest was made only in the days of Aurangzeb. In the reign of Akbar, the kingdom of Khandesh and a small portion of that of Ahmadnagar proper as well as Berar were taken during the years (1600–1605). We saw how Malik Ambar stood in the way of the complete conquest of Ahmadnagar. Golkonda and Bijapur not only continued to enjoy independence but obtained large territories formerly belonging to the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Jahangir followed Akbar's policy but made no progress in the task of subjugating the Deccan. Now Shah Jahan took up the task of bringing Deccan under imperial control.

AHMADNAGAR: After the death of Malik Ambar and Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar became very weak. Murtaza II had allied himself with Khan Jahan Lodi and this gave an excuse to Shah Jahan for attacking Ahmadnagar. The internal dissensions in Ahmadnagar also favoured him. Fath Khan, the son of Malik Ambar, was the minister of the Murtaza II. He quarrelled with his master, imprisoned the sultan and entered into communication with Shah Jahan, who ordered Fath Khan to prove his sincerity by killing Murtaza II. Fath Khan did away with Murtaza, installed his ten-year-old son Husain Shah on the throne, and satisfied Shah Jahan (1630). But Fath Khan proved himself undependable. He was besieged by Bijapur troops assisted by Shahji Bhonsle, in 1631 at Daulatabad. Mahabat Khan was sent to the relief. Fath

Khan, however, refused to surrender the fort to the imperialists whereupon Mahabat Khan laid siege to it. The garrison inside the fort held out for two months. Mahabat Khan succeeded in bribing Fath Khan and the garrison and making him surrender. Hussain Shah, the boy king, was sent to Gwalior for life-long imprisonment. Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of Shah Jahan, and ceased to be a separate kingdom thereafter. Fath Khan was taken into the imperial service on a liberal salary (1632).

BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA: Of the five sultanates of the Deccan only Bijapur and Golkonda were now left. The territory of Golkonda stretched along the east coast as far north as Orissa. Bakir Khan, the Mughal governor of Orissa, had invaded it in 1629 and taken the fort of Mansurgarh in 1630. Another Mughal general, Nasiri Khan invaded Telingana and reduced nearly a third of the province.

In 1631 Adil Shah of Bijapur had made common cause with Nizam Shah. Shah Jahan therefore sent Asaf Khan to lay siege to Bijapur. But Bijapur was saved by the stout defence of the garrison assisted by the Maratha allies. However, Bijapur territory suffered terribly on account of the scorched earth policy of the defenders and the ravages of the invaders. Operations against the Deccan States were suspended when Shah Jahan had to go to Agra on the death of his queen.

In 1635 Shah Jahan resumed his plans of conquest of the Deccan. These Deccan wars helped the Marathas to rise to power under their leader Shahji Bhonsle (father of Sivaji). Shahji changed his allegiance according to exigencies. He resigned his post under Shah Jahan and out of gratitude for the Nizam Shahi State which had entertained his father Maloji and himself, attempted to restore the Nizam Shahi family. He set up another Nizam Shahi prince as a ruler and in his name recovered the western half of the old dominion as far as the sea. Shahji's move upset Mahabat Khan's plans and brought down Shah Jahan himself to the Deccan at the beginning of 1636. The emperor sent written orders to the sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur requiring them to recognize his suzerainty and pay tribute. They were forbidden to support Shahji and the cause of Ahmadnagar. The ruler of Golkonda, Sultan Kutb-ul-Mulk, was no longer able to resist the demands of the emperor. But Adil Shah would not yield. Two imperial forces took the field one

under Khan Zaman, son of Mahabat Khan, against Shahji and the other under Khan Dauran directed to lay siege to Bijapur. The city was besieged. Bijapur country was devastated. People were slaughtered indiscriminately or made slaves irrespective of age or sex. The sultan sued for peace (1636). According to the treaty Adil Shah agreed to pay twenty lakhs of rupees as a peace offering and to respect the integrity of Golkonda which became a tributary of the Mughal. Adil Shah got a part of the Ahmadnagar territory. Khan Zaman compelled Shahji to submit to the emperor.

Aurangzeb as Viceroy: The settlement thus effected in the Deccan lasted for about twenty years, and Shah Jahan went to Agra making Aurangzeb viceroy of the Deccan. The territory under him consisted of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad. Aurangzeb ruled as viceroy for about eight years (1636–44). He annexed Beglana in the hills near Nasik. Shahji submitted to his authority and surrendered certain forts. During his viceroyalty Aurangzeb visited Agra twice, once in 1637 for his marriage with Dilras Banu Begum, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, a nobleman of the junior branch of the Persian royal family, and for the second time in 1644 when princess Jahanara was dangerously burnt, her light skirt having caught fire. During the second visit Aurangzeb somehow incurred his father's displeasure. He escaped punishment by resigning his post as viceroy. He found that his father was under the influence of his elder son Dara Shikoh. For nine months Aurangzeb remained unemployed. He was then appointed to the government of Gujarat in 1645. Two years later he was transferred as governor of Balkh and Badakshan where he suffered severe defeat in his wars. In 1653 he took charge of the Deccan as he could not stay in the court owing to the hostility of his father and of Dara. Aurangzeb as viceroy of the Deccan started to reorganize its finances which had considerably worsened during his absence of eight years. He was fortunate to have the assistance of Murshid Kuli Khan in extending Todar Mall's system of survey and assessment with suitable modifications. Payments in kind were accepted. A lump sum was fixed for each plough-land which could not be scientifically assessed. Cash advances were given freely to the peasants for the restoration of cultivation. These reforms took time to produce their full effects, and Aurangzeb was not quite out of financial

difficulties at the time when the war of succession broke out. Aurangzeb was constantly aggressive towards Golkonda and Bijapur. The rulers of these States were Shias and they sought the aid of the Shah of Persia. Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Musalman. He therefore made up his mind to destroy these two territories. He could easily find pretexts to declare war. Golkonda as a tributary was in arrears.

MIR JUMLA: Aurangzeb had the good fortune of getting the help of Mir Jumla, a Persian adventurer. He came to India as a trader and rose to be the virtual master of the Golkonda kingdom as its prime minister under Abdulla Kutb Shah. He captured territory in Karnataka which yielded a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees. He had an army which included a strong park of artillery manned by European gunners. Kutb Shah wanted to curb Mir Jumla, his powerful minister. But Mir Jumla intrigued with Bijapur, Persia, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Finally he deserted Kutb Shah and entered the Mughal service.

In 1656 Aurangzeb sent his son Muhammad Sultan to attack Kutb Shah. The country of Golkonda was ravaged by the Mughal soldiery. A few weeks later, Aurangzeb came and laid siege to Golkonda with the intention of capturing the whole kingdom. He was not successful in his attempt because under the influence of Dara and Jahanara the emperor ordered Aurangzeb to give up the siege. Mir Jumla had joined Aurangzeb with a powerful army. He soon became the prime minister of the empire in succession to Sadullah Khan, one of the best administrators India has known.

Since the treaty of 1636 the sultan of Bijapur had extended his dominions to the east, south and west. Towards the close of 1649, the strong fortress of Jinji feel into his hands. He won a success over Portuguese of Goa. Thus Muhammad Adil Shah held sway over a kingdom which extended from sea to sea. He died in 1656 and his son, a youth of about eighteen, succeeded him on the throne. There were internal disturbances and this gave Aurangzeb an opportunity to enter into the politics of Bijapur. Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur in 1657. Although Bidar and Kalyan put up a gallant defence Aurangzeb was able to reduce them. Bijapur was cruelly ravaged. Again Shah Jahan intervened and saved the Adil Shahi

kingdom from falling into the hands of Aurangzeb. The Adil Shah had to surrender Berar, Kalyan and Parenda besides paying a large indemnity to conclude a peace treaty. The closing years of viceroyalty of Aurangzeb were spent in checking young Sivaji who was rising into prominence. Operations in the Deccan were stopped when news of the sudden illness of Shah Jahan in September 1657 reached the ears of Aurangzeb. This gave the southern sultanates a respite of nearly thirty years.

North-West Frontier: Like his father and grandfather Shah Jahan felt a strong desire to extend his sway to the region of Central Asia which formed he scene of the early glories of his family and to bring Transoxiana and its capital Samarkhand under his sway. Kandahar, important for its strategic position and for the trade between India and Persia, had been in the hands of the Shah of Persia, after its capture by Shah Abbas in 1622. In 1638 Shah Jahan directed the governor of Kabul to open negotiations with the Persian governor of Kandahar. With a heavy bribe and a promise of a lucrative job the governor of Kandahar was won over. He surrendered Kandahar to Shah Jahan in return for a gift of a lakh of rupees and a high post in the Mughal empire. Immediately Shah Jahan spent large sums of money on the fortification of the city and its dependencies. Shah Abbas II of Persia was, however, bent upon recovering Kandahar. In 1648 he despatched a large army against the fortress. The governor of Kandahar was obliged to give up the territory next year and Kandahar again became a part of the Persian empire.

In 1645 Prince Murad Bakhsh occupied both Balkh and Badakshan. Murad did not like the difficult foreign service and returned home much to the annoyance of his father. Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to take his place, but Aurangzeb's attempts failed although he exhibited remarkable bravery and coolness in the face of danger. The Mughal forces were compelled to evacuate Balkh and about 5,000 men were lost during the retreat at the end of 1647. After this failure, Aurangzeb was transferred to the governorship of Multan. Shah Jahan directed Aurangzeb to recover Kandahar before the Persians could consolidate their hold in the city. In 1649 Aurangzeb with his chief minister Sadullah Khan attacked the city. For lack of heavy ordnance and owing to the superior

military skill of the 'Persians, Aurangzeb after four months' siege had to give it up.

In 1652 Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan renewed their attack on Kandahar. With a heavy siege train and a large supply of ammunition, Shah Jahan himself camped at Kabul to direct the operations. Within two months Shah Jahan had to abandon the siege. Aurangzeb's failure was not due to any personal fault of his, but the inefficiency of his artillery and the superior skill of the Persians. It however resulted in shaking the confidence of Shah Jahan in Aurangzeb's capacity.

In 1653, Shah Jahan sent Dara Shikoh, eldest and favourite son, against Kandahar with a fresh army to retrieve Aurangzeb's failure. The operations lasted for five months. Dara too had to confess failure and the siege was given up. The three sieges of Kandahar cost the imperial treasury nearly half the annual income of the whole empire which was estimated as 22 crores in 1648. After these disastrous failures, the attempt to recover Kandahar was finally given up. The decline of the strength of the Mughal forces may be said to have begun in the lifetime of Shah Jahan.

RAJPUTS: The Rana Jagat Singh of Mewar fortified Chitor contravening the terms of treaty between Jahangir and Rana Amar Singh. Jagat Singh died in 1652 and was succeeded by Raj Singh who continued the work of fortification. Shah Jahan who heard of this left Delhi in September 1654 to visit Ajmer and bring Raj Singh to submission. This he secured after a cruel devastation of the country. Within a fortnight the new fortifications were completely demolished.

WAR OF SUCCESSION: The history of the mutual misunderstandings, divisions and ambitions of the sons of Shah Jahan who were claimants to the throne is indeed a weary one. But it is necessary to dwell on it briefly as it illustrates the political conditions of the time. Shah Jahan in 1657 was sixty-six years of age and he had four grown-up sons, Dara Shikoh, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad Baksh. All but the youngest Murad touched or overpassed forty. Though they all were sons of the same mother, there was no love lost among them. The ill-defined law of succession and the unhealthy traditions of the Mughal family led each of the brothers to entertain hopes of

getting the throne after the death of the king. Dara, the eldest, is drawn by Bernier in fairly pleasing colours. Frank and impetuous and liberal in his opinions, he made enemies with one hand while he made friends with the other. He was in charge of the government of Multan and Kabul which he administered through deputies, himself staying near his father at the capital. Shuja in his father's esteem was a great drunkard and Murad the youngest a sensualist. Aurangzeb was an absolute contrast to Dara. As one historian says 'Aurangzeb was a small man with a big brain and absolutely no heart, a man of creeds and cautions, of faith and faithlessness'. Shuja ruled the great territory of Bengal and Orissa; Aurangzeb controlled the Deccan and Murad ruled Gujarat and the West. Vast treasure was stored in the vaults of the Agra fort and the four contestants knew that it would fall to the victor in the contest.

Dara who struggled to maintain his own future position, still upholding that of his sick father, deserves mention. He was a Muslim only in name and as Bernier observes 'he was a Hindu among the Hindus and a Christian among the Christians'. He produced a Persian version of some of the *Upanishads* and courageously said it formed a revelation earlier than the *Koran*. He was the favourite of his father who lavished upon him unprecedented titles, honours and wealth and allowed him in later years of his reign to exercise most of the imperial prerogatives. Shuja was a Shia in faith, entertained Christian mercenaries in his service and counted on the support of Jasvant Singh, the Rajput ruler of Marwar. Murad Baksh was a headstrong soldier and a dissolute fool. Aurangzeb was an orthodox Sunni Muslim. He was sober, laborious, the enemy of all pleasures. His religious zeal was combined with unbridled ambition. If Dara had succeeded in the contest he would have continued the policy of Akbar of building up the Indian nation. Aurangzeb being a fanatic would only excite the hatred of all non-Muslims in the country.

The two daughters of Shah Jahan played no insignificant part in the war of succession. The elder Begum Sahib or Jahanara (ornament of the world) was very pretty and clever and very much devoted to Dara and the younger daughter Roshanara (brilliant ornament) took the side of Aurangzeb. But invariably the influence of the elder daughter prevailed. Dara was treated as the heir-apparent.

In September 1657 Shah Jahan fell seriously ill. The daily durbar was stopped and the emperor did not appear in the *jharokha* for about ten days. Dara with his sister's help kept all knowledge of the king's illness from spreading through the country. He forbade all access to his father's sick-bed and rumours began to spread that Shah Jahan had died. Roshanara sent word to Aurangzeb of what happened in the palace. When he learned the truth, he instantly took his part cautiously and diplomatically. He did not proclaim himself king as Shuja and Murad did in their several viceroyalties when the news of the father's dangerous illness reached their ears. Aurangzeb stood aside and watched while Shuja marched with his army to engage Dara. Aurangzeb wrote to his younger brother Murad one of the most fulsome letters of flattery ever penned saying that he and he alone was fit for the crown and offering him the service of one who, weary of the world, was on the eve of renouncing it. Murad foolishly swallowed the bait. Having made Murad puppet before him, Aurangzeb marched with a large army towards Agra whence Shuja had been driven back by Dara to Bengal. By this time the old king was a convalescent. Finding Dara yielding up his brief regency cheerfully, he trusted his eldest son more than ever. Shah Jahan who knew the consequences of his illness did not want to lose any of his sons before his own death. Dara proposed to try conclusions at once with the Murad-Aurangzeb confederacy. Much against his will Shah Jahan allowed Dara to have his way.

Aurangzeb continued the rebellion. He had the service of Mir Jumla's fine part of artillery. Raja Jasvant Singh of Marwar and Kasim Khan undertook the duty of stopping Aurangzeb and Murad. The hostile armies more or less equal in strength, met at Dharmat, fourteen miles south-southwest of Ujjain. The imperial forces were defeated in this battle. The successful rebels pressed on, gaining passage across the Chambal over a neglected ford. Dara collected a large force and advanced to meet his brothers. Little did Dara suspect that the sympathies of the Muslim section of his army lay more with Aurangzeb than with himself. He met the rebels at Samugarh, eight miles to the east of Agra fort. The battle was fought in the terrible heat of summer on May 29, 1658 and was vigorously contested. Each of the brothers rode on an elephant of his own. The day was going against Aurangzeb. But before victory could be secured, Dara committed the blunder of dismounting from

the elephant while Murad and Aurangzeb kept their seats on their respective elephants. Dara dismounted because of the treacherous advice of Salim-ullah-Khan, the commander of 30,000 Mughals who was in secret league with Aurangzeb. According to Bernier's report he said to Dara:

> 'Auspicious Majesty, you have obtained the victory; what will you do any longer upon the elephant? Is it not enough that you have exposed yourself so long? If the leader charge that hath been made unto your Dais had reached your person what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this army? In the name of God come down quickly and take horse. What remains now to be done, than to pursue those run-aways. Please do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands.'

He listened to the commander's dishonest advice, dismounted from his elephant and took horse. As soon as the army perceived the empty seat of Dara on his elephant, they imagined that Dara was killed, and were struck with terror. Everyone thought of nothing but to escape from the hands of Aurangzeb to save himself. Thus Dara's unlucky act of dismounting settled the fate of the battle. Aurangzeb won the empire and Dara lost it. The subsequent efforts made to retrieve the position made by Dara and his son Sulaiman proved failures. Dara fled, and three days afterwards Aurangzeb marched into Agra, coolly imprisoned his aged father in the fort. He had no further use of Murad. He invited Murad to supper, plied him with drink and when he was hopelessly intoxicated, he put him in chains and sent him as a prisoner to Salimgarh, the mid-river fort at Delhi. So ended the poor foolish Murad's dream of kingship. Shortly afterwards he was executed in prison on a charge of murder brought against him by the son of Ali Naki, whom Murad had killed in Gujarat in 1657.

Pursuit of Dara: Aurangzeb took his seat on the throne on 21 July, 1657, assuming the title of Alamgir (Conqueror of the Universe). But he took care not to use his name in the *khutba* or on the coins. He began his pursuit of Dara who was on his way through Lahore to Multan. But soon he was obliged to turn back to meet Shuja who was advancing from Bengal and to counteract the operations

of Dara's son Sulaiman Shikoh. Shuja was defeated at Bahadurpur near Banaras in February 1658. Sulaiman was imprisoned at Gwalior where he was killed by the administration of poison (May 1662). In another battle fought in January 1659 Shuja's army was utterly routed. Mir Jumla was ordered to pursue the retreating Shuja. Shuja fled across Bengal to Dacca and then over the Arakan frontier and in May 1660 Shuja and his family were slaughtered by the Arakanese; but full details of the occurrence are not available to the historian.

Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Sultan quarrelled with Mir Jumla. He joined Shuja and married his daughter. He paid for it by imprisonment and death by execution.

Dara crossed the Indus and then pressed on to Kathiawar and Gujarat. At Ahmadabad the governor Shah Nawas Khan befriended him and enabled him to occupy Surat and gave him Murad's treasure to raise a fresh army. If Dara had escaped to the Deccan, the sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda would have helped him at least to survive as a dangerous rival to Aurangzeb. But the treacherous Raja of Marwar on whom Dara relied induced him to advance to Ajmer. Dara said that his intention was not to seize royalty but to release his father from prison. Dara took up a defensible position near the narrow pass to Deorai to the south of Ajmer. Aurangzeb marched with his army against him. The battle raged for three successive days (April 12 to 14, 1659). Dara found that Raja Rajrup of Jammu had seized the rear of his left wing. His trenches were stormed. His general Nawas Khan was killed. Dara himself fled from the field to Sind hoping to reach Kandahar and find an asylum in Persia. Against the protests from his advisers, Dara entered the country of Malik Jivan Khan, chief of Dadar, nine miles east of the Bolan Pass. By this time Dara had lost his faithful and devoted wife Nadira Begum who had shared all his wanderings and hardships. This calamity filled Dara with grief and despair. He sent her corpse to Lahore for burial in the graveyard of his patron-saint Mian Mir. He accepted the hospitality of Malik Jivan Khan who delivered him to Aurangzeb's general (June 1659). Dara was brought to Delhi with his second son Siphir Shikoh. Father and son were paraded through the streets with disgrace. Bernier who was an eye-witness records: 'From every quarter, I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, for the Indian people have

a very tender heart; men, women and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves.' Dara was put to death on the charge of apostasy from Islam by the sentence of Aurangzeb's court theologians. His remains were buried in the vault of Humayun's tomb.

End of Shah Jahan: Shah Jahan continued to be closely confined in the Agra fort under the special care of a tyrannical eunuch who took great delight in inflicting petty indignities upon the captive monarch. Aurangzeb allowed his father all the enjoyments which his sensuous nature demanded. His favourite daughter Begum Sahib and many other women kept him company. At times Mullas came to read the *Koran* to him, for the aged voluptuary at times became devout. Shah Jahan died at the beginning of 1666 at the age of 74.

Character of Shah Jahan: It may truly be said of Shah Jahan that the State was the emperor or the emperor was the visible State. Every atom of imperial revenue passed through his hands for distribution. Shah Jahan's character has often been estimated more favourably than it deserves, perhaps because historians are dazzled by the magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace that prevailed for the best part of his reign, and the glory of his monuments, particularly the Taj. As a son, Shah Jahan revolted against his father and got the throne by merciless slaughter of all possible rivals. As a father, he showed undue partiality to Dara and drove Aurangzeb into revolt. The best feature of Shah Jahan's character is his intense love for Mumtaz Mahal. Indeed she was a good check on his passion, but after her death he disgraced himself by gross licentiousness.

In State affairs Shah Jahan was cruel and untrustworthy. Although his military record during the earlier part of his reign was bright, it was not so in the later years. Undoubtedly his reign of thirty years marks the zenith of the Mughal empire. The loss of Kandahar had little effect on the rest of the empire where the imperial system stood intact. His southern extensions under Aurangzeb were elusive, for instead of adding to the strength and wealth of the Mughal empire, they were the cause of the economic ruin of the Mughal empire and the destruction of its army. As we have already noted

the glory of Shah Jahan's reign was purchased at the cost of large sufferings of the peasants and artisans of the country and Bernier, a discerning and disinterested observer, testifies to the sufferings of the common people during his reign.

Aurangzeb (1658–1707)

It may be said that with Aurangzeb (Ornament of the Throne) the Middle Age of Indian History ends. From the date of his death the feudal dynasties of India cease to be centres of interest, and history is concerned with the coming sovereignty of the West. We have seen how Aurangzeb's steps to the throne were littered with black crime. After his final victory over Dara, Aurangzeb celebrated his coronation on 15 June 1659 in the first month of his second regnal year at Delhi with prolonged rejoicings. The reign of Aurangzeb naturally falls into two equal halves of 25 years each. The first five years were practically spent in ridding himself of relatives. After thus making himself secure on the throne, his interests centered mainly around affairs in Northern India, during the early half of his reign. The latter half of his reign was occupied in the affairs in the Deccan, and Northern India suffered neglect which led to a considerable decline in morals and culture.

At Aurangzeb's accession in 1658 the empire to all appearances was in a most prosperous condition. At his death in 1707 there were clear symptoms of decadence of the empire and 'Akbar's dream', it has been well said, 'vanished into thin air from the moment he set his foot on the throne'.

Famine: Owing to failure of rains there was famine in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. In the hope of gaining the goodwill of his subjects Aurangzeb remitted nearly eight taxes and cesses of various kinds. Such remissions had been made earlier by the rulers of Delhi and Aurangzeb's orders on this occasion very largely remained a dead letter as before.

Foreign Embassies: During the years 1661 to 1667 Aurangzeb received complimentary embassies from many foreign military powers which had trade relations with India. Mecca, Persia, Balkh, Bukhara, Kashgar, Khiva, Basra, Hadramaut, Yaman and

Mocha, Barbary and Abyssinia, all sent embassies to Aurangzeb. From Constantinople came an embassy in 1690. Aurangzeb's policy was to dazzle the eyes of these princes by the lavish gifts to them and to their envoys, and thus induce the outer Muslim world to forget his treatment of his father and brothers. Bernier, Manucci and some Persian writers of the time give colourful accounts of the scene at the meetings between the emperor and some of the foreign envoys. The embassy from Shah Abbas II of Persia came with presents worth Rs. 4,22,000 and went back carrying gifts to the value of Rs. 5,15,000.

CHAMPION OF ISLAM: Aurangzeb had claimed the throne as the champion of pure Islam. Soon after his second coronation he issued a number of ordinances for restoring the orthodox rules. He abolished the practice of stamping the *kalima* (the Muslim credo) on coins, and he reverted completely to the Muslim lunar calendar doing away with the Ilahi year. He did not mind the practical inconvenience which the change caused. He strongly forbade the cultivation of *bhang* and appointed a censor of public morals. As he grew older his puritanical fervour increased. He had good knowledge of music, but he forbade music at court. The State musicians and singers were all pensioned off, but the royal band was retained. His predecessors on the throne used to weigh themselves against precious metals on their birthday and give daily *darshan* to the people. These practices seemed to be thoroughly Hindu to Aurangzeb and so he gave them up. The code of morals which Aurangzeb wanted to enforce was opposed to the feelings of the entire population and his orders in this respect were honoured more in their breach than in their observance.

ASSAM: Mir Jumla was made governor of Bengal so that he might be far away from the capital. To the north-west of Bengal were the kingdoms of Cooch-Bihar and Assam. In 1612 the governor of Dacca annexed Kamrup, a part of Cooch-Bihar, to the Mughal empire, thus coming into contact with the Ahom kings of Assam. The Ahoms were all of Mongol origin. They had migrated into Assam from Upper Burma in the 13th century. In Assam they were captivated by Hindu civilization. They married into Cooch-Bihar families and Assam was covered with Hindu temples. The rulers

and subjects both adopted the Hindu faith but still they retained some of their old customs, particularly their funeral rites. The Ahoms during the period of war of succession seized a portion of Kamrup and for three years they held it undisturbed. When Mir Jumla became governor of Dacca he was ordered to recover the lost territory. He marched with a considerable army in November 1661 and after three weeks of hard fight in the difficult country he annexed Cooch-Bihar. In 1662 Mir Jumla marched into the capital of the Ahom kingdom. Raja Jayadhvaj fled leaving his capital and his wealth at the mercy of the invader. A number of elephants and vast stores of wealth fell into the hands of Mir Jumla. His success was short-lived. During the rainy season a great many soldiers of the Mughal army died of fever. Now the Assamese took the offensive. Mir Jumla was obliged to order a hasty retreat. The hardships of the campaign proved fatal to Mir Jumla and he died on 30 March 1663 on his way to Dacca. Aurangzeb's maternal uncle Shayista Khan was made governor of Bengal, soon after he had been recalled from the Deccan after his failure with Sivaji. Shayista Khan found the waterways of the Brahmaputra delta, infested with Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. These pirates proved themselves dangerous to the lives and property and trade of the people of Bengal. The Khan succeeded in clearing them of the territory. The king of Arakan was forced to cede Chittagong, the pirates' stronghold and the island of Sandip in the Bay of Bengal was captured (1666). Even after all the attempts of Shayista Khan, piracy seems to have continued in this area. Shayista was governor of Bengal for about thirty years except for three years (1677–1680) and died at Agra at the age of ninety.

N. W. Frontier: The years 1667–68 were marked by trouble in the north-west frontier. The Afghans, though they received annual subsidies from the Mughals, rose in revolt. A Yusufzai leader named Bhagu invaded the Hazara district while other bands of his tribe ravaged the imperial territory around the banks of the Kabul river at the same time. Kamil Khan, the *faujdar* of Attock, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. This was followed by a systematic subjugation of the Afghan tribes. Their houses were burnt and property plundered. For a time there was peace, but again in 1672 there came trouble. This time the leader of the

Afridis, Akmal Khan, proclaimed himself king and declared war on the Mughals. In a pitched battle the Mughal governor of Kabul was defeated. Akmal Khan took many prisoners and sent them for sale in Central Asia. Very soon the whole Pathan population from Kandahar to Attock rose in armed rebellion. In a pitched battle at Karapa Pass (1674) the Mughal commander Shujaat Khan was killed. The leaderless troops were saved from complete annihilation by the arrival of Rathor contingent sent by Maharaja Jasvant Singh. The defeat in the north-west frontier made Aurangzeb give personal attention to the matter. He went to Hasan Abdal, a half-way station between Rawalpindi and Peshawar, and spent a year there directing operations. By the use of force and diplomacy he succeeded in restoring peace in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. At Gandamak there was a severe engagement between the Mughals and the rebels. Both sides lost heavily. The Mughal Commander Agha Khan made a great name for himself (1675). In 1676 the resistance of the Afghans was completely broken. Aurangzeb's combined policy of reconciliation and terrorism restored peace in the region which was never again disturbed during his life. Aurangzeb's success was due to his policy of paying subsidies to the tribal leaders and setting clan against clan. His Afghan war made it impossible for the Mughals to draw recruits from Afghanistan. Ultimately it was a disadvantage to Aurangzeb in his war against the Rajputs as the best part of the Mughal army had to be diverted to the north-west frontier. Deccan was also drained of the Mughal army. This gave Sivaji an opportunity to work out his ambitious plans.

His Religious Policy: Aurangzeb was a bigotted Sunni Muslim. He directed all his attention to the forms of the Sunni faith. His ambition was to be the type of a true Muslim monarch. He attempted to enforce the strict letter of the *Kuranic* law by which every pious Muslim had to exert himself to convert non-Muslim countries into the realms of Islam. In 1659 in his Banaras firman he declared that his religion forbade the building of new temples, but it did not enjoin the demolition of old ones. However, this distinction was little respected. He reversed the policy of Akbar towards non-Muslims and as time went on he became more and more harsh towards the Hindus. In 1664 he forbade any repair of old temples.

In 1667 goods belonging to Muslim traders were exempted from customs or transit duties while the Hindu merchants were compelled to pay 5% for theirs. In 1668 Hindu religious fairs were forbidden throughout the empire. He made it the duty of the censors of public morals to go round and destroy Hindu places of worship within their jurisdiction. The most famous centres like the temples of Somnath at Patan, Visvanath at Banaras and Kesavadev at Mathura suffered destruction. Jaipur which was loyal to the Mughal court was not spared; 66 temples were demolished at Amber. In April 1679 the *jizya* tax was reimposed on the Hindus. The Hindus gathered on the road in Delhi to appeal to the emperor, to withdraw the tax. These petitioners were trodden down by elephants when they did not disperse in spite of warning. Sivaji sent a closely reasoned protest in a letter but this was discarded. Manucci says: 'many Hindus who were unable to pay the tax turned Muhammadans to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors. Aurangzeb rejoices'. Stipends and gifts were lavished on converts and posts offered to them in the public service. Raja Rana Singh of Chitor wrote a polite letter against the imposition of *jizya* tax. Part of it may be quoted as an example of the dignified remonstrance:

> 'How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting heavy tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?....If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The pagan and the Mussalman are equally in His presence...to vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty....In fine, the tribute you demand from Hindus is repugnant to justice: it is equally foreign to good policy, as it must impoverish the country.'*

This letter too was fruitless. During the Rajput war in Udaipur and Chitor alone, in two months, 239 temples suffered ruin by his order. In 1671 Aurangzeb issued an order to dismiss all Hindu revenue collectors of crown lands and appoint Muslims in their place. Hindu headclerks and accountants were all dismissed to make room for Muhammadans. There were not enough Muslims to take

* Cited from *India Through the Ages* by Flora Anne Steel.

up all the jobs vacated by the Hindus and so some Hindus had necessarily to continue in some offices.

HINDU REVOLT—JATS—SATNAMIS: Against his policy of persecution rose the Jat peasantry of the Mathura district early in 1669. They gave the imperial forces great trouble but in the end were suppressed. In 1672 a sect of Hindu devotees known as Satnamis rose in revolt. They dressed themselves like fakirs but were mainly traders and agriculturists. They were credited with powers of magic and witchcraft which struck terror into the hearts of the Mughal soldiers. To dispel their fears, Aurangzeb prepared some prayers and amulets with his hands and attached them to the banners of the imperial forces. A most obstinate battle was fought between the imperial forces and the Satnamis. 2,000 Satnamis fell in the battle and many were slain in the pursuit that followed.

SIKHS: Aurangzeb completed the transformation of the Sikhs from a religious body into a military brotherhood. The fifth Guru, Arjun (1581–1606) gave the Sikhs a permanent organization with sources of income. He completed the two sacred tanks at Amritsar and gave the final shape to the scriptures by compiling the *Adi Granth*. He built the first temple for enshrining it on the site of the present Golden Temple. His son Har Govind (1606–45) increased his strength but came into conflict with Shah Jahan and died as a refugee in Kashmir hills. After him came two more pontiffs Har Rai (1645–61) and Har Kishan (1661–64) and then Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind and grandson of Guru Arjun became the Guru. When Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of Sikh temples and the expulsion of the Guru's agents from the cities, he revolted against the emperor. He was captured and taken to Delhi. He was forced to embrace Islam and when he refused to do so, Aurangzeb had him tortured for five days. Then he was beheaded in December 1675. By this act Aurangzeb brought about an irreconcilable breach between the Sikhs and Islam.

Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru organized the Sikhs into a most dangerous and implacable enemy of the Mughal empire. The Jats who had been infuriated by the destruction of Kesavarai temple at Mathura became converts to Sikhism to wreak vengeance on Aurangzeb. The imperial force marched against the Sikhs headed

by Govind. Guru Govind had to undergo hardships and he lost all his four sons. He had to flee from place to place like a hunted animal. In 1705 he made his way to the Deccan and from there he returned to North India after the death of Aurangzeb. In the war of succession that followed he took the side of Bahadur Shah and followed that monarch to the Deccan (1707), where he took up his residence at Nander on the Godavari. He was stabbed to death by an Afghan follower. His last words were, 'I shall always be present wherever five Sikhs are assembled'. This made the Sikhs independent of a supreme leader and turned them into a military democracy.

RAJPUTS: Maharaja Jasvant Singh of Jodhpur, the foremost Hindu peer of the Mughal court, died in December 1679 when he was in charge of the output of Jamrud in the north-west. Aurangzeb seized his kingdom and brought it under Mughal rule. In order to deal with any possible opposition he himself went to Ajmer. To carry through his anti-Hindu policy he annexed Marwar and reimposed *jizya* on Hindus. In 1679, the Rajputs rebelled. The same year two widows of Jasvant Singh gave birth to two sons; one of them died immediately after birth and the other by name Ajit Singh survived. Aurangzeb sold the throne of Marwar to Indra Singh, who was servile to him. Aurangzeb was slow to recognize the rights of Ajit Singh and transferred the child to the imperial harem according to a contemporary account. He said that Ajit Singh would be put on the throne of Jodhpur if he was allowed to embrace Islam. Durgadas, the son of Jasvant's minister, took up the child's cause. He managed to snatch the boy and his mother from the custody of Aurangzeb and took them to a place of safety in Mount Abu. But Aurangzeb brought up a milkman's infant in his harem and proclaimed that he was the true Ajit Singh. This impostor was named Muhammad-Rai. He proclaimed that Durgadas's protégé should be regarded as a bogus prince. This meant war between Aurangzeb and the Rajputs. Aurangzeb came once more to Ajmer and ordered reinforcements from different provinces. His three sons Muazzam, Azam and Akbar were each put in charge of a separate division of the army. Towards the end of 1679 Marwar was formally annexed. However, it could not be regarded as a complete conquest. Aurangzeb's attempts in Mewar also were not successful. He got Udaipur and Chitor districts in 1680 and the

countryside was totally devastated. The Maharana Raj Singh made himself secure in the fortress of the Aravalli range. From there he made periodical raids and delivered crushing blows on the Mughal armies on either side of the hills. The captainship of the Mughal armies engaged there went abegging.

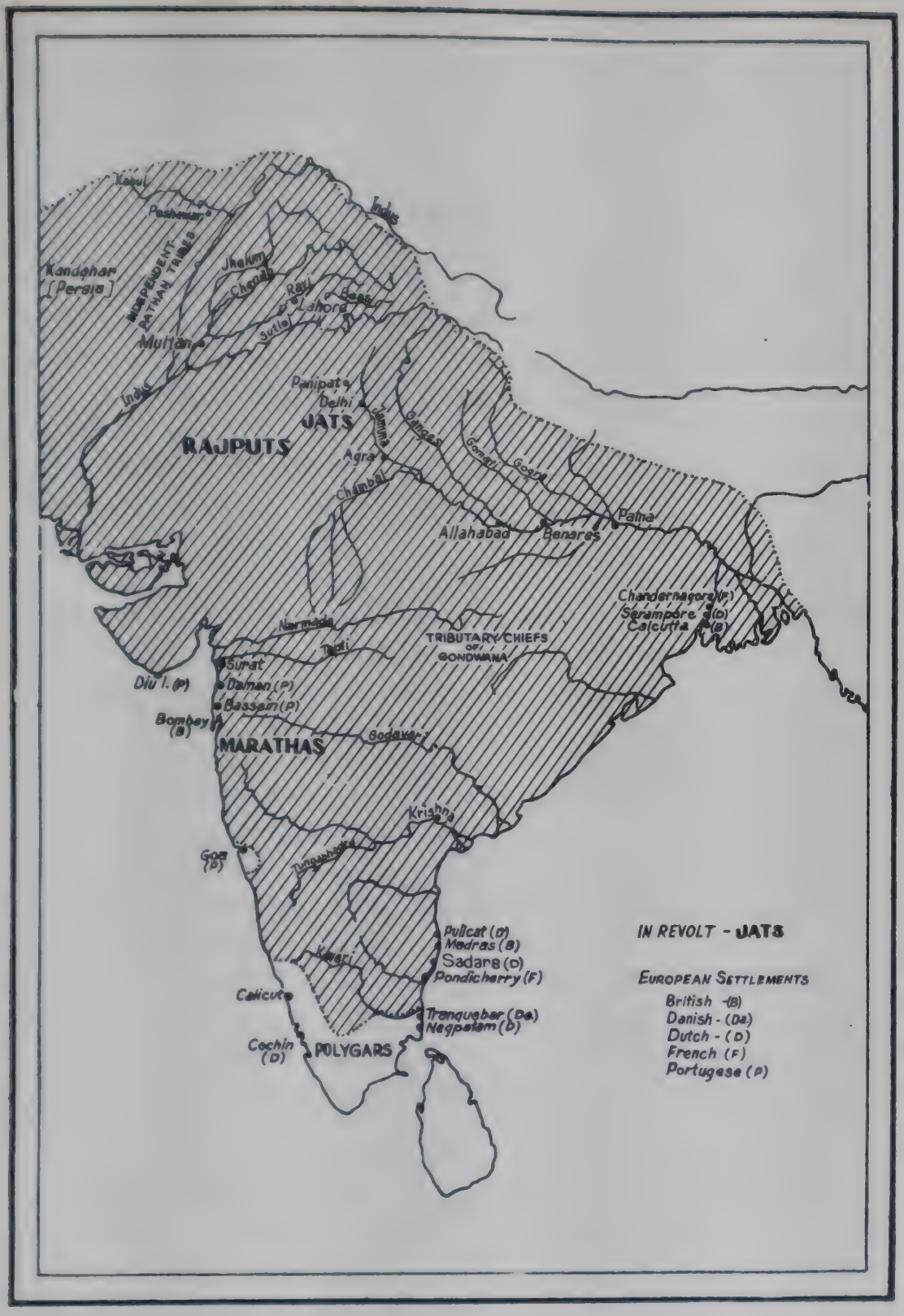
PRINCE AKBAR'S REBELLION: As Aurangzeb was not satisfied with Akbar's way of taking Chitor he transferred him to Marwar. The command of Chitor was given to Prince Azam (July 1680). Prince Akbar who was twenty-three years of age felt his removal to be an indignity. At this time the Rajputs desired to put on the Mughal throne instead of Aurangzeb, a less bigotted ruler. Maharana Jai Singh and Durgadas promised to give Akbar loyal support if he would seize the throne and save the Mughal empire from destruction by following the wise policy of his forefathers. Akbar agreed and rose against his father. A large army of 70,000 including the finest Rajput troops was put in the command of Akbar and the march on Ajmer began (January 1681). Aurangzeb was not in a position to defend himself against Akbar's army which attacked him quite by surprise. Aurangzeb quite coolly resorted to a stratagem. He allowed a letter to fall into the hands of the Rajputs calculated to rouse their suspicions against the intentions of Akbar. The Rajputs fell into the trap and deserted Akbar. But soon the truth was out and when Durgadas came to know that it was a false letter, he came to Akbar and escorted him to the Deccan (May 1681). Akbar spent over a year at the court of Sivaji's son Sambhuji and then withdrew to Persia where he lived for many years, dying shortly before his father.

Akbar's rebellion was a failure, but still it put a stop to the war against the Maharana when he was about to be completely surrounded; for Aurangzeb felt compelled to transfer himself and the best of his troops to the Deccan to guard against Akbar's possible attack. In June 1681 the Maharana and Aurangzeb entered into a treaty. Maharana Jai Singh ceded a few parganas in lieu of *jizya*. The Mughal emperor withdrew from Mewar giving it back to the Rana. But the war with Marwar however continued for another thirty years, and finally in 1709 Bahadur Shah, son and successor of Aurangzeb, acknowledged the right of Ajit Singh. Aurangzeb's policy towards the Rajputs was ill conceived. It alienated the most

loyal supporters among the Rajputs. It was largely responsible for promoting defiance and lawlessness throughout Northern India which ultimately led to the disruption of the Mughal empire.

AURANGZEB'S DECCAN CAMPAIGN: Aurangzeb did not fully realize the significance of the rise of the Maratha people under Sivaji. So, in the first half of his reign, the affairs of Deccan did not seriously engage his attention. Bijapur and Golkonda were in a decadent state. Shah Alam who was the governor of the Mughal States in the Deccan was a timid and unenterprising prince. His chief officer Dilir Khan was unfriendly to him. The Hindu officers of the Mughal court were in sympathy with the Marathas and the Muslim generals in the Deccan were glad to bribe them to let them live in peace. In Golkonda Abdullah Kutb Shah was a weak prince given to sensuous enjoyment and his successor Tana Shah had better taste but was equally indolent. The State affairs were left in the hands of two brahman ministers Madanna and Akkanna. They outwardly professed loyalty to the Mughals but were really friendly to the Marathas. Bijapur allied itself to the Marathas only on occasions of war against the Mughals. The Maratha power was at the time growing at the expense of Bijapur.

The history of the Deccan affairs during the reign of Aurangzeb dovetails into that of the Marathas. Historians therefore generally show the rise of the Marathas under Sivaji as an incident under Aurangzeb's rule. We shall however treat it separately in the next section. The Mughal troops were at first successful in the Deccan though they were crippled by sickness, wearied by the difficulty of the roads and harassed by Sivaji's son Sambhuji and his guerillas both by sea and land. Moreover Sambhuji had made friends with the king of Golkonda. Aurangzeb reduced Golkonda and next Bijapur came under his displeasure. Golkonda and Bijapur were both taken by Aurangzeb. He returned to the capital triumphantly. Aurangzeb made himself very unpopular by his religious intolerance. His treatment of Sambhuji completely alienated the Marathas, as we shall see later. From this sime the fortunes of Aurangzeb and with them the empire of the Mughals began to fall. In one of the wars against the Marathas in the closing year of his reign Aurangzeb was crossing the Man river at midnight. Then there came a sudden flood. Aurangzeb stumbled and had his knee dislocated in trying to escape. In the midst of reverses Aurangzeb was attacked with a severe



INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB IN A.D. 1707

illness in October 1705. He was persuaded to return to Ahmadnagar which he reached in January 1706 pursued by the Marathas. This was his journey's end. He had for fifty years held the reins of the government without aid of any sort. He had no friends. He could not trust anyone sufficiently for friendship. His one lukewarm affection seems to have been for his sister Roshanara. She sat by the side of his sick bed guarding the Great Seal. He died on 3 March 1707. His remains were carried to Daulatabad. Azam Shah carried the coffin for a short distance. It was sent to the speculchre of Shaikh-Zain-ul-Hakk, four miles west of Daulatabad for burial.

ESTIMATE OF AURANGZEB: Aurangzeb died as he had lived, simple, pious and austere. Before his death he wrote a will that his funeral should be simple and that the expenses were to be met from what he had saved from his own earnings. He had earned Rs. 300 by copying the *Koran*. Although love of power and fear of treachery had made Aurangzeb an unpopular ruler, in his personal life he was exemplary and pure. The Muslim law allowed four wives but he had less than four and he was very faithful to wedded love. He avoided with scrupulous care food, drink or dress prohibited in Islamic religion. He was a courageous man to the last. In difficulties and dangers he showed a rare coolness of temperament and calculating spirit. To the end of his life he was a diplomat. He was widely read and he kept up his love of books throughout his life. He was a great letter writer and three huge volumes of his letters are still extant. In this writing Aurangzeb gives proof of his mastery of Persian poetry and Arabic sacred literature. The greatest digest of Muslim law made in India, *Fatva-i-Alamgiri* was due to his initiative and patronage. One of his letters shows that at the time of death he was filled with remorse.

'Old age has arrived....I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself; what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the Empire. My valuable time has been passed away vainly. I had a guide given me in my own dwelling (Conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of men, take nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation and with

what torments I may be punished....Regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come, then, what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Farewell, Farewell.—Farewell.'

Aurangzeb was a failure as a ruler mainly because of his self-confidence and distrust of others. His frequent interferences in the details of administration destroyed the sense of responsibility and initiative of his subordinates. It inevitably resulted in the degeneration of the administration. He did much unwittingly perhaps to undo the good work of his ancestor Akbar. But the cause of the failure of his reign as Jadunath Sarkar observes, 'lay deeper than his personal character'. Though it is not true that he alone caused the fall of the Mughal empire, 'yet he did nothing to avert it; but rather quickened the destructive forces already in operation in the land; he never realised that there cannot be a great empire without a great people'.

The Rise of the Marathas

MARATHAS—SIVAJI: Maharashtra is a mountainous country with a large number of easily defended hill-forts and a bracing climate. Though the soil is poor, no more fitting birth-place for warlike peoples could be imagined. Its sparse population was noted for bravery, self-reliance, perseverance and simplicity. The Maratha people created an independent State under the leadership of Sivaji, late in the seventeenth century. Maratha nationalism of this time was based partly on the great *bhakti* literature of Maharashtra which abounded in popular songs of great force and for the rest on the military training the people and their leaders got in the service of Bijapur. Jnanadeva, Ekanath and Tukaram were household names, and Ramdas was the spiritual guide of Sivaji himself. Sivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle who had risen from the position of a small *jagirdar* under the sultans of Ahmadnagar to that of a king-maker. We have noted that in 1636 Shahji was defeated by Shah Jahan. After this defeat he became one of the leading Hindu generals of Adil Shahi government of Bijapur. Sivaji was born in 1627 and by the time he was sixteen he became quite famous. His love of adventure, his knowledge of popular ballads and his exciting raids leading the sturdy Marathas, his intimate acquaintance with every footpath

and defile in that mountain country, his horsemanship and statesmanship were on the tongues of all. He got from his father his holdings in the Poona district. His half-brother Venkaji also called Ekoji occupied Shahji's acquisitions in Mysore and the Arcot district.

Shahji neglected Sivaji's mother, leaving both mother and son under the care of Dadaji Kond Dev, an honest and shrewd brahman who looked after the Poona estates of Shahji. Sivaji under this teacher learnt fighting, riding and other accomplishments. He had good training in the art of administration. Sivaji's mother taught him the old *Puranic* and epic legends of bravery and war. She was largely responsible for inspiring in him a determination to defend the Hindu *dharma* against the inroads of Islam. In 1647 Sivaji became his own master at the age of 20. He gained many forts from their hereditary owners or the local officers of Bijapur. He applied both force and diplomacy in capturing the forts. Poona had originally belonged to Ahmadnagar and had not reconciled itself to the rule of Bijapur. This circumstance was favourable to Sivaji.

Moreover Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1646-56) suffered from prolonged illness. His regents were selfish and in a way encouraged Sivaji in his enterprises. In two years (1646-47) he captured Torna, 20 miles south-west of Poona and seized other forts including Purandar. The court at Bijapur attempted remonstrance, imprisoned poor Shahji and threatened to wall him up unless Sivaji repented of his errors. Now Sivaji resorted to diplomacy, and offered his services to Shah Jahan through Prince Murad, then the viceroy of the Deccan and requested the emperor to get the release of his father. In 1649 Shahji was released on condition that he would check his son. Sivaji stayed his hand against Bijapur for the next five or six years. By 1656 Sivaji had more than doubled the extent of the heritage under him. His revenue was also doubled. In 1657 taking advantage of the Deccan viceroy Aurangzeb's invasion of Bijapur, Sivaji raided the districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnar. But Aurangzeb's army took him by surprise and routed his troops. When Adil Shah made peace with Aurangzeb, Sivaji had to submit to the emperor. Sivaji then turned his attention to the strip lying between the Western Ghats and the sea, called Konkan. The territory from Kalyan up to Mahad in the south fell into Sivaji's hands. So Bijapur had to take action against Sivaji.

Afzal Khan: Afzal Khan, a veteran officer, was sent by the sultan of Bijapur 'to bring back the rebel Sivaji, dead or alive'. Afzal Khan had under him 10,000 cavalry. He fixed his camp at Wai about 16 miles due east of Pratapgad where Sivaji had taken up his residence. Afzal Khan opened negotiations through a Maratha brahman Krishnaji Bhaskar and invited Sivaji to a conference. There are several versions of what happened when Sivaji met Afzal Khan; but they need not detain us. With the death of Afzal Khan the troops of Bijapur fell into a state of confusion and Sivaji's troops that had been lying in ambush came forth and completely routed the Bijapur army (20 November 1659). For the next three years the war with Bijapur continued unabated. Sivaji captured important places southward of Panhala and along the banks of the Krishna. He defeated the Bijapur army under Rustam Khan and marched up to the very gates of Bijapur while his generals plundered the rich sea-port of Rajpur. Shahji was still alive and Bijapur government sent him to negotiate with his son. The sultan acknowledged Sivaji as the ruler of the territories he had won in the last few years.

Shayista Khan: In 1660 Aurangzeb sent Shayista Khan, a veteran general, as governor of the Deccan with instructions to suppress Sivaji. His army was harassed by the Marathas. Shayista Khan retired to Poona for the monsoon. Meanwhile Sivaji rapidly extended his conquests down the coast strip up to Kharapatan but in 1661 he lost Kalyan to the Mughals. During the next two years there were indecisive skirmishes. In April 1663 Sivaji with great secrecy managed to get into Shayista Khan's residence at Poona at midnight with a picked band of 400 soldiers to attack the Khan. In his attempt to escape the Khan lost three fingers. Sivaji took all those in his residence as captives. Shayista Khan retired to Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb recalled him, charging him with negligence and incapacity. In 1664 Sivaji attacked the rich city of Surat almost unchecked, for the Mughal governor had fled. However the English, Dutch and French factories in Surat defended themselves successfully. Two-thirds of Surat was destroyed by fire and the Maratha plunder exceeded ten million rupees.

Jai Singh: Aurangzeb sent Jai Singh of Amber to punish Sivaji (1665). He laid siege to Purandar where the families of Maratha

officers had sought refuge. The Mughal cavalry ravaged the Maratha villages and even threatened Raigarh. Sivaji realizing the futility of further resistance met Jai Singh in person and made with him the treaty of Purandar (June 1665). According to this, Sivaji ceded to the emperor 23 forts and retained for himself 12 forts. He acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the emperor and promised to send a contingent of 5,000 horse to serve in the Mughal ranks in the Deccan. Sivaji allowed himself to be persuaded by Jai Singh to pay a visit to Aurangzeb's court at Agra. When he went there, he was not received in the manner he had expected.

A Venetian contemporary, Niccolao Manucci* had described Sivaji's reception in *Storia do Mogor:*

> 'Upon Sivaji's arrival at Agra the king caused him to appear in his presence, and instead of giving him the promised position, which was to be the highest in his audience-hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Sivaji was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb's which did not conform to the promises received; and angry (so to speak) at being still alive, he said resolutely to Aurangzeb that the position allotted was not according to that promised to him under oath, nor to the agreement made with Raja Jai Singh. From this his first reception he could well surmise what would come to pass thereafter. Let Aurangzeb remember that the officers in His Majesty's presence, with the exception of Namdar Khan, who was a good soldier, the rest of them were so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with the greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held. Then in anger he came out.'

Aurangzeb had Sivaji arrested and put in prison. Sivaji's appeals for leave to return home went unheeded. After three months of captivity Sivaji slipped out of Agra along with his son, both of them deceiving the guards. By way of Mathura, Allahabad, Banaras, Gaya and Telingana Sivaji reached home on 30 November 1666 after an absence of nine months. Aurangzeb's contempt for an alliance with Sivaji made him lose the best chance of restoring tranquillity in the Deccan.

* Cited in *A History of India by* Michael Edwards, p. 176.

JASVANT SINGH: Raja Jai Singh was engaged in subduing the Bijapur kingdom and was suddenly recalled in 1667. He died on his way at Burhanpur probably poisoned by his son Kirat Singh at the instigation of Aurangzeb. Raja Jasvant Singh was sent to the Deccan in place of Jai Singh. This change was in favour of Sivaji, for Jasvant Singh was inclined to be friendly to him. This was the time when the Mughal troops were withdrawn for service on the North-west frontier. In the decade that followed his escape from Agra, Sivaji built up his possessions and he organized the internal administration of his territory making peace with the Mughal government. Jasvant Singh and Prince Shah Alam persuaded Aurangzeb to recognize Sivaji's title of Raja and Aurangzeb did so. Sambhuji (Sivaji's son) was given the rank of a *mansabdar* of 5,000. Sivaji got a *jagir* of Berar in settlement of his claims to *chauth* (one-fourth of the land revenue) in the Ahmadnagar territories. But in 1670 Sivaji fell out with the Mughals again, and recovered all the forts that he had given up to them five years back. He frequently went on plundering raids into the Mughal territory in the Deccan. He raided Surat a second time in October 1670. The trade of the greatest port of India was thus ruined. Sivaji raided in the Mughal provinces, Baglan, Khandesh and Berar besides Aurangabad and captured many hill-forts. There were dissensions among the Mughal commanders which resulted in their repeated defeats. Aurangzeb removed Jasvant Singh and Prince Muazzam from the Deccan. He sent Bahadur Khan Jahan in 1674 and Mahabat Khan in their place. But this change brought no advantage to Aurangzeb. Sivaji continued to make annexations. He permanently occupied Koli country south of Surat. In December 1672 Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur died and this enabled Sivaji to sack Hubli, capture Karwar and Ankola and gain other places at the expense of Bijapur.

SOUTHERN EXPEDITION: In 1676-77, Sivaji prepared and completed the 'most important expedition of his life'. With 30,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry he reached Golkonda. Abul Hasan Kutb Shah and his two brahman ministers conspired with Sivaji and prepared a scheme to capture the possessions of Bijapur in the Carnatic and divide them between themselves. Sivaji left Golkonda for the Carnatic. Passing Madras he persuaded the brothers who held Jinji to

surrender that strong fortress to him. He appointed one of his officers to the command of the fort.

He established his own system of administration in the surrounding territory. He captured Tiruvannamalai and Vellore in the Carnatic, which had been assigned to Shahji. In accordance with a treaty with his brother Ekoji, the territories in Mysore were presented to Dipa Bai, wife of Ekoji. Tanjore and the adjoining districts were given to Ekoji. In this way Sivaji successfully displaced the suzerainty of Bijapur in the south by his own. In the rest of the possessions of Bijapur in the Carnatic, Sivaji levied *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* (additional tenth of the revenue). If these were withheld he plundered the country. Sivaji's conquests in the Madras, Carnatic and Mysore plateau were estimated to cover '60 leagues by 40 and to yield 20 lakhs of huns a year, with 100 forts'.

THE CORONATION OF SIVAJI: Success and prosperity emboldened Sivaji to assume formal sovereignty in the Hindu traditional manner. Sivaji crowned himself Chhatrapati, king of kings, at a grand durbar held at Raigarh with full Vedic rites after he had been declared a true Kshatriya on undergoing a purificatory ceremony. Learned brahmins from all over India under the leadership of the celebrated Gagabhatta of Banaras, officiated at the ceremonies. He was constantly engaged in hostilities with the Mughals and with Bijapur during the remaining six years.

DEATH: Towards the end of 1679 Sivaji had a severe reverse in an engagement with the Mughal forces. He did not long survive this reverse. On 2 April 1680 Sivaji developed fever and dysentery and died on 14th at the age of fifty-three.

GOVERNMENT: It is a matter of no small credit to Sivaji that he should have built up a large and well-equipped kingdom with an estimated annual revenue of nine crores of rupees, at the time when the Mughal empire was at its full strength and zenith under one of its ablest monarchs. For the preservation of Hindu religion and culture Sivaji welded the Marathas into a mighty nation. His spiritual guides were Tukaram and Ramdas. He had a formidable belief that he was the favourite of Goddess Bhavani. Khafi Khan a very unfriendly chronicler to Sivaji bears testimony to his spiritual virtues.

He says that Sivaji 'made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred *Koran* came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Muslim followers'. Again, 'he was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muslims when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict and any one who disobeyed them received punishment'.

Sivaji maintained strict discipline in the army. No soldier was allowed to take with him wife or mistress. Any infringement of this rule meant death. The army officials were well graded. A *nayak* commanded a squad of ten men. Over five *nayaks* there was *havildar;* over two or three *havildars* there was one *jumladar* and over ten *jumladars* one *hazari.* There were seven *hazaris* with the *sar-i-naubat* (*senapati*) of infantry at the head. For the cavalry there was a separate chief. Sivaji disliked the *jagir* system and preferred to pay his men salaries in cash. Sivaji took great care to see that his commandants were not corrupt. The campaigning season began after *Dasra* in October and lasted till about April. He had a considerable fleet stationed at Kolaba to check the power of the Abyssinian pirate chiefs and to plunder the rich Mughal ships.

Sivaji's government was in accordance with the principles laid down by Kautilya and the *dharmasastras.* The Council of State consisted of eight ministers. There were eighteen different departments of public service. The kingdom was divided into three provinces, each under a viceroy. The ancient institutions of the *panchayat* was preserved intact. The panchayats decided the minor civil disputes. Land was carefully measured. The State levied 2/5 of the estimated produce as a tax. Agriculturists were assisted by advances for the purchase of seed and cattle, if they were settled on uncultivated lands. Sivaji gave up the farming system. A regularly paid government staff collected the revenue. The rules of land revenue applied to territories under the direct rule of Sivaji called *swaraj.* The areas under Muslim rule known as Mughalai territory were subject to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi.* All clerical and account work was in the hands of brahmins. Learning the three R's was considered unworthy of a soldier and so the Marathas did not care to learn to read or write. Sivaji too was an illiterate.

Southern India at the End of 17th Century

AFTER SIVAJI: Aurangzeb found no relief after the death of Sivaji. He found the Maratha people determined to get rid of the Muslim rule altogether. In the face of a hostile faction which supported Rajaram, his young step-brother, Sambhuji succeeded to the throne. Sambhuji was a daring soldier like his father but he lacked his other virtues. The rebel Prince Akbar was Sambhuji's guest. Bijapur and Golkonda were still independent. Thinking that his personal supervision alone would bring the Deccan under Mughal control, Aurangzeb came into the Deccan with a large army. In 1682 he reached Aurangabad and made it the imperial camp.

MARATHAS, BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA: In the winter of 1680 and 1681 the Marathas raided North Khandesh and looted the suburbs of Burhanpur for three days and they took with them an enormous amount of booty. Aurangzeb sent two large divisions of his army, one under Prince Shah Alam and another under Azam, against the Marathas and Bijapur. Aurangzeb had to spend two years to put down Prince Akbar. When Akbar found that he could not rely on Sambhuji for active help, he escaped by sea from Bijapur to Persia (1687). The Mughals captured a few Maratha forts but the campaign on the whole was disastrous owing to the unhealthiness of the climate of Konkan. Aurangzeb's distrust of his sons and generals led him to a policy of waiting and vacillation.

The local nobles who were jealous of Sambhuji rose in rebellion frequently. There were several conspiracies against the life of Sambhuji. The Maratha power was greatly enfeebled, for there were desertions to the Mughal side. The whole of west coast seemed to be against Sambhuji.

Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahis, was defeated and enrolled among the Mughal peers with the title of Khan instead of Shah. He got an annual pension of 100,000 rupees. He died outside Satara Fort in April 1700 at the age of 32. Bijapur became one of the provinces of the Mughal empire.

After Bijapur came the turn of Golkonda. Shah Alam went with a strong force against Hyderabad in July 1685. He won over the commander-in-chief of Golkonda by bribery, and Kutab Shah had to submit agreeing to pay twelve million rupees as past dues besides a tribute of 200,000 huns every year. He agreed also to dismiss his ministers Madanna and Akkanna and to cede Malkhed and

Seram to the emperor. However, Abul Hasan was not willing to dismiss the Hindu ministers. Put they were murdered in the streets of Golkonda. Aurangzeb proceeded to Golkonda in 1687 and invested its strong fortress. But his army was thoroughly demoralized. He had to resort to bribery in the end to capture the fort. Abul Hasan surrendered in a most dignified manner to the emperor's son Azam, and was sent as prisoner to Daulatabad. The spoils at Golkonda amounted to seventy million rupees in cash besides gold and silver, jewels and jewelled-ware.

Sambhuji who was absorbed in drinking and merry-making was surprised and captured by the Mughal commander. Aurangzeb thanked God for the favour vouchsafed him. Sambhuji and his minister were dressed as buffoons and humiliatingly paraded along the streets. Aurangzeb offered to let Sambhuji go alive if he would surrender his forts and hidden treasure. Enraged at this, Sambhuji abused the emperor and asked one of his daughters to be given to him. He was therefore tortured and mutilated for 24 days and in the end killed. His minister also met the same fate (March 1689). Seven months after the execution of Sambhuji, the imperial forces captured Raigarh, the capital of the Maratha kingdom. Sambhuji's mother, his wife and his young son Sahu were taken prisoners. However, the brother of Sambhuji, Rajaram escaped. Aurangzeb pushed his conquests southwards and for a time levied tribute even as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

The success in the Deccan in 1692 was truly the beginning of the end of the Mughal empire. Aurangzeb's continued absence from the North led to inefficiency and corruption in the administration. There were outbreaks of rebellions and disorders. The Jats, the Sikhs and the Bundelas under the leadership of Chhatrasal were all in open revolt. The disbanded Muslim officers and troops of Bijapur and Golkonda took up the ranks of the Marathas, for they had no love for the Sunni Muslims.

Rajaram managed to reach the fortress of Jinji in the south where began a veritable people's war against the Mughals. Ramchandra Bavadekar was given the office of dictator (*hukumat-panah*), with full regal authority over all officials and captains in the Maharashtra.

The history of the last seventeen years of Aurangzeb's reign is a sorry and tedious tale of long and tiresome wars and sieges. Zulfikar Khan, one of the best imperial generals, was sent to besiege

Jinji in 1691. Several large forces were sent in different directions to capture the fortresses in the Maratha country. Thus the Mughal army got scattered. The siege of Jinji was unduly prolonged. In fact Zulfikar Khan and his father Asad Khan had a secret understanding with Rajaram, for these generals hoped to establish themselves as independent sovereigns when Aurangzeb died. Zulfikar Khan was recalled. But the fort of Jinji was taken finally in 1698. Rajaram and other important Maratha chiefs had however escaped to Satara before the fall of Jinji. Rajaram assembled a large army and resumed the struggle in the Northern Deccan where Aurangzeb concentrated his troops. Distrusting his generals he led his army in person against the Marathas' strongholds. In 1700 Satara was reduced but not before the Mughal army had suffered heavy loss. Rajaram had died a month before the fall of Satara. But his gallant widow Tara Bai took his place and carried on the struggle. Aurangzeb in spite of his efforts could not establish his power in the Maratha country. The disruption of the Mughal empire and the Maratha bid for imperial status will be dealt with later.

CHAPTER XVII

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE MUGHALS

Government

Good government by the Muslims in India may be said to have begun in the days of Sher Shah. When Humayun was restored to the throne, the seed that Sher Shah had sown sprouted and Akbar by his originality contributed greatly to the development of good government. Akbar no longer considered himself as the chief of a small body of military adventurers who held the country down by force. Before him the sultans and the Mughal emperors regarded Hindus as people who were allowed to live by sufference. They held the idea that India should become a Muslim country.

By the sixteenth century the Muslim population of India had increased greatly by immigration and by conversion and birth and they were available in larger numbers for military and civil services than in the days of the sultanate. The result of mutual intercourse was gradually breaking down the barriers between the Hindus and the Muslims. One result of the intercourse between the Muslims and the Hindus was the evolution of Urdu as the vernacular of Indian Muslims. In spite of the advanced ideas of Akbar, his government must be characterized as purely military in its nature. 'The court was a camp, and the camp a city in motion.'

The Emperor: The form of government was autocratic monarchy. The king was the highest temporal authority. He was also regarded as the shadow of God upon earth. He was the source of the entire administrative law, but there was no written law. In practice, however, the customary law was respected. Even in religious controversies the emperor's decision was final, provided it did not con-

flict with canon law (*sharia*). The Mughal emperors did not hanker after Khalif's investiture as the sultans had done. The entire machinery of government derived its momentum from the king. All the Mughal emperors except Jahangir who entrusted his government to his wife Nur Jahan, lived up to the great demands of their high office on their time and energy. In this respect Akbar stands head and shoulders above the rest.

THE MUGHAL COURT: The court was full of pomp and splendour. It reached its high water mark under Shah Jahan. Observers like Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci have recorded their great admiration of the Mughal court. The emperor had an exacting daily routine. He had to show himself to his subjects at the *jharokha* shortly after sunrise, and informally at other hours. He spent about two hours in the audience hall (*diwan-i-am*) hearing petitions, receiving reports, and disposing of judicial cases. He also inspected parades of men and animals while the princes and the great nobles were ranged near him according to their rank. Scribes by the side of the king noted down carefully his orders. After this, the king would go to the *diwan-i-khass* to give private audience. This lasted till near midday. Here the king disposed of administrative work and State affairs which could not be dealt with in public. These audiences were followed by confidential consultations on secret and political matters in the *shah burj* or royal tower. This finished the business of the king for forenoon. Again from 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. there was another public audience followed by confidential work in the *shah burj* till about 8 p.m. or later. One day was set apart for the emperor to hear personally important cases. The quality of work turned out depended on the ability of the individual monarch. Next to Akbar, Aurangzeb showed indefatigable energy. He is said to have slept only three hours out of 24 hours. A great part of his time was taken up by acts of devotion in accordance with the *Koran*, and the Traditions. His lack of understanding and sympathy unfortunately marred his work as a ruler.

It may be pointed out that the contemporary rulers of England were regarded as benevolent despots. The Mughal rule was an enlightened despotism. Tavernier remarked that Shah Jahan ruled over his people more as a father over his family than as a king over his subjects.

Strict adherence to etiquette was demanded in court ceremonials. All had to remain standing. Only princes could sit if permitted. Jahangir had a golden chair for Shah Jahan in his court, so had Shah Jahan for Dara. Akbar demanded *sijda* or prostration. Shah Jahan abolished it on the ground that such prostration was due only to God. Kissing the ground was substituted for *sijda*. Later even this was given up in favour of a method of salutation in which a man only bowed and touched his forehead, his eyes and arms. Scholars and divines were excused even from this form of salutation. It was enough if in the ordinary way they wished peace to one another. No one could show his back to the throne and the movements had to be effected with face towards the emperor. The messengers of European nations with the exception of Sir Thomas Roe had to fight hard for the maintenance of their dignity. On festive occasions there were gorgeous and tasteful decorations and the amirs appeared in their best dress. The emperor himself gorgeously dressed sat on a magnificent throne. The king accepted presents and bestowed rewards.

There was no accepted law of succession. This led to intrigues and succession wars. Blindness was a disqualification for a ruler and therefore we find frequently rival princes being blinded.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD: In 1595 the palace and imperial household contained about a hundred separate offices and workshops. The annual cost of maintaining them was nearly eight million rupees. Under Shah Jahan probably the expenditure was much more. There were graded officials to look after the household. The two chief officials were the Lord of Requests and the Palace Commandant. Others were the Secretary, the Master of Elephants, the Tentmaster and the Keeper of the Wardrobe. Even the officers of the household were organized on military lines. The cooks, menials and gardeners drew pay according to their rank. A kitchen menial, for example, had the rank of a foot-soldier. From Kashmir came to the palace kitchen certain special vegetables as also ducks and water-fowl. There was a water-supply department to get water from the Ganges for drinking and water from the Jumna and the Chenab for cooking. Ice was in common use. Drinking water was cooled by being filtered through saltpetre. Fruits came from Kabul and even from far off Badakshan and Samarkhand.

THE HAREM: The haren contained nearly 5,000 women; each had a separate apartment. The womem drew good salaries ranging from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,600 a month. Hawkins noted that the harem cost Rs. 30,000 a day. There was a special staff to regulate expenditure. The members of the staff were in direct contact with the emperor's Treasurer-General. There were armed female guards for the protection of the women of the harem. Outside the harem there were eunuchs on guard and beyond them there were the Rajputs.

On a march or a hunting expedition the camp was organized on more or less the same lines as in the capital. The tent was a replica of the palace. There were offices, workshops and bazaars in the camp.

MINISTERS: The emperor appointed ministers to help him in daily administration. Under Akbar the prime minister was called the *vakil*. The *vazir* or *diwan* was the finance minister. In theory, the ministers were servants of the emperor, but in practice they were his advisers. The *vakil* was practically the head of the administration. He could employ or dismiss any officer. His control extended over the household department as well as the general administrative departments. The *vazir* or *diwan* was the permanent head of the finance department, and signed every important paper. The head *bakshi* had a variety of functions. He was the paymaster-general, and chief recruiting officer for the army. He maintained registers like the lists of graded officials. He should fix the position of commanders in the army. On important occasions he himself assumed high command. There was an ecclesiastical officer called *sadar-i-sudur*. His office was one of great dignity in the beginning of Akbar's reign. He was the head of all the law officers and had unlimited authority to make grants of land for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes. He could give capital punishment in cases of heresy. In 1578 Akbar curtailed the power of this officer, particularly the control of grants and hence the office declined in importance till it was abolished in 1582. There were *sadrs* and the *kazis* to supervise the subordinate judicial officers in each large city. Those were only civil officials.

MUGHAL PUBLIC SERVICE: From the time of the accession of Akbar, the influx of foreign Muslims into India declined. Akbar evolved

a policy of India for Indians. However, there were a great number of foreigners to man the various departments and offices created by Akbar. These high officials were mostly Persians, Afghans and others. There were a few Hindusthani Muslims in the higher grades of service. Moreland says that 70% of these officials belonged to foreign families, only 30% being Indian Muslims and Hindus. Though Akbar gave equal opportunities to the Hindus and Muslims, the appointments held by the Hindus were very few, and these mostly being the Rajputs. Akbar's policy of employing Hindus in public service was mostly directed towards binding the leading Rajput families to the throne. Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued to maintain the policy, but Aurangzeb reversed it with disastrous results.

MANSABDARI SYSTEM: The *mansabdari* system introduced by Akbar was partly bureaucratic but essentially military in character. In course of time this led to great abuses. In the absence of active supervision there was deterioration of public service. In addition to the *mansab* or class rank regarded as a personal (*zat*) distinction, an official was also granted a *sawar* rank. Moreland's interpretation of *zat* seems to be best. *Zat* was originally a Central Asian term. Under the Mughals it became the term of purely personal distinction. *Sawar* had definite relation to the number of horses maintained. Each class of *mansabdar* fell into three grades according to its *sawar* rank which was either equal to the rank of *zat* or half of it or less than half of it. There was, however, no great difference in the salaries drawn. The emperor made recruitments to the service himself. An employee was generally introduced to the emperor by a person of standing at court. Promotions depended on the ability and character of the officials. All State officials had to obey implicitly the emperor's orders. There was very little specialization known and the officers had to be ready to discharge any duties entrusted to them. For example, Abul Fazl was a man of literary eminence but he was sent to conduct military operations in the Deccan. Todar Mall was finance minister as well as an able general. Salaries were paid in cash from the treasury, or as *jagirs* to the officials. As jagirdars could flout the authority of the king, Sher Shah and Akbar as also Sivaji were averse to the grant of *jagirs*. The officials preferred the *jagir* system to cash payments. Akbar followed a policy of converting *jagirs* into crown lands. But Jahangir

restored the system of *jagirs*. The salaries of officials whether cash or revenue from *jagirs* were according to modern ideas very high. A first grade *mansabdar* of 5,000 was paid Rs. 30,000 a month and the last grade Rs. 28,000. Moreland says that the rupee of Akbar's time purchased as much as six Indian rupees of 1912. The same lavish scale seems to have prevailed in the lower grades also. An officer could increase salary indirectly through economy in military expenditure or by securing a profitable *jagir*. Measures to prevent fraud in the supply of troops and horses were not always successful and 'false musters were an evil from which the Mughal army suffered even in its most palmy days'. The system of paying ten or six months' salary for twelve months was perhaps due to suspicion of corrupt practices. Such short payments, however, had little effect in checking dishonesty.

THE ARMY: The standing army was not very large. For war, the emperor depended on four different classes of troops, namely (1) contingents raised by hereditary chiefs and kings and commanded by them, (2) forces supplied by the *mansabdars* in accordance with their grades, (3) supplementary troops paid by the State and placed under the command of the *mansabdars*, and (4) *shadis* or gentlemen troopers who were young men of position and good family recruited individually.

A certain part of the booty, usually, one-fifth, always belonged to the soldier so that the monthly pay of a soldier ranged from Rs. 3 to 7. Akbar paid special attention to the founding of cannon and the manufacture of guns. But the Indian artillery was inefficient as compared with the Portuguese. The musketeers were inefficient and ill-trained and those that were of any value were the Hindus of Buxar, recruited in the province of Allahabad. In the artillery an increasing number of foreign experts were employed. After Akbar the efficiency of the army decreased. The army, which made a brave show in paper or in camp, was of little military value. Manucci's estimate 'that 30,000 good European soldiers could sweep away the imperial authority and occupy the whole empire' seems to be fully justified.

NAVY: There was no navy in the modern sense of the term. The construction of boats was encouraged for purposes of transport and

commerce. The nearest approach to the navy was a fleet of 750 armed vessels and boats stationed at Dacca to protect the coast of Bengal against the pirates of the Burmese (Magh). The Arakanese fleet was superior to that of the Mughals because it was strengthened by Portuguese half-caste adventurers settled in Chittagong. We have already noted that the neglect of the sea power is the most serious defect in the Mughal defence organization. In Akbar's time, the Portuguese were supreme in the sea and the emperor had to take out their licence for the ships which he sent to the Red Sea. The pilgrims to Mecca depended on the mercy of the Portuguese. In the time of Aurangzeb there was one Sidi of Janjira, an Abyssinian to whom Aurangzeb paid a subsidy for the use of his fleet against the Marathas. He was however an independent power though Aurangzeb regarded him as a part of the imperial organization.

THE POLICE: The Mughal paid little attention for the prevention and detection of crime in rural areas. The headman of the village and his subordinate watchmen were according to ancient custom responsible for the policing of the village. The villagers as a whole were bound to make good the losses due to crime committed within the village limits if they could not trace out the offenders. This system was maintained by Sher Shah. Akbar and his successors did nothing to alter it. There was an officer called *faujdar* whose duty was to protect the roads and suppress disorders and to help in the collection of State dues where necessary. He was bound to compensate the owner for his losses in the event of highway robbery or theft. Peter Mundy, a traveller, referred to the neighbourhood of Patna thus: 'this country as all the rest of India swarms with rebels and thieves'.

In the cities and the towns of the Mughal empire police duties were entrusted to the *kotwal* who wielded autocratic powers. The duties of the *kotwal* as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* closely resemble those of the *nagaraka* or town prefect of the Mauryan days. The *kotwal* had multifarious duties. He maintained a register of houses and roads, kept a small army of spies and detectives to catch thieves and discover stolen goods, fixed prices and examined weights and measures. In the days of Akbar the *kotwal* had to enforce the observance of the Ilahi calendar and of the special festivals and rituals

prescribed by the emperor. Thevenot, a French traveller found that the road between Delhi and Agra was infested by thugs. This criminal organization of a very ancient standing functioned also elsewhere in the country.

LAW AND JUSTICE: Judged by modern standards the judicial system of Mughal empire is rather imperfect. It had, however, the merit of administering justice fairly quickly. The judicial officers had great discretionary powers. There is little information about the judicial administration before the accession of Akbar. Sher Shah is said to have established 'Courts of Justice in every place'. Akbar regulated the administration of justice on fairly liberal lines. The Civil Law of the Muslims was based on the Islamic Code. Criminal Law was the same for all. The law of contract and evidence was based on Muslim jurisprudence. Family law dealing with marriage, inheritance and so on was based on the Hindu Code for the Hindus. The ancient organization of village courts was left intact. Akbar ordered that the cases between the Hindus should be decided by the Hindus.

The head of the Judiciary was the Chief *Sadr* who held the position next to the king. In the provinces there were *sarkars*, *parganas* and towns and *kazis*. But the exact position of *kazis* is by no means clear. In all probability he was the repository of the Muslim law consulted by the executive authority, governor, *faujdar* or *kotwal* before arriving at a decision in accordance with the *Koranic* precepts. The *kazis* were notoriously corrupt and the public had no esteem for them. Above the urban and provincial courts was that of the emperor himself, the fountain of justice and the final appellate tribunal. The quality of justice was in no way uniform. Akbar required that no capital punishment or mutilation should be carried out till he had confirmed the sentence three times. But Jahangir was capricious and trials and executions were quick in his time. Shah Jahan took a savage pleasure in witnessing the execution of punishments he decreed. Aurangzeb on the contrary was the strict follower of the letter of Muslim law and Khafi Khan observes of him: 'from reverence of the injunction of the Law, he did not make use of the punishment' and without punishment 'the administration of the country cannot be maintained'. On the whole the judicial administration was marred by bribery and corruption.

CURRENCY, MINT AND TREASURE: We have already referred to the currency reform introduced by Sher Shah. Akbar followed it up by appointing Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz to be the master of the imperial mint at Delhi. There was an important imperial official at each of the provincial mints at Lahore, Jaunpur, Ahmadabad and Patna. Under Shah Jahan one of the most important mints was at Surat. Akbar issued gold, silver and copper coins. There were 26 varieties of gold coins of different weights and value. The chief copper coin was the *dam*, which was the ready money of both the prince and peasant. It weighed 323.5 grains. Forty *dams* went to the rupee. The Mughal coinage in general was much superior to that of a contemporary European monarch. The gold and silver used for coinage were imported from abroad. The Mughals welcomed people that brought bullion to carry Indian merchandise. In 1601 the amount of bullion that the East India Company sent to India was valued at £22,000 and by 1700 the value of exports of bullion to India had risen to £800,000. Only a portion of this incoming treasure was used in the mint and in the manufacture. The balance was hoarded by the kings, nobles, merchants and religious institutions. Copper was obtained mainly from the mines in certain parts of Rajputana. From the Himalayan region also came some copper. Copper in those days was costly and much in demand except for coinage. The copper mines of Rajputana ceased functioning early in the 17th century. From about 1630 the Dutch opened an import trade in copper in Gujarat.

Several treasuries were scattered throughout the empire. There was one treasurer for each *karor* of *dams*. The treasury arrangements were elaborated and there were comprehensive rules for receipts and disbursements. As the treasury officials were not always above suspicion they needed supervision and vigil.

PROVINCES: In 1579–80, Akbar divided the empire into 12 *subas* (provinces), containing more than 100 *sarkars* in all, each of which in turn included a varying number of *parganas*. The *subas* of the Deccan were sometimes held by a single officer and the rest of the *subas* were administered each by a separate governor, *subadar*. The *subadars* were chosen from capable military officers possessing executive ability. The tenure of a governor depended on the will of the emperor, and no uniform principle seems to have governed

their transfers. The provincial governor exercised civil, judicial and military functions and represented the emperor. The chief officers who assisted him were the *diwan* or financial adviser, *amil* or revenue collector, *bitikchi* or record-keeper and the *potdar* or treasurer. The head of the *sarkar* was the *faujdar*. Few details are forthcoming about the administration of the *pargana* and the village, though we may presume that the village administration was carried on under the traditional system. The cities and larger towns of the empire impressed the foreign travellers by their wealth and prosperity. The rich dwellings and pleasure gardens of the well-to-do were in striking contrast with the miserable huts and hovels in which the bulk of the population lived. The cities were governed by their *kotwals*.

Revenue System: 'The fiscal resources of the empire may be considered in two main divisions, Central and Local. The local revenue, evidently collected and disbursed without reference to the centre, came from varied petty taxes and duties on production and consumption, on trades and occupations, on various incidents of social life, and most of all on transport. This confused system had the sanction of a long tradition and repeated prohibition of these miscellaneous duties produced no practical effect.'*

The central sources of revenue were relatively few and included commerce, mint, presents, inheritance, salt, customs, poll-tax and land-revenue. State trading became important as a source of revenue only when it involved a monopoly of particular commodities such as lead or saltpetre needed for ammunitions. The mints were commonly farmed out, but could not have yielded much revenue as the prescribed standards of currency were maintained. Presents to the emperor formed a considerable item of revenue. Custom duties were generally low, never above 5 per cent but in practice their incidence was increased by arbitrary overvaluation and extra charges for the prompt clearance of goods. In the middle of the 17th century the most important port Surat yielded a net revenue of half a million rupees a year. The amount actually realized by *jizya* is nowhere recorded. Fines and tributes levied on newly conquered territories formed another considerable, though not regular, source of imperial revenue.

* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of India*, Part II, p. 273.

The Mughal empire was by no means a homogeneous political entity. In some parts of it, the imperial fiscal system was excluded by the prerogative of local chiefs and landholders. Land was the most important source of central revenue. The Mughals did not introduce a new land revenue system, but took over what they found in operation and regulated the methods of assessment and collection. The Hindu law required the cultivator to surrender a part of the produce to the State and Islamic Law permitted the ruler to claim a share of the produce from the non-Muslim subjects whom he allowed to continue in occupation of the land. The system of land revenue introduced by Todar Mall was a decided improvement on the arbitrary methods of preceding years and in some respects furnished the model for the survey settlement of British India. Three salient features characterized Todar Mall's system: measurement of land, classification of land, and fixation of rates. The land was classified in four varieties: (1) *polaj* or land actually cultivated every year; (2) *parauti*, land left fallow for a time; (3) *chachar*, land that had been fallow three or four years; and (4) *banjar*, land uncultivated for five years or longer. Each group had its own rate, so that the number of rates was rather large. Each class of land was subdivided into three grades according to fertility, and their mean was assumed to be average of the whole class. The revenue system was ryotwari, the collection being made as far as possible from the individual cultivator, and payment being in cash. The old system of dividing the crop was retained by Akbar in Kashmir and Sind. Roughly the share of the State was 1/3 of the average yield of the land, thus much in excess of the 1/6 prescribed by Hindu law and custom. According to Moreland, it was about twice the amount demanded as rent by the modern landholder. Remissions were doubtless granted when the lands were inundated and in seasons of drought and distress, but there is no record of the extent of relief thus afforded. The principles of the system were quite sound and were conveyed to the officials in a series of instructions which left little to be desired. The collector was directed to be a friend of the agriculturists, to advance money to the ryot when he needed it and recover it in easy instalments, to give remissions, to stimulate cultivation, and never to charge him for more than the actual area under tillage, to collect arrears without undue force, and to submit monthly statements of the condition

of the people, the state of public security, the range of prices and rents, the needs of the poor, and allied matters. Wherever a crop division prevailed, the collector was required to settle direct with the cultivator and not entrust the task of settlement to the village headman. The subordinate staff assisting the collector must have been large. The *kanungo* kept account of the *vasul*, receipts and arrears of revenue. In each district, there were several *kanungos*, and the *patwaris* or village officers reported to them. There were two *sadr* or head *kanungos* who transmitted collections to the imperial headquarters. The pressure of land revenue upon the individual cultivator must have been heavy, and he had generally little or no margin of profit upon which to fall back in hard times.

ESTIMATE: The system of government in spite of Akbar's statesmanly reforms made no appeal to popular sentiment and drew no support from ancient tradition. The upper grades of the public services were filled almost entirely by foreigners. The erroneous policy of Shah Jahan and the fanaticism of Aurangzeb more than counteracted the good that Akbar had done. Central control was often slack and local officers generally found themselves free to act as they liked. Two salient features of Akbar's system were abandoned by his successors. These were payment of official salaries in cash and the collection of land revenue as far as possible from the individual cultivators. The agricultural population came thus to be left at the mercy of various types of assignees and middlemen and the land suffered in consequence. The standard of assessment was also raised from 1/3 to 1/2 of the produce in order to meet the lavish expenditure of the court in Shah Jahan's reign. This strained the economic system beyond recovery. Bernier who resided in the empire at the close of Shah Jahan's reign reports that the land was tilled only by compulsion and irrigation works were badly neglected. This state of affairs resulted in Aurangzeb's order to his assessors to flog the peasantry into cultivating the fields!

Social and Economic Conditions

CLASSES OF THE POPULATION: The Hindus formed the bulk of the population and the caste system existed in full vigour. Three classes of Hindus, the banias, brahmins and Rajputs are particularly

mentioned by the Europeans who were seldom able to distinguish between the different tribes and classes of the Hindus. The Sikhs are mentioned specially from the reign of Akbar, and Khafi Khan notes that the sect consisted mainly of Jats and Khatris of the Punjab. The forest tribes were held to be outside the pale of civilization.

In the north-western region of India there were two classes of Muslims. The first comprised the foreign emigrants such as Turani Mughals who were Shias hailing from Persia. The Persians were mostly physicians, poets, lawyers and other professionalists. In this group must be included the Afghans. The second group consisted of indigenous Muslims who were Indian-born descendants of the early foreign emigrants assimilated to the Indian population before the commencement of the Mughal empire. The men of this class found employment in subordinate civil offices which they shared with the Hindus of various castes. In the coastal region the Muslims were primarily traders who came originally from Arabia and the Persian Gulf and gave rise to communities of mixed origin like the Navayats of western India, the Moplahs of Malabar and Labbais of the east coast. The Muslim population also included a number of Arabs, Turks and Abyssinians or Habshis, the last mainly as slaves who furnished the eunuchry of the imperial palace.

Numerous travellers of all nations travelled and lived in India for a number of years. Among those who came and settled more or less permanently for the purpose of trade were the Armenians. Terry describes them as the chief wine merchants in India. Jews were nearly as important as the Armenians. Those that came in the Mughal period were different from the Jews of Cochin who had come to India much earlier. The Parsis attracted the notice of Akbar who was much interested in their religion; they continued to retain some influence in the court even under Jahangir who gave Persian names to his sons. By the end of Shah Jahan's reign, they had established themselves as an important trading as well as agricultural community and were employed in many kinds of business, particularly foreign commerce. Though relatively small in number, the Parsis have continued to be very influential. As regards Europeans, only the Portuguese were important till the end of the 16th century. The English, Dutch, Danish and other European

nationals began to reach the coastal and inland cities of the Mughal empire in increasing numbers in the 17th century. Some Europeans were employed in the artillery.

The absence of a professional middle class is one of the most striking features of society in Mughal India. Those engaged in professions like medicine, literature, art and music had necessarily to attach themselves to the imperial court, the provincial governors or the nobles. There was no demand elsewhere for their service. It has been calculated that three-fourths of the poets and more than one-third of the musicians at Akbar's court were foreigners whose income came from the *mansabs* or *jagirs* they obtained from the emperor and whose career in the court was attended by a large element of insecurity.

SLAVERY: Akbar abolished enslavement of prisoners-of-war, but slavery as an institution flourished. Slaves were recruited by hunting forest tribes and by kidnapping, an evil particularly rampant in Bengal, some slaves were imported from abroad, particularly from Abyssinia. Shah Jahan in 1629 enslaved the whole population of the Portuguese settlement in Hugli. Virtual slavery was also the lot of landless labourers and manual servants in the villages who had no freedom to choose their masters and were bound to work for the cultivator to whom custom or tradition assigned them. Some of them by hard work might have found it possible to gain their freedom and rise to the position of an independent cultivator, but such instances were not many.

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM: The wide gulf between producers and consumers was the most striking feature of the economic system of the empire. Producers were the agricultural population, industrial workers and the traders. The consuming classes were the imperial public services, the religious classes, professionals and slaves. Nobles and high officials spent lavishly in luxury and display and maintained literally hundreds of servants. The advent of European traders in the 17th century created an increased demand for commodities and introduced new staples and improved processes and opened new markets for such exports from India as indigo, calico and saltpetre. But the advantage from this development was too small to effect a tangible rise in the general income

of the community. There was an exploitation, which left the producer barely enough for his subsistence and wasted the produce of his labour on unproductive pursuits.

Agriculture was the main industry. The crops grown differed little from those of today except that jute, indigo, wheat and sugarcane were not cultivated to the very large extent to which they are today. The ryot had generally little stimulus to intense productive effort. The cultivation of silk and cotton was stimulated in some parts by the foreign demand and the cultivation of tobacco and chillies introduced by the Portuguese spread. Among the extractive industries minerals; salt, sugar, opium and liquor deserve to be noted. Under the successors of Akbar, the production of saltpetre gave employment to large numbers of workmen. There was no organization of industry as we understand it. The weavers, the carpenters and the artisans were financed almost entirely by middlemen, who exploited them as much as possible. The cost of materials was relatively high and the burden of taxation heavy. The wages were low. Under Akbar's successors, the labourers were often forced to work for nothing.

CRAFTS: Among the principal crafts should be mentioned the manufacture of wooden bedsteads, chests, stools and boxes, of leather goods, of paper, of pottery. Bricks were extensively manufactured. Many of the craftsmen's products possessed artistic merits. The market for such goods was limited by the requirements of the ruling classes and of a small and fluctuating foreign demand. Silk weaving flourished in Lahore, Agra, and Gujarat. Shawls and carpets were made in Kashmir, Lahore and Agra. Abul Fazl mentions skilful masters and workmen settling in India to teach the people improved methods of manufacture. The manufacture of cotton goods was the most extensive industry in India. Banaras, Agra, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat excelled in this, the muslin produced at Sonargaon in the Dacca district being very celebrated. India supplied cotton goods to the east coast of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Burma, Malacca, the Straits and other Asiatic markets. In the course of the 17th century, the European demand for cotton goods led to increased production, and Madras calicos became a leading item of the export trade of the eastern coast.

FOREIGN TRADE: Foreign trade attained considerable dimensions in the Mughal period. The ports of Cambay, Surat, Satgaon in Bengal, the Coromandel coast, the Indus, and the coast of Malabar for pepper, were the principal outlets for foreign trade in the reign of Akbar. Piracy was an obstacle to trade, particularly in the neighbourhood of Bengal. The chief exports during Akbar's reign were textiles, pepper, indigo, and opium; imports included bullion, horses, raw silk, metals, ivory, amber, precious stones, textiles (silk, velvet, brocade, broadcloth), perfumes, drugs, Chinagoods including porcelain which found much favour with the court and the nobles, European wines and African slaves. India's exports were limited by the fact that they wanted gold or silver in exchange and there was strong opposition in Europe to the export of the precious metals to the East. Roe said for instance, 'Europe bleeded to enrich Asia'. The European traders found Indian merchants quite as capable men of business as themselves.

Education and Learning

The ancient system of education through Sanskrit and vernacular schools came almost to an end with the advent of the Muslim conquerors. In the 11th and 12th centuries, though the first shock of conquest brought about the destruction of several old centres of learning as in Bihar and some of the bigoted rulers took a pleasure in putting down Hindu centres of education, ancient schools still carried on their work. Muslim education was liberally patronized by the sultans of Delhi. At the advent of Mughal rule Muslim education was imparted in a number of *maktabs* (primary schools attached to mosques) and *madrasas* (colleges for higher learning). The Mughal emperors were all accomplished men possessed of literary tastes and naturally disposed to favour learning. Babur's court was graced by the presence of many learned men. But he did not live long enough to give any stimulus to education. Humayun was fond of geography, and astronomy with its handmaid astrology. Akbar though perhaps himself illiterate built up a splendid library which contained 24,000 manuscripts, some of them beautifully illuminated, valued at nearly six and a half million rupees. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions that Akbar recommended the study of 'Books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic,

agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, and history, all of which may be gradually acquired'. Jahangir was a lover of books and paintings, who wrote his own memoirs and repaired *madrasas* and filled them with students and professors. Khafi Khan says that he ordained that the property of any rich man who died intestate should be utilized by the State for the erection and repair of *madrasas* and similar institutions. Shah Jahan devoted his whole attention to architecture, and it seems probable that under him purely educational institutions did not receive active support. Aurangzeb's educational policy was coloured by his religious bigotry. Not only did he not promote Hindu learning but in 1669 he actually ordered his provincial governors to destroy Hindu schools. But he gave every encouragement to Muslim education. He was himself acquainted with Turki and was highly proficient in Persian and Arabic. He added many volumes to the imperial library. There is evidence to show that Aurangzeb realized that the education of his time was too formal and scholastic, and that it gave little attention to the formation of character or the imparting of high ideals.

We have little definite knowledge of women's education. But some of the ladies of the royal families distinguished themselves in literature. Babur's daughter, Bulbadan Begum, wrote the *Humayun Nama*. Humayun's niece Salima Sultana was the author of many precious poems. Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal were well versed in Persian and Arabic literature. Aurangzeb's daughter Zebunnissa was educated by a scholar from Khurasan and became a fine Arabic and Persian scholar and an expert in calligraphy. There were doubtless other women of high family who were given literary education in their homes, though their numbers could never have been large.

Religion and Literature

In the sphere of religion, there were no great new developments during the Mughal period. Within Hinduism the sectarian movements which started in the three centuries from the twelfth to fifteenth generally began to lose their influence after 1550 and the *smartha* non-sectarian form of Hinduism began to gain the upper hand. The sectarian *tantric* schools of the Saivas and Saktas did not, however, altogether go out of fashion. The Vaishnava cults

attained intense development in Maharashtra and Bengal where *bhagavatas* flourished in some strength particularly in the days of Akbar and Jahangir when Hinduism was able to breathe a little more freely than at other times.

Among Maratha saints of the period must be noted Ekanath, a brahmin of Paithan who died in 1608, Tukaram (1608–49), a low-caste grain-seller born near Poona and passionately devoted to Krishna as Vithala or Vithoba of Pandarpur, and Ramdas (1608–81), accepted by Sivaji as his *guru*. The *Bhagavatas* of Maharashtra evolved the *Harikatha*, a sort of sermon in song intended to convey to large audiences the essentials of religion and morality. In Bengal, the Chaitanya movement flourished in strength far into the seventeenth century. The religious movements that started in the 15th century and sought to reconcile Islam and Hinduism under Sufi inspiration continued to be active.

Kabir's poems which include some of the loftiest work in the Hindi language were all collected together in the *Bijak* about the year 1570 by one of his followers, and thirty years later many of his hymns and sayings were included in the Sikh *Granth* by Guru Arjun. The most important sect inspired by Kabir was that of the Sikhs founded by Guru Nanak. Nanak (died 1538) was well below Kabir, yet his poems and sayings in a mixture of Hindi and Panjabi are clear, simple and pithy. Guru Govind, the tenth and last Guru, completed the transformation of the Sikhs into an army. He declared that the *Granth* must henceforth be their *guru*, probably because he wished to avoid the grave danger of *guru* worship. With him Hindu influence was admitted more freely into Sikhism. His writings were gathered together as the *Granth* of the Tenth Guru, and the original *Granth* which came henceforth to be known as the *Adi Granth* was reserved exclusively for religious ends.

Literature in the Sanskrit language continued to flourish. In the six systems of philosophy, works were written in different parts of India, which took the form of commentaries and super-commentaries on classical texts, and manuals which summarized the doctrines of each school for the use of beginners. The Bengal School of New Logic, begun by Vasudeva Sarvabhauma (1470–80) was continued by a long succession of celebrated teachers. Among writers of note in the period may be mentioned Apadeva (1630), Khandadeva (died 1665), Appayya Dikshita (1552–1624), Madhusudana Sarasvati, and Vijnana Bhikshu (1648), besides Ramananda

Sarasvati, Annambatta Visvanatha Panchanana, Jagadisa and Laugakshi Bhaskara, all of whom flourished round about 1600.

Indo-Persian literature from commentaries on the *Koran* falls into three classes—translation, histories and letters. The translations were generally into Persian from other languages. The memoirs of Babur were translated from Turki by the Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan, under the personal direction of Akbar. Akbar caused the translations from Sanskrit of *Rajatarangini*, *Lilavati*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Harivamsa*, *Panchatantra*, *the Story of Nala*, and *Atharvaveda*, by a number of scholars among whom was Badauni. Dara's translations of the *Upanishads* passed on to Europe through the Latin version of Anquetil-Duperron. Dara was indeed one of the greatest scholars of his time. He was well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, and was the author of several other works, including translation of the *Bhagavadgita*. Important histories were composed in Akbar's reign by Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-Din, Badauni and other authors. *Ain-i-Akbari* or Institute of Akbar compiled by Abul Fazl as a result of seven years' labour gives a wonderful survey of Akbar's empire. The same author's *Akbar Nama* takes high rank as literature. Besides composing his *Memoirs*, Jahangir gave his patronage to the completion of a valuable dictionary called the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*. Among the many valuable histories produced under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb special mention must be made of the *Badshah-Nama* of Hamid and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan. Notable among the letters during the period were those of Abul Fazl and emperor Aurangzeb.

In 1540 Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote the philosophic epic in Hindi entitled *Padmavat*, giving the story of Padmini, the Queen of Mewar, in an allegorical setting. To him, God was a symbol of love, disguised as a woman. Birbal, Raja Man Singh, Raja Bhagavandas and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan were famous poets in Hindi. Tulsi Das (1532–1623) was the greatest man of his age—'tallest tree in the magic garden of mediaeval Hindi poetry'. He spent most of his later life in Banaras where he wrote his poems between 1574–1614. He died in 1623 over ninety years of age. The *Ram charit manas* (the Lake of the Gestes of Rama) written in the archaic Hindi of Ayodhya is a veritable Bible to the Hindus of Northern India. 'He appealed, not to scholars, but to the voiceless millions of his native country, the people that he knew.'

The literary growth, which reached its acme with the free prac-

tice of Hindu religion under Akbar lasted into the regions of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and even a part of Aurangzeb's. Sunder Das, a brahmin of Gwalior, was specially honoured by Shah Jahan who conferred on him the title *Maha Kavi Rai*. In Maharashtra Sridhar (1678–1728), one of the most copious poets of his time, translated the *Bhagavata Purana*. In Bengal Mukundaram Chakravarti (17th century) commonly known as Kavi Kankan wrote two great works in the form of original tales illustrating the power and graciousness of his favourite Goddess Durga. The most famous written in the field of poetics in western Hindi was Kesavdas of Bundelkhand (1580), whose poems the *Kavipriya* and *Rasikpriya* are universally accepted as authoritative.

Architecture and Art

The monuments of the Mughals form one of their just titles to fame. The buildings of the Mughal period owed much to Hindu ideas of decorative details as in the ornamental pillars at Fathpur Sikri and the corbel brackets of Shaikh Salim Chishti's tomb, but their type and architectural principles are all fundamentally Muslim, not to say Central Asian. The pronounced dome, the slender turrets at the corners, the palace halls, supported on pillars and the magnificent gate in the form of a huge semidome sunk in the front wall and bearing an admirable proportion to the building, the actual entrance being a small rectangular opening under this arch, are the salient features of this style. The finest example of such a gateway is the Buland Darwaza at Fathpur Sikri (1610–12) commemorating Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. In his brief Indian reign, Babur found little time to build. Only three mosques attributed to him have survived—the Kabuli Bagh at Panipat, the Jami Masjid at Sambhal in Rohilkhand, both built in 1526 and another mosque within the old Lodi fort at Agra. Humayun built at Delhi a new city, Dinpanah (Refuge of Religion), but very little of it is traceable among the ruins of Old Delhi as its demolition seems to have been one of the first acts of Sher Shah. Of buildings erected by Humayun between 1526–56, the best are in Delhi. They include the Jamali Masjid (1528–36), the mosque of Isa Khan (1547) and his tomb, a bold combination of Hindu and Saracenic elements. The splendid mosque of Kila-i-Kuhna, the *masjid* of Sher Shah (1545) is remarkable for its richness and refinement. The tomb

of Sher Shah standing on a high platform and in the middle of lake at Sasaram in the Shahabad district of Bengal is externally Muslim in style but it does not lack Hindu features in its inner doorways.

One of the first monuments of Akbar's reign was the tomb of his father Humayun built at Delhi in 1565–69 by Humayun's widow, Haji Begum. Mirak Mirza Ghias most probably a Persian trained in the Timurid tradition was employed for its construction. It is generally believed that this splendid monument was the prototype of the Taj Mahal.

The monuments of Akbar's reign justified the declaration of Abul Fazl that 'His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay'. It was his deliberate policy to introduce Hindu styles of architecture in many of his buildings without abandoning the Persian ideas characteristic of the Muslim architecture of his time. This appears very clearly in the Jahangir-mahal in Agra fort, which might well pass for the palace of a Hindu raja, and in many of the buildings of Fathpur Sikri. In fact they represent a mixed Hindu-Muslim style in which sometimes the former element and sometimes the latter predominates. Akbar's hall of the palace at Lahore (1583) is a definitely Indian dèsign with its projecting verandah-roof supported on rows of Hindu pillars. The chief centre of Akbar's building activity was Fathpur Sikri, which he built around the hermitage of the pious Shaikh Salim Chishti and which was the seat of his court from 1569 to 1584. It was systematically laid out by him, was hardly altered since, and is now deserted. The Jami Masjid of the city has a quadrangle 433 feet by 366 and served as a centre of learning, its cloisters containing a vast number of small domed cells, one behind each bay of the cloister which accommodated the Muslim teachers and their pupils. The palace of Fathpur Sikri includes Akbar's office or Diwan-i-Am with a Hindu design and the hall of private audience Diwan-i-Khass remarkable for its distinctly Indian plan, construction and ornament. Akbar's tomb (1593–1612) is at Sikandra near Agra. Its enormous arcaded basement is 30 feet high and 320 feet square. The tomb proper is more than 150 feet square and several storeys high with stepped walls of marble carrying delicate trellis work. The remarkable design of this construction has been traced by Fergusson to the Buddhist *vihara* though others have sought its like in the Khmer temples of Cambodia. Akbar's time is also remarkable for some

Hindu structures, religious and secular, with freely borrowed Mughal motifs. The temples of Gobinda-deva erected at Brindavan near Mathura in 1590, never quite finished, is a leading instance of the influence of the prevailing Muslim style on Hindu temple architecture.

The architectural record of Jahangir's reign seems poor by the side of that of his father, but some buildings of his time are of exceptional interest and merit. Jahangir lived mainly at Lahore where he erected the charming Moti Masjid (pearl mosque) and extended the palace in the fort. He was a lover of gardens more than his father and laid out some of them in patterns like a Persian carpet. He built 'paradises' at Udaipur, Srinagar and Fathpur Sikri. The tomb of Itimad-ud-daula at Agra (1621–28), a comparatively small structure is notable as the first of the Mughals to be composed entirely, of white marble and also the first in which the form of inlay decoration known as pietra dura makes its appearance. Built by Nur Jahan, the daughter of Itimad-ud-daula, this tomb 'bears in every part of it the imprint of the refined feminism of this remarkable queen'.

It was in the reign of Shah Jahan that Mughal architecture attained its supreme beauty. If Augustus found Rome of brick and left it of marble, Shah Jahan found the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble. The most magnificent of his monuments was the celebrated Taj Mahal (1632–53) at Agra, erected at a cost of 4½ million sterling in modern currency in memory of his favourite queen Mumtaz-Mahal, 'the elect of the palace'. Of the authorship of the design of this masterpiece of Mughal architecture, there is no direct or decisive evidence. The design is more Persian, and less Indian than any building so far considered, and yet nothing quite like it is to be found in Persia itself. It is a natural growth from the tomb of Humayun, and from certain others, though far superior to any of them in the dignity of its grouping and in the masterly contrast between the central dome and the slender minarets as well as the refinement and the craftsmanship of its details and the splendour of its materials. The Taj is one of the great buildings of the world and has evoked the admiration of every serious critic.

With the extensive use of marble, the building art acquired a new sensibility under Shah Jahan. Next in importance only to the Taj is Shah Jahan's work in the palace at Agra (1638–53), includ-

ing the Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khass and the Moti Masjid. Though red sandstone is used to some extent in these buildings, white marble with coloured inlay is the prevailing material. The scheme is pervaded by opulent elegance and some critics have rated the Moti Masjid higher than even the Taj. Shah Jahan also laid out charming gardens at Delhi and Lahore. His work at Delhi was considerable. The 'seventh city' of Delhi called Shah-Jahanabad was built between 1638 and 1658 and its walls and gates have been well preserved as also the fort and the palace within it. The two chief buildings in the palace are the Diwan-i-Am and the Diwan-i-Khass. The latter with its mingled decorative scheme of marble, gold and precious stones, fully justified the Persian inscription which it bore:

Agar firdaus bar ru-yi Zamin ast,
Hamin ast, u hamin ast u hamin ast.

If on Earth be an Eden of bliss,
It is this, it is this, none but this.

Shah Jahan was also responsible for palaces and gardens at Lahore, a fort palace and mosque at Kabul; several royal buildings at Kashmir, Ahmadabad and elsewhere, besides forts at Kandahar and other places.

The buildings of Aurangzeb's reign are inferior in all respects to Shah Jahan's. Among these may be noted the Moti Masjid at Delhi (1659) with fine marble decoration and the Badshai mosque at Lahore (1674) almost a copy of the Jami Masjid at Delhi but inferior to it in several respects. Speaking generally, it is evident that under the chilling touch of Aurangzeb's orthodoxy, the architects 'who built like giants and finished their work like jewellers' passed beyond recall.

MUGHAL PAINTING: The Mughal school of Indian paintings had its origin in Humayun's enforced visit to Persia. In 1550, he invited to Kabul two young Persian artists of great distinction, Mir Sayyid Ali, a pupil of the renowned Bihzad of Herat, and Abdus Samad, who became his principal court painter and afterwards went to Delhi. Rapidly the Indian style absorbed the Persian and thus began a new school devoted to portraiture and illustrations and delighting in animated and in dramatic motives. After Akbar's

death, Hindu elements came to infiltrate the Mughal school more and more, and outside the capital provincial rajas encouraged artists to revive the ancient aspirations. Its aim was to fuse the Persian or Muhammadan with the Hindu style. With the Persian as their models, the Mughal school of Akbar's day devoted themselves chiefly to the adornment of manuscripts, and here calligraphy was even more valued than the painting, and a subordinate army of binders and gilders worked under the painters and calligraphers.

The well-known picture, showing the arrival of Tansen, the Hindu singer, at the Mughal court, painted in 1562 shows the commencement of the fusion of the Persian and Hindu styles. Many Hindu artists are mentioned by name in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The illustrations of the *Razm Nama*, the Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*, was a task entrusted primarily to Dasvanth, Basavan and Lal. Akbar's encouragement of painting was steady and over a hundred painters all holding military rank worked in a large hall at Fathpur Sikri. The materials for miniature painting such as special kinds of paper, pigments, fine brushes and adhesives were at first obtained from Persia, but Indian artists in course of time learned to make some of them, if not all, for themselves. Besides portraiture and book illustrations, the school soon established a distinct superiority in the painting of animals and birds.

The quality of pictures improved and the style reached its maturity during Jahangir's reign. Jahangir was an excellent critic, proud of the school of his painters and ready to pay heavy prices for pictures that caught his fancy and possessed artistic merits. Jahangir doubtless was the soul and spirit of Mughal paintings. Among the chief painters of his time Abul Hasan was honoured with the title of *Nadiru-z Zaman* 'Wonder of the Age'. The artists leaned more and more gradually to Hindu tradition until its foreign features were wholly assimilated. But the real spirit of the new art died with Jahangir. Shah Jahan's personal taste lay more in the direction of jewellery and architecture. He reduced the number of court artists and forced many of them to seek the patronage of the nobility. Dara Shikoh still continued to patronize the art as may be seen from his album of paintings in the 'India Office'. But many artists had to struggle for popular patronage to earn a livelihood, and Bernier comments on the inadequate remuneration which the artists who practised this commercial art in the middle of the 17th century got for themselves.

The bigotry and intolerance of Aurangzeb regarded painting as an infringement of the injunctions of Islam, though he did not actually forbid it or treat it as harshly as he treated music. But he was not above destroying pictures with his own hands. He defaced paintings in the Asar Mahal at Bijapur and had the figures in Akbar's tomb at Sikandara covered with a coat of white wash. Still the art was too well established to be crushed out, and many portraits including some of Aurangzeb himself continued to be produced.

Music: With the exception of Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperors were fond of music and encouraged the art, which at an earlier date had been developed by the famous Amir Khusru, who revised the musical modes originally introduced from Central Asia and incidentally transformed the character of Hindu music. Babur was skilled in the art and is credited with a treatise on Music. In Akbar's court, there were numerous musicians, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis and Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians were arranged in seven divisions one for each day of the week. Skilled singers often received costly presents; for instance, Ramdas got a lakh of rupees from Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan Khanan. Akbar gave a reward of two lakhs of rupees to Mian Tansen. He was originally in the service of the raja of Rewa, who surrendered him to Akbar in 1562–63. His first arrival at Akbar's court as already mentioned has been immortalized by a painting now in the Indian museum at Calcutta. Abul Fazl remarks: 'a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years'. Music, both vocal and instrumental, continued to receive encouragement under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan himself had a fine voice and studied music with as much care as his grandfather Akbar.

With the accession of Aurangzeb, music fell on evil days. He actually created a new department for the express purpose of reducing the number of professional musicians, the officials of which raided any house where the sound of music was audible and broke the instruments and dispersed the performers. According to some writers, however, Aurangzeb continued to entertain dancing and singing girls in the palace for the diversion of his ladies. There is evidence that he understood music thoroughly well and did not interfere with the art in the first few years of his reign.

PART THREE

MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MUGHALS AND THE MARATHAS

Indian Imbroglio and European Rivalry

In Europe the sixteenth century marks the beginning of a new era. This was an age of discovery, of exploration, of navigation and of invention, all of which led to colonialism and economic imperialism. Hitherto it was the nomadic tribes and clans of the Asiatic steppes that invaded India, first primarily for plunder and then for settlement. The beginning of the modern age in Europe almost synchronizes with the establishment of the Mughal rule in India. Before the Mughals, the Afghans had settled in India and made it their home but they did not freely mix with the Indians from a feeling of superiority as the ruling race and from religious differences. The Mughals almost all except Akbar, remained right through as foreigners in India. It was Akbar that followed the policy of India for Indians. Conditions in Central Asia and Afghanistan were such that it was not possible for the Mughals to draw men for military service in India. The army had to depend largely on recruits from Hindustan. The unsuccessful expedition of the Mughals in the N-W. Frontier and their inability to recapture their original homeland of Ferghana show the degeneracy of their army. The Hindus were tolerated under conditions that made life difficult for them. Anything like a fusion between the Hindus and the Muslims was rendered impossible by bigoted Muslim rulers such as Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Even among the Muslims, the Afghans who had been displaced from their position of political advantage regarded the Mughals as their enemies. Such differences, however, did not promote any very friendly feelings towards the Hindus, for cultural and religious differences kept the Muslims as a separate community. The Hindus, however, co-operated with the Afghans in their resistance against the Mughals.

The sixteenth century showed that it was an age for the prosperity of sea-faring nations. The Mughal empire was primarily a landlocked kingdom. Even great Akbar had to take the licence of the Portuguese to send Mughal ships to the Red Sea and pilgrims of his own family to Mecca. Neither the Vijayanagara kingdom in the south nor the Sultanate of Delhi and their successors, the Mughals in the north, realized the need for building up a navy to stem the tide of sea-faring European nations. There was decidedly a change not only in the methods of warfare and communications but also in the opportunities which sea-faring nations had for commerce, colonization and exploitation. So, at a time when the European nations were marching from progress to progress, the Indians were going down, because they had lost control of the Indian ocean and had no navy worth the name. The Portuguese wrested commerce from the Arabs, the Dutch from the Portuguese and the English so far as India was concerned were able to gain the supreme command.

To understand why the English East India Company was able to get supremacy in India a clear picture of the Indian imbroglio and methods of warfare of the European nations and the nature of their rivalry should be given. After the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal empire fell like a house of cards. The finances of Delhi were in utter confusion. The greater proportion of the revenue existed only on paper, and had been diminished by embezzlements, by revolts and by the generally impoverished condition of the nation. But the expenditure had enormously increased owing to protracted wars. The Hindus hated the Muhammadan dynasty as a whole. The strong foundations of the State were shaken. In the twelve years following the death of Aurangzeb, no fewer than eight rulers succeeded one after another on the throne. The first half of the eighteenth century had only very weak rulers. The royal power was mostly in the hands of ambitious ministers, of harem favourites and of flatterers who kept themselves in power by pandering to the excesses and debauches of their rulers. The Maratha power which Aurangzeb's blind policy had antagonized and the States of the North-west saw with delight the anxieties of the Mughal emperors. The sikhs were provoked to become veritable enemies of the Mughal dynasty.

After the fall of Vijayanagar in the south, the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Ikkeri and the Odeyars of Mysore ruled as independent kings, and were often at war with one another owing to mutual jealousies. Southern India also suffered much from the incursions of the Marathas. The extinction of the suzerainty of Bijapur only added to the confusion that prevailed.

It is not possible here to trace the history of the Nayaks or get into the details of the wars between the Nayaks and their Muhammadan rivals in the south. But one or two names deserve mention. Rani Mangammal, the widow of Chokkanatha (son of Tirumalai Nayaka of Madura) was a woman of great talent but under pressure from Zulfikar Khan, the Mughal emperor's representative, she had to acknowledge Aurangzeb's suzerainty and pay tribute (1693). She acted as regent for Chokkanatha II. The Nayaka kingdom of Madura was split up into tiny principalities unable to resist any common enemy. The Tanjore Nayakship came to an end with the usurpation of Ekoji on behalf of the sultan of Bijapur (1676). Sivaji's expedition terminated the Bijapur suzerainty over Tanjore for some years. Jinji, a strong fort in the south, was held by Bijapur for military commands. Sivaji captured it and made it the principal seat of his Carnatic government. Ultimately Zulfikar Khan was able to capture it for the Mughals. The Nayakship of Ikkeri was also shaken by Sivaji in 1665. Among the rulers was one Basappa (1697–1714) who was a great Sanskrit scholar. This Nayaka dynasty lasted till the capture of Bednur by Haidar Ali (1763). An important political event in the south was the rise of Mysore to power. Dodda Devaraya (1659–72) was able to resist the combined attack of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore, and Jinji aided by Bijapur and Golkonda. Chikka Devaraya who succeeded him on the throne (1672–1704) took advantage of the troubles of the Mughal emperor in the south to strengthen himself quietly. This ruler may justly be called the founder of the Mysore State. He held sway over a wide area bounded by the Palni and Anamalai hills in the south, Salem in the east, Coorg and Belur in the west and Tumkur in the north. He had the vision of realizing the importance of Bangalore and purchased it from the Maratha ruler of Tanjore for three lakhs of rupees. He improved communications in his kingdom and introduced a postal system. Chikka Devaraya's successors were not capable rulers. Mysore declined under them owing to quarrels and intrigues among the ministers

and officers till the ruling dynasty of Odeyars was set aside by Haidar Ali about A.D. 1761.

The political confusion in the south made it possible for European traders to gain footholds in the coastal region. It was clear that any able ruler who had a disciplined, well-equipped and strong army under his command could overthrow the rulers of India and establish power. The people in general did not care who ruled over them or how he ruled so long as they were allowed to follow their occupations peacefully and discharge their domestic obligations. The loss of the suzerainty of Bijapur in the south, and the decline of the Mughal empire and the weakness of Sahu (the grandson of Sivaji) who was more a Muslim than a Hindu because he had been brought up in the harem of the Mughal emperor, all led to internecine wars. Rulers great and small had large armies but they were inefficient against well-equipped disciplined armies trained and led by the Europeans. Soldiers who could not find profitable employment turned into highway men robbing whomsoever they could of their possessions and they in the early decades of the 19th century appeared as the frightful Pindaris. That was the time when the country, both in the south and in the north was teaming with mercenaries. It did not strike them that it was not dignified to serve a foreigner and help him to gain power over their own rulers. We have already instanced how Muslims accepted military service under the Hindu rulers and Hindus under the Muslims. In fact it was the defection of important Muslim commanders in the Vijayanagara army that led to the ignoble defeat of the Hindus in the battle of Talaikot (1565). The European traders who had no intention of territorial conquest in India were shrewd enough to watch the results of the political confusion and know that they could make use of the Indian men to fight against their own nationals. Such was the sordid picture of the political condition in India when Europeans began to set up a flourishing trade in well fortified ports.

European Rivalry: We have already described the rise and fall of the Portuguese power in India. In the closing decades of the 17th century they retained only Goa, the island of Diu with its two cities, European and Indian, islet of Salsette and the port of Daman; Bombay had been ceded to the English in 1652, and the rest of their possessions in India had been lost to the Dutch

and other powers. The Portuguese left behind them a reputation for intolerance and piracy. They showed the Europeans the possibility of training Indian sepoys for modern warfare. By their effective interference in the quarrels of native princes they demonstrated how a nation more powerful than the Portuguese could gain political control over immense territories in India.

European rivalry in India was intimately connected with the political and religious squabbles in Europe at the time. The European powers that successfully challenged the economic imperialism of Spain and Portugal were Holland and England. Both were protestant countries which refused to accept the Papal dispensation which divided the world between the kings of Spain and Portugal. That was the time when there were rapid improvements in the sea-craft. The advent of new techniques of warfare and the growing power of organized finance were rapidly changing the face of the world. In the conflict that arose between England and Spain, the former emerged successful. The defeat of the powerful Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 gave conclusive proof of the superiority of the English navy.

Holland was under political subjection to Spain. But it managed to grow prosperous in spite of Spain. The Dutch seamanship and spirit of adventure were then superior to those of any other European nation. They had trained themselves to be brave sailors in their long struggle against the ocean and river. The Dutch merchants had the capacity for efficient management of business. Their enterprising spirit, their republican simplicity, their freedom from religious bigotry, all won for them the admiration even of their rivals. They determined to take a share in the growing commerce of the world. At first the Dutch used to go to Lisbon in quest of Indian products and distribute them in Europe. When Portugal was conquered by Spain, the Dutch were constrained to go and procure them at their original source. In fact, Holland 'turned her land revolt against Spain into a triumphant oceanic war'. The rise of Holland to supremacy in the East became certain when in 1602 all the Dutch companies united and formed the United East India Company of the Netherlands. They assured themselves of a base for the Indian waters by occupying the Cape, the island of Maurice and Moka. From 1632 to 1657 they joined the natives of Ceylon, the island of cinnamon, to drive out the Portuguese. At Moluccas they assured themselves of the monopoly of clove trade.

Between 1650 and 1680 they almost completed the conquest of Java. In India, they established factories beginning with Masulipatam and Petapoli on the Golkonda coast (1604-5) and Pulicat, north of Madras in 1609. Negapatam became the chief station of the Dutch in India. The attention of the Dutch was chiefly devoted to Java and the spice islands where the Portuguese were relatively weak. Batavia, founded in 1609, became a vast entrepot in the Far East and this rapidly developed into a great capital of an extensive empire. They had built up a strong fleet which won the admiration of Peter the Great when he visited Amsterdam in 1697. The Dutch company had graded officials in service and their organization was splendid. In India there were English factories which surpassed those of the Dutch in their size and beauty but not in trade. Geldria, a fortress erected to strengthen Pulicat, looked poor by the side of Fort St. George, the English castle that came up in Madras (1639).

The English East India Company was incorporated by Elizabeth on the last day of 1600. It was not without much hesitation that Elizabeth granted the Charter to the company, for she did not want to irritate Spain. The interests of the English and the Dutch came into collision over the spice trade of which the Dutch claimed a monopoly on the ground that they had borne all the cost the risk of expelling the Portuguese. Under pressure from the directors of their respective companies a treaty was concluded in 1619 by which both the companies agreed to share the cost and profit of the Indian trade. But this led only to further disputes among them and in 1623 it was found that there was no chance of compromise between the Dutch and the English in the East Indies. A subordinate Dutch official seized all the English agents at Amboyna and executed them after putting them to torture on a charge of conspiracy. This 'massacre of Amboyna (1623)' long resented in England, ended the alliance between England and Holland. This was a blessing in disguise to the English for they confined their attention to India leaving the Dutch free to build up an empire in the East Indies.

The English Company in their dealings with the Dutch were at first in a disadvantageous position, for the Dutch Company was backed by a powerful aristocracy in Holland which exercised decisive influence on the political and commercial policy of the country. At that time the bank of Amsterdam was a unique

institution of the world with immense deposits. Moreover, the capital of the Dutch Company was nine times that of the English Company.

The charters that the English East India Company got from Charles II and James II enlarged the company's powers and privileges, leading to years of expanding trade and prosperity. The company got power both to build and maintain fortresses, to raise armies and maintain naval units, to coin money and administer justice. Bombay, which Charles II had received as part of his Portuguese bride's dowry, was made over to the English East India Company in 1665 for an annual quitrent of £10. At Madras, the East India Company exercised sovereign powers by virtue of a grant from the Raja of Chandragiri. Soon Bombay replaced Surat as headquarters of the company in India (1687).

In 1692 the Company got the zamindari of the villages of Sutanuti, Kalighat and Govindapur which later helped them to get the *diwani* of Bengal. In 1700 Bengal became a separate charge under a president and council at Fort William. The profit that the East India Company was making by its trade with India roused the jealousy of other financiers in England. So in 1694 the House of Commons voted that all English subjects had an equal right to trade in India unless prohibited by Parliament. A company called, 'The English Company of Merchants' formed in 1698 was viewed as a rival by the old company and there ensued many undignified and bitter quarrels between their agents till they became united in 1702.

The effective appearance of the French in Indian waters was rather late and may be said to begin with the formation of a French company in 1664 on the initiative of France's great and talented minister Colbert. Colbert wanted to colonize Madagascar and open trade with Persia and India. Unlike England and Holland, France had no strong merchant class and no tradition of free enterprise. Colbert, however, made elaborate plans for expansion and trade. In 1666 the representatives of the French Company obtained audience of Aurangzeb and secured a *firman* granting the French a site and factory at Swally and permision to trade in the neighbourhood on the same terms as the Dutch and the English. They secured a footing on the Malabar coast also. The Dutch were the irreconcilable enemies of the French and Colbert sent a considerable fleet into the Indian waters to give Indians an

idea of the French power and disprove the assertions of the Dutch who tried to ruin French reputation in India. The leader of the fleet de la Haye seized San Thomé, close to Madras. But it soon passed into the hands of the Dutch; Haye's expedition was almost a failure except for the establishment of the French at Pondicherry (1673). In 1674 Francis Martin took charge of the settlement and a little later built a small fort for its protection calling it fort Louis. Martin made Pondicherry beautiful with its straight streets, high mansions and its governor's palace. He also established a French factory at Masulipatam. But no progress was made in French settlement for some time after the death of Martin. The home administration gave a lot of trouble to the French company in India, for it was completely under government control. The French established factories in Chandernagore and Mahe, which was fortified in 1724. Karaikal was occupied in 1739 at the request of a native prince. Dupleix who had long occupied the position of chief at Chandernagore was appointed governor of Pondicherry and this is the turning point in the history of the French company.

All the European settlements were at first primarily centres of commerce. They were fortified only for the sake of security and troops were maintained only for police purposes. There was no idea of conquest, and no plan to supply funds for trade from territorial revenues. Much less was there the desire in the initial stages to intervene in disputes among Indian princes with a view to acquiring political power and territory. But all these ideas came in with Dupleix.

Sir Josiah Child, an enthusiastic advocate of imperialism, became Governor of the Company and Chairman of the Court of Directors. Under his guidance the Company thought it wise to declare in 1686 in one of its dispatches its determination to 'establish such a polity of civil and military powers and create and secure such a large revenue... as may be the foundation of a large, well-equipped, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'. The customs, octroi and quit-rents for houses in the settlements brought in a fair revenue besides monopoly revenues on betel, tobacco and other commodities farmed out to Indian contractors. The territorial possessions and land revenues of the English East India Company at the beginning of the eighteenth century were very negligible. But the value of imports of the company more than doubled itself from 1708 to 1748, while its exports rose from £570,000 in 1710 to

£1,121,000 forty years later. The directors were pleased with the growing prosperity of the Company.

The English were already the strongest power in the Indian waters, and needed only some accession of territory to launch them on their imperial career in India. Their real rivals in India were first the French and then the Marathas. It is often said that the British policy was 'divide and conquer'. Little effort was needed on their part to divide, for the Marathas, the Nawabs, and the princes had already been foolishly and hopelessly divided. At the time of the contest for supremacy there was no homogeneity which could be dealt with piecemeal. There is no gainsaying the fact that India as the motherland of a common people became a reality only under the British rule. But 'divide and rule' did come when as a result of the administration in India as a single political unit people began to appreciate the value of unity and regard India as the motherland of a common people. Between the European rivals the determining factor was maritime superiority, between the Europeans and the Indians, it was military superiority. A capable commander with foresight and audacity to strike and gain had every chance of victory as the one which Babur had achieved with 12,000 men.

The Break up of the Mughal Empire and the Rise of the Marathas

The history of the Mughals after Aurangzeb is full of sordid details not pleasant to narrate. Nevertheless the historian has to deal with it at least in a summary fashion.

Aurangzeb was believed to have left a will dividing the dominions among his three living sons; Bahadur the eldest showed readiness to abide by that will. But Azam Shah, the second would not hear of it. He marched northwards to settle accounts with his elder brother and moved by way of Lahore and Delhi to Agra. In a battle between the brothers, Azam Shah lost his life, after a nominal reign of three months and ten days. Bahadur Shah sat on the emperor's throne but Kam Baksh, his surviving brother, who was in the Deccan proclaimed himself as the emperor and struck coins in his own name. Bahadur Shah who was encamping at Hyderabad had to fight against him. In the battle that ensued Kam Baksh was wounded and taken to prison where he died.

BAHADUR SHAH I: His administration retained traces of Aurangzeb's intolerance. He had no Hindus in high office under him. But the collection of *jizya* was not strictly reinforced. With Guru Govind Singh he was on friendly terms. Govind Singh met with a violent death at Nander on the Godavari (1708), falling a victim to a private vendetta. But the Sikhs rallied round another man who claimed to be Guru Govind miraculously restored to life. This man gathered a considerable army, made himself master of Sadhaura and Sirhind and treated the Muslims with great harshness and ferocity. Bahadur Shah had to come on the scene. Banda, as the new Sikh leader was called, managed to escape. Sirhind fell into the hands of the Muslims. The Sikhs who were infuriated continued to be hostile to the Mughals.

With the Rajputs Bahadur Shah made peace on terms honourable to them. Towards the Marathas also he followed a lenient policy. But being an elderly man he had a short reign and he died at the age of seventy (1712).

WAR OF SUCCESSION: Bahadur Shah had four sons. All the four sons were with their father at Lahore when he died. The second son, Azim-us-Shan was Bahadur's favourite because he was able and resourceful. Roused by jealousy, the other brothers united against him. They besieged Azim's camp. Azim's troops deserted him. He was wounded by a heavy shot and he tried to save his life by plunging into the Ravi and was swallowd up by the river. The brothers had the support of Zulfikar Khan, but when they fell out over the division of the booty taken from Azim, he withdrew his support from the two younger princes. Jahandar Shah, the eldest son, became the emperor with Zulfikar Khan as his minister. The followers and relations of the rival princes were imprisoned or executed. When Jahandar Shah reached Delhi he heard that Farruk-Siyar, second son of Azim-us-Shah, had advanced to Patna against the emperor. But instead of marching against the rebel, Jahandar sent his son, Azz-ud-din to Agra to watch developments, while he himself made merry with his concubine. He was the first sovereign of the house of Timur who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule.

FARRUK-SIYAR AND THE SAYYIDS: Farruk-Siyar, the second son of Azim-us-Shah while at Patna made himself the emperor. He had

the support of the two Sayyid brothers of Barha, Hasan Ali (later Abdullah Khan) and Husain Ali (Firuz Jang). These brothers were Shias who claimed descent from the Prophet. They were reputed for their bravery and had the honour of leading the van of the imperial army. Under Aurangzeb they had been well off but they had somehow incurred the displeasure of Bahadur Shah. Azim, feeling sure that their support would assure him success, made them his deputies in Allahabad and Bihar. Soon an army was gathered to attack Jahandar Shah. The lethargy of Zulfikar Khan, the feuds between the Turani and Irani nobles at court, and the worthless character of many of the commanders who had been promoted to please one of his favourite concubines spelt ruin to Jahandar's cause from the outset. There was a decisive engagement outside Agra (1713). Jahandar Shah left the field and Farrukh-Siyyar got the throne. When Jahandar tried to enter Delhi under disguise he was executed by order of Farrukh-Siyyar.

Abdullah Khan became the chief minister and Husain Ali became first Bakshi of Farrukh-Siyyar. Asad Khan and his son, Zulfikar, gained nothing by their treachery to Jahandar Shah. The property of both father and son was confiscated, the son was killed and the father was imprisoned. In the distribution of provinces, the six provinces of the Deccan were conferred on Nizam-ul-Mulk (Chin Kilich Khan). Nizam-ul-Mulk was one of the leaders of the Turani party in court and the ablest man in the empire who retained the prominent position till his death in 1748.

Farrukh-Siyyar's reign resolved itself into a contest with the Sayyid brothers who turned treacherous to him. The Sayyids gloried in their Hindustani descent and were inclined to make common cause with the Hindus against the dominance of the foreign Mughals, Turanis and Iranis. Farrukh-Siyyar treated cruelly all his relatives whom he suspected to be his rivals or enemies. Because he suspected the Sayyid brothers, he gave free scope to the party hostile to them. However, he did not want to fall out with the brothers openly, and came to terms with them. Husain Ali's campaign against Ajit Singh of Marwar was a great success. Ajit Singh surrendered to Husain Ali. He promised to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh-Siyyar and send his son to court and himself serve in the emperor's army. When Husain Ali

returned to Delhi he heard of plots in the palace against him and his brother. Thereupon the brothers offered to resign but were persuaded to remain in office.

The war with Banda was brought to an end by the unconditional surrender of the Sikhs. Banda and his followers were paraded through the streets of Delhi and finally put to death. Farrukh-Siyyar continued to suspect the Sayyid brothers and secretly plotted against their lives. Husain Ali, who had been in the Deccan in supersession of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was recalled by his brother, Abdullah Khan. Now Husain Ali entered into an understanding with the Marathas. On the pretext of escorting to the capital an alleged grandson of Aurangzeb, Husain arrived before Delhi accompanied by 10,000 Maratha troops under the Peshwa Balaji Visvanath (1719). In spite of Farrukh-Siyyar's overtures of friendship the Sayyid brothers decided to act against him. The palace was occupied by Abdullah and Ajit Singh. Husain Ali marched into the city with his troops and Maratha auxiliaries. Farrukh-Siyyar was dragged out of the harem. He was blinded and imprisoned for two months at the end of which he was strangled (April 1719). Thus the feeble, false, cowardly and contemptible Farrukh-Siyyar died with no one to weep for him. Malwa was offered to Nizam-ul-Mulk and he reached the provincial capital followed by all the unemployed Mughals, in two months. Thus the Sayyids cleared Delhi of numerous Mughals.

It is not necessary to give details of the intrigues that followed the death of Farrukh-Siyyar. As Khafi Khan puts it: 'The two Sayyids, the real rulers, thought themselves masters of the pen and masters of the sword in Hindusthan, and as opposed to their judgment and the swords of the Barhas, the Mughals of Iran and Turan, were as nobodies.' The Mughal partisans who were already exasperated and humiliated by the failure of Aurangzeb's obstinate but vain attempt to overcome the Marathas, felt their position to be intolerable. The Sayyids were even suspected of aiming at founding a dynasty of their own, 'a nationalist power, subversive of the foreign Mogul element, and based upon native Indian (including Afghan) support'. Nizam-ul-Mulk found that it was very necessary to overthrow the Sayyids. The Sayyid brothers appeased Nizam-ul-Mulk by making him the *subedar* of the Deccan. But the Mughals decided to finish them and an agent of Muhammad Amin Khan, Itimad-ul-Daula, pretending to present a petition to Husain Ali,

killed him. Muhammad Shah (grandson of Bahadur Shah by his fourth son), found the Sayyid brothers to be too difficult and dangerous for him to manage. He now appointed Muhammad Amin Khan as his minister. Abdullah supported the cause of Muhammad's rival, Ibrahim, and gave battle to the emperor. But he was defeated, captured and put in prison where he was killed by poison.

Muhammad Shah was not equal to the task of reviving the fortunes of the empire. In his struggle against the Sayyid brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk had lent moral support. He became the *vizier*. But the emperor was in the hands of a clever woman known as Koko, a eunuch of the palace, and so Nizam-ul-Mulk found it difficult to carry out his proposals for reform. He suggested the farming of taxes and reimposition of *jizya* but they were not accepted. Nizam-ul-Mulk got disgusted with the ways of the king and so he came back to the Deccan. But his enemies persuaded Mubariz Khan, the emperor's deputy in Hyderabad, to offer him resistance. In the battle that followed Mubariz perished (1724) at Shakerkhedla. The name of the place was changed to Fath Kherda by the Nizam. This battle marks the definite establishment of the hereditary rule of the Nizams in the Deccan, 'a spacious kingdom, well-cultivated, rich in mines of diamond, crystal, etc., a money-yielding country unmatched by the imperial dominions' as Aurangzeb had described it in 1654. The emperor recognized the *fait accompli* by confirming the Nizam in the viceroyalty of the Deccan (June 1725). The two provinces of Gujarat and Malwa were, however, taken away from him, and his agent and uncle Hamid Khan was recalled to court; Sarbuland Khan was appointed to Gujarat with Shujaat Khan as his deputy, and Raja Giridhar Bahadur Nagar got charge of Malwa. Saadat Khan who had taken an active part in the conspiracy against Husain Ali received the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk and the governorship of Oudh in addition to Agra which he had been holding. He thus became the founder of a dynasty in Oudh which lasted till 1856.

THE RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER: We have mentioned the appearance of a Maratha army in Delhi in the train of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan and from that time the Marathas played an increasingly important part for nearly a century. Let us sketch the Maratha affairs after the death of Aurangzeb.

On the advice of Zulfikar Khan, Azam Shah released Sahu, grandson of Sivaji. The terms of the release were that Sahu was to rule his hereditary *svarajya* as a vassal of the Mughal empire, that he was to serve the emperor with a contingent of troops when called upon to do so and that he was permitted to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan.

But Sahu was opposed by Tarabai's forces. She wanted her son, Sivaji II, to be the king of Maharashtra. In fact, he had been already crowned as king. Sahu won a victory more by diplomacy than by a straight fight. In January 1708 Sahu was crowned king. It was Sahu's good fortune to have secured the service of Balaji Visvanath as *senakarte* (Organizer of the army). Sahu's *pratinidhi* approached Bahadur Shah who was at Ahmadnagar for *sanads* confirming the grants enjoyed by Sahu. Tarabai made a similar request. Zulfikar Khan advised the emperor to confirm Sahu's rights. In spite of it the emperor declared that Tarabai and Sahu should settle the dispute by fighting it out. Sahu had some minor successes but his position was still precarious. Nizam-ul-Mulk supported Tarabai who had set up a kingdom at Kolhapur for her son. But she and her son were imprisoned by her co-wife, Rajabai who set up her son Sambhuji II on the throne (1714). This revolution, however, did not help Sahu. Balaji Visvanath was able to strengthen the Maratha army and retrieve Sahu's possessions. He restrained local chieftains from causing a state of anarchy. When Kanhoji, the warden of the west-coast, declared war on Sahu, Balaji appealed to Kanhoji's patriotism and loyalty to Sivaji's memory and stressed the need for co-operation between the navy and the army for the good of Marathas. Kanhoji realized the need for making common cause with Balaji to deal with the Siddis of Janjira, the British and the Portuguese, and came to terms with the Chhatrapati and the Sarkhel (admiral). These terms became the basis of a fresh constitution for the future Maratha State in place of the old constitution of Sivaji's time which had broken down in the wars and confusion that followed his death. Kanhoji remained faithful to Peshwa until his death in 1729 more as an ally than as a vassal.

Balaji's son, Bajirao, who had just become Peshwa 'earned the first laurels by suddenly swooping upon the English by land and routing them near Kolaba' (1721).

THE HINDU-PAD-PADSHAHI: Religion was a major factor in the politics of the time. Aurangzeb's persecution of non-Muslims in a way united Rajputs, Sikhs and Marathas in a common endeavour to overthrow the Mughal rule in India. The Maratha dream of Hindu-pad-Padshahi was not territorial ambition so much as the defence of Hinduism against Islam. Sahu kept his word to be loyal to the emperor's descendants, thus imposing a great restraint on the policy of his Peshwa. Balaji Visvanath was an ambitious and far-sighted man who conceived the plan of freeing the whole country. To achieve this end he started the plan of encouraging the war-leaders of Maharashtra to seek their fortunes outside the *svarajya*. In his time this plan ensured peace at home and secured the extension of Maratha power. The weakness of the system became apparent when the chhatrapati and the Peshwa were incapable of exacting obedience.

MALWA AND GUJARAT: Malwa and Gujarat were under the Mughals and they did their best to keep the Marathas out of these kingdoms. When Husain Ali was the viceroy of the Deccan, he opened negotiations for peace with Sahu. He accepted the terms proposed by the Peshwa by which Sahu recognized the suzerainty of the Mughal agreeing to pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of rupees. Sahu got the right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the six Mughal *subas* of the Deccan. The Maratha conquests in Khandesh, Berar, Gondwana, Hyderabad and Karnatak should be ceded as part of the Maratha kingdom. A Maratha contingent of 15,000 troops had to be given to the emperor in return for *chauth*. It may be noted here that Sivaji's *svarajya* included places like Kopbal, Gadag, Bellari, Vellore, Jinji and Tanjavur, a link of distant posts to hold the southern regions.

CHAUTH AND SARDESHMUKHI: The *chauth* is a payment of the fourth part of the assessed income of an area to secure immunity from attacks by the power to which it was paid. This method had been first adopted by the Portuguese to escape raids of neighbours. Sivaji developed it as an alternative to *svarajya* (directly administered territory). The Peshwas found it a convenient means for the rapid expansion of the Maratha power. *Deshmukhs* were officers who collected revenues and were paid by a tenth part of their collections which they were allowed to retain. *Sardeshmukhi* was the

head set over other *deshmukhs* and he was responsible for the peace and order of his area. This practice was legalized by the emperor's sanction of the terms of Husain's treaty in March 1719 already noted. Sahu, however, did not claim absolute independence. He was content to enjoy the substance of power while rendering nominal allegiance to the Mughal.

War with Kolhapur: While Balaji Visvanath and his son Bajirao were at Delhi to get the terms of the treaty confirmed by the emperor, Sambhuji at Kolhapur began to make trouble for Sahu. Balaji Visvanath returned from Delhi and laid siege to Kolhapur. But Sambhuji's activities continued. In April 1720, Balaji took ill and died.

'Balaji Visvanath had a calm, comprehensive, and commanding intellect, an imaginative and aspiring disposition, and an aptitude for ruling rude natures by moral force, a genius for diplomatic combinations, and a mastery of finance.' He died 'with the consciousness that a Hindu Empire had been created over the ruins of Muhammadan power and that of this Empire the hereditary chieftainship had been secured for his family'.

Peshwa Bajirao I: In spite of the protests of his senior courtiers Sahu made Bajirao, a nineteen-year-old son of Balaji, the Peshwa. Bajirao possessed 'the head to plan and the hand to execute', and well justified his choice. This shows what a shrewd judge of men Sahu was. Bajirao conceived the bold plan of taking advantage of the weakness of the Mughal empire and extending Maratha rule in the heart of Hindustan by overrunning Malwa and Bundelkhand. Those who did not favour Bajirao's elevation opposed the plan and advocated the reduction of Kolhapur and the Karnatak first. Bajirao carried the day saying: 'Now is our time to drive the strangers from the country of the Hindus and acquire immortal renown.' Though Bajirao had set his heart on North India he was by no means neglectful of the Maratha interests in the south.

In return for the help the Marathas had given him, the Nizam signed an agreement not to oppose the Peshwa's collection of *chauth* in the six Deccan *subas*. But after becoming the Viceroy of the Deccan the Nizam began to give trouble to the Marathas. He claimed Karnatak as his land: all the land south of the Krishna

had once belonged to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. But the Marathas maintained that they had taken these territories at an enormous cost of blood and effort in the long war with Aurangzeb. The Peshwa offered protection and leadership to the feudatories in the south against the exactions of the Nizam. The Nizam refused to pay *chauth* to Sahu on the score that Sambhuji also claimed it and openly supported Sambhuji. Sahu, therefore, declared war against the Nizam (1727). The Nizam concentrated on devastating the Poona district and even occupied Poona. As the result of the masterly movements and disposition of Bajirao the Nizam's position grew desperate. The Nizam made peace with Sahu abandoning Sambhuji's cause and surrendering several forts as security for the payment of the tribute including arrears. Bajirao's prestige rose high for he had overcome the 'greatest strategist of the day, thirty years his senior'.

The Peshwa next turned north. Giridhar Bahadur, the Mughal Governor of Malwa, vowed to oust the Marathas from his territory. Bajirao sent an army under his brother Chinnaji Appa to punish the governor of Malwa. Chinnaji obtained a decisive victory (1728) near Dhar after a stiff fight in which Giridhar Bahadur lost his life. The local Rajputs welcomed the Marathas. The ancient fort of Mandu was captured and Ujjain was invested. Bundelkhand was included in the *subas* of Allahabad whose governor was Muhammad Khan. The Mughal governor started a war against Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand. Chhatrasal presented Bajirao with a large Jagir and perhaps also the Muslim dancing girl named Mastani to whom the Peshwa became very deeply attached.

THE KOLHAPUR STATE: When Sambhuji in alliance with a free-booter demanded independent charge of the southern half of the *svarajya* and declared war, Sahu himself took the field against him. Sambhuji was defeated and taken prisoner with all the members of the family. Sahu thought it wise to conclude a treaty with Sambhuji. According to the treaty of Warna (1731) Sambhuji got all the territory between the Warna and the Tungabhadra (the State of Kolhapur) and agreed to be subject to Sahu so far as foreign relations and safety were concerned. The Kolhapur State remained practically unchanged except for the loss of Belgaum and a few other places till its incorporation in the State of Bombay on the attainment of Indian independence.

GAIKWARS: Pilaji Gaikwar, the lieutenant of Trimbakārao of Baroda, was giving trouble to Abhay Singh of Marwar, governor of Gujarat. The latter sought the help of the Peshwa by agreeing to pay thirteen lacs annually in lieu of *chauth*; six lacs were to be paid at once and rest when the Peshwa had expelled Pilaji Gaikwar from Gujarat. Bajirao had to fight Trimbakarao and so marched his army into Baroda. The latter was killed by a chance shot. Bajirao's success brought no good to Abhay Singh who found that the Peshwa and the Gaikwar had become stronger than before. So Abhay Singh procured Pilaji's murder by treachery (1732). Damaji, Pilaji's son, promptly took Dabhoi and Baroda and marched upon Ahmedabad and Abhay Singh had to pay *chauth* to save himself. Thus the Gaikwars became established in Baroda.

THE SIDDIS: The Siddis of Janjira, Muslims of Abyssinian origin, had planted their small colony on the west coast, from the days of Malik Amber. They had been employed by Aurangzeb against Sivaji, and they allied themselves with the Portuguese of Goa and the British at Bombay against the Marathas. They were placed in charge of Raigarh after its capture by Aurangzeb (1689).

In 1727 on the Sivaratri day they attacked and destroyed the large Parasurama temple erected on a hill adjoining Chiplun. This temple was built by Brahmendra Swami who in Sahu's time was a prominent religious leader. Balaji rushed to the punishment of the Siddi. Raigarh was taken in June 1735. Because of the domestic troubles of the Angria family which needed the Peshwa's attention the war dragged on till 1745 ending in a victory to the Marathas. Brahmendra Swami had a happy death after seeing his wrongs fully avenged. His temple of Parasurama still commemorates his life's work. But the death of Sekhoji Angria, the Drake of India, must be said to mark the ruin of the Angria family and of the Maratha navy with it.

MALWA: The Mughal emperor appointed Jay Singh to rule Malwa at the end of 1732. About the same time the Marathas entered into a secret compact with the Nizam by which he agreed to 'support the government of Bajirao while the other carried his arms into Malwa, and pushed his conquest over the emperor's remaining dominions'.

The war against Jay Singh lasted for two years (1733-35). Both sides made grand preparations in 1735. The emperor sent from Delhi two divisions, one to Rajputana and the other to Bundelkhand to the aid of Jay Singh. But nothing availed against the guerilla warfare of the Marathas. The imperialists owned defeat by paying 22 lakhs cash and making a solemn agreement of peace at Kota (24 March 1735). 'Twenty thousand Marathas proved superior to the Mughal army of two lakhs.' A similar fate befell the vazir in Bundelkhand.

BAJIRAO AND MUHAMMAD SHAH: Jay Singh realized the futility of force against the Marathas. So he tried to bring about a personal meeting between the Peshwa and the emperor. Bajirao agreed to go to Delhi. On his way in Rajputana he was given a warm reception. Even the Rana of Udaipur offered him presents and agreed to pay *chauth*. Jay Singh offered five lacs annually for Jaipur and promised to obtain from the emperor written grants for Malwa and Gujarat. But when Bajirao was at Delhi, the emperor refused to give him an audience and declared that he had sent his own proposals to Jay Singh. Bajirao's counter proposals were turned down. Determined to make the emperor accede to his demands, Bajirao returned to the Deccan and later conferred with Ranoji Sindia and Malharrao Holkar. A whirlwind campaign from all the territory between the Narmada and the Jumna was planned and separate assignments made to the different leaders. Holkar had some reverses in the initial stages in the Doab, being suddenly attacked by the imperial forces.

When Bajirao heard of the movement of the imperial army, he with a picked body of horsemen, swooped upon Delhi on the day of Rama festival, fell upon the crowds and carried away some light plunder. The emperor became panic-stricken and sent his army to punish Bajirao. Bajirao skilfully drew the enemy out into the open. With Sindia and Holkar hard at his heels, Bajirao fell upon the Mughal forces. Inflicting a defeat on them he vanished as swiftly as he came (1737). The emperor implored the Nizam to come to Delhi and save the empire from the Marathas. The Nizam, while pretending friendship with Bajirao, was inwardly feeling the need for a change in his policy.

The reception of the Nizam in Delhi (July 1737) was marked by unprecedented courtesy and lavish honours. The emperor bestowed

on him the title of Asaf Jah, that is, equal in dignity to Asaf, the minister of Solomon. Securing from the emperor all that he wanted and well equipped for his task, the Nizam left Delhi with full authority to crush the Marathas. But the Nizam was outmatched by the Peshwa. Badly beaten, the Nizam was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty. Bajirao got the whole of Malwa with the sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and the Jumna, besides fifty lacs for expenses from the imperial treasury and the Nizam was to get these confirmed by the emperor (January 1738). This was the crowning triumph of Bajirao. Now the Mughal empire was flickering like the light of a lamp exhausted of its oil.

THE INVASION OF NADIR SHAH AND THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA AFTER IT: in the early decades of the eighteenth century the Safawi dynasty of Persia was tottering to its fall. Mahmud Khan, an Afghan leader freed Kandahar from the Persian yoke, rose against the Persian Shah and conquered Isfahan, the capital (1722). Nadir Kuli, a Turk, managed to expel the Afghans from the capital. He permitted Abbas III, the last of the Safawis, to become king in 1731 and five years later he ascended the throne himself as Nadir Shah. Muhammad Shah cared little about the safety of the North-Western Frontier and the viceroy at Kabul was quite incapable. Nadir Shah's complaints against giving shelter to fugitives in Kabul remained unattended by the Mughal emperor. 'Nadir Shah was no mere soldier, no savage leader of a savage horder, but a master of diplomacy and statecraft as well of the sword.' The conduct of Muhammad Shah violated diplomatic usage and courtesy and evinced unfriendly negligence. Nadir Shah attributed this to the emperor's evil counsellors and informed the Mughal emperor of his resolve to punish them.

The nobles at the Mughal court with few exceptions got into treasonable correspondence with the invader either to secure their own position with him or steal a march over their fellows. When war was imminent, it was only Khan Dauran who out of loyalty supported Muhammad Shah. Nadir Shah marched through the Punjab unchecked and got to the neighbourhood of Karnal. The battle began at noon. Khan Dauran was mortally wounded and died on the following day after advising his colleagues to keep Nadir Shah out of Delhi and buy him off on the spot. Nadir

Shah refused to come to terms and set out for Delhi. He encamped in the Shalimar garden outside the city, and allowed Muhammad Shah to precede him into the capital and prepare for his reception.

On 20 March 1739 Nadir Shah entered Delhi. On the following day the *khutba* was read in his name. His troops were quartered in and around the city. Unfortunately on the third day of his stay in Delhi there arose a quarrel over billets and the price of food and forage. Mischief spread a rumour that Nadir Shah was dead and many Persians were massacred in the popular rising that followed. The next morning Nadir Shah rode through the city and counted the hundreds of Persian corpses lying about. When he returned to the 'golden mosque' he was pelted by the people; a musket shot aimed at him killed a Persian officer by his side.

Nadir Shah flew into a rage and ordered a general massacre. This continued from eight in the morning until the evening when, yielding to the request of Muhammad Shah, Nadir Shah stopped the carnage. Various estimates of the number slain have been given ranging from 8,000 to 30,000. A great part of the city was in ruins.

To make a long story short, on 16 May 1739, after a stay of 57 days, Nadir Shah left Delhi. His parting advice to Muhammad Shah was to guard himself against Nizam-ul-Mulk whom he had found to be crafty, self-seeking and ambitious. Nadir took with him an immense booty of treasure estimated at 15 crores of rupees in cash, besides gold, jewels and costly stuffs to the tune of 55 crores. He also took with him 1,000 elephants, 7,000 horses, 10,000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 accountants, 300 masons, 200 blacksmiths, 200 carpenters and 100 stone-cutters, to build a city like Delhi in Persia. By a decree issued from Delhi he remitted all taxes throughout Persia for a period of three years. In 1747 he fell a prey to an assassin.

BENGAL: It took several months for Muhammad Shah and his courtiers to recover from Nadir Shah's stunning blow. The governors of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had long been responsible to the viceroy set over them rather than to the emperor. Shuja-ud-Daula, the viceroy, died in 1739 when Nadir Shah was still in Delhi. His son, Sarfaraz Khan, a pious but weak ruler succeeded as a matter of course. He got into trouble with Ali Vardi Khan, governor

of Bihar, who through bribes and promises succeeded in persuading the emperor to permit him to expel Sarfaraz Khan and take up the viceroyalty himself. With remarkable skill and courage Ali Vardi Khan led an expedition into Bengal, defeated and slew Sarfaraz Khan in a battle at Gheria (April 1740) and made himself Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus the emperor lost Bengal.

Loss of Rohilkhand: Nearer home the province of Rohilkhand was lost to the empire. Ali Muhammad Khan, a converted Jat, built up a large principality with its seat at Aonla, 18 miles north-west of Bareilly city and gained recognition from the Delhi court. For the help rendered by him to the vizier against his Irani rivals, he was made the lawful governor of Katehr (Rohilkhand). The name Rohilkhand signified the settlement of Ruhelas or hillmen who migrated in considerable numbers from Kandahar when Nadir Shah captured the place. By 1742 Ali Muhammad was able to build up a force of thirty to forty thousand Afghans, simple and hardy, eager to fight, besides being cool and accurate shots. The Ruhelas protected the peasants and traders in their lands from oppression and disorder. Muhammad Shah undertook a campaign against the Rohillas (1745). Ali Muhammad was defeated and sent as *faujdar* of Sirhind. But in 1748 when Ahmad Shah Abdali captured Lahore he returned to Rohilkhand, overthrew the imperial authority and made himself ruler of the territory.

Last Years of Bajirao: The Peshwa might have gone to the aid of the emperor during Nadir Shah's invasion, had he not been preoccupied with the Portuguese. His brother Chinnaji with great ability secured the fall of Mahim and Tarapur in 1739 and got ready for a concentrated attack on Bassein. After heavy losses in officers and men the Portuguese surrendered Bassein. This conquest made religious liberty in north Konkan secure. In July 1739 the English concluded a commercial treaty with the Marathas.

The closing years of Bajirao's life were marked by domestic troubles that arose out of his intimacy with Mastani. He was forcibly separated from her by his son, Nanasaheb, towards the end of 1739. This affected Bajirao's health. When he proceeded to occupy the district south of the Narmada ceded by Nasir Jang, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, he took ill and expired at Raver Khedi on the south bank of the Narmada (28 April 1740). Hearing the

news of Bajirao's death Mastani too died in the palace at Poona. 'Bajirao', says Sir Richard Temple, 'was hardly to be surpassed as a rider and was ever forward in action eager to expose himself under fire if the affair was arduous. He was inured to fatigue and prided himself on enduring the same hardships as his soldiers and sharing their scanty fare. He was moved by an ardour for success in national undertakings, by a patriotic confidence in the Hindu cause as against its old enemies the Muhammadans and its new rivals the Europeans, then rising above the political horizon. He lived to see the Marathas spread terror over the Indian continent from Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He died as he lived in camp under canvas among his men and he is remembered among the Marathas as the fighting Peshwa, as the incarnation of Hindu energy.'

PESHWA BALAJIRAO—KARNATAK AFFAIRS: Bajirao's eldest son, Balajirao, a youth of 18 years and six months, was made the Peshwa (25 June 1740).

Sahu was eager to establish Maratha rule in Karnatak and he deputed Raghuji and Fatehsingh Bhosle in 1739 to exact tribute from the southern principalities. At that time the Mughal governor of the Karnatak was Nawab Dost Ali Khan who had incurred the displeasure of both the Marathas and the Nizam by not paying his dues to them. His son-in-law Husain Dost Ali better known as Chanda Saheb was harassing the Maratha ruler of Tanjore. Chanda Saheb made friends with the French at Pondicherry and captured Tiruchirapalli treacherously. Raghuji invested Tiruchirapalli in December 1740 and the city was surrendered in March 1740. Chanda Saheb and his son were sent away as prisoners first to Berar; and in 1744 Raghuji accepted a ransom of 7½ lacs and allowed them to be taken to Satara by the bankers who had advanced the money. Sahu was pleased with the results of Raghuji's southern campaign.

Nizam-ul-Mulk bent on reasserting his authority in the south took possession of Arcot (1743) and nominated Anwar-ud-din Khan to the governorship. Later he took Tiruchirapalli from the Marathas. Though Western Karnatak including Mysore continued to acknowledge Maratha supremacy, it was not possible for the Marathas to take back Tiruchirapalli in their attempts in 1745 and 1746.

MALWA AND BUNDELKHAND: Balajirao lost his uncle Chinnaji in December 1740. He was of great help to him as he had been to his father. Sadasivarao, Chinnaji's son, was a trained soldier and he heartily co-operated with Balaji. Balaji's first concern was to secure the *subedar*-ship of Malwa promised by Nizam-ul-Mulk and restore Maratha prestige in Delhi. The Nizam confessed his inability to keep his word in respect of Malwa and got a promise from the Peshwa not to support his rebellious son, Nasir Jang.

In Malwa, Malharrao Holkar captured Dhar from its Mughal keeper (1741) and thus secured the gateway into Malwa. Jay Singh, the Mughal commander in Malwa, helped the Peshwa to get from the emperor the *firman* appointing him as deputy to *subedar* of Malwa, viz., the *shahzada* (heir apparent of the emperor). Gujarat was already in Maratha hands. Now Malwa and Bundelkhand also became practically Maratha kingdoms.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA: In 1730 Raghuji Bhosle secured a *sanad* from Sahu giving him the *subas* of Lucknow, Murshidabad, Bundelkhand, Allahabad, Patna, Dacca and Bihar as his field of activity. The Peshwa too wanted to have a share in the eastern sphere, particularly in Bengal. Balaji appointed his agent in Bundelkhand and this roused the resentment of Raghuji Bhosle. There was opposition to Ali Vardi Khan in Bengal. The Marathas supported the opposition. They took the Hugli fort and established their sway up to Calcutta and captured Orissa. It was at this time that the English constructed the Maratha ditch around their settlements, which long remained a memento of the terror aroused by Raghuji's horsemen. But soon Ali Vardi Khan sought the help of the emperor and Peshwa against the Bhosle. The Peshwa met Ali Vardi Khan near Palasi (Plassey). It was here agreed that in return for a payment of 22 lacs for expenses and the annual *chauth* of Bengal to Sahu, the Peshwa should help the Khan in expelling Raghuji from the province. Hearing of this Raghuji withdrew from Bengal (1743).

SPHERES OF PESHWA AND BHOSLE: Sahu brought about a reconciliation between the Peshwa and Raghuji at Satara. It was agreed that all territory from Berar right up to Calcutta, Bengal and Lucknow belonged to Raghuji's sphere of influence and that the Peshwa should bind himself not to interfere there any more. Ali Vardi

Khan seeing no end of worry resorted to treachery. He craftily invited all the principal Maratha officers to an entertainment swearing that no harm would be done to them. When twenty-one officers responded to his invitation, he had them all killed in cold blood.

Raghuji invaded Orissa in 1745, and occupied it without difficulty. It was not easy for Raghuji to deal with the Khan. After a protracted war of several years Ali Vardi Khan finally agreed to pay down 32 lacs as arrears to Bhosle and 12 lacs annually thereafter as *chauth* for Bengal and Bihar and to recognize part of the territory in Orissa up to the Swarnarekha as Bhosle's possessions and to confirm Mir Habib (Bhosle's supporter) in the government of Orissa. Thus Raghuji gained the main object of his eastern campaign in 1751, and four years later he died. Ali Vardi Khan too died in 1756. The fiscal right of the Marathas over Orissa turned into full political sovereignty under the weak successors of Ali Vardi Khan.

CENTRAL INDIA: The region between the Narmada and the Jumna was placed permanently under Holkar, Sindia and Pawar. A large Maratha army was stationed in Bundelkhand. The mutual jealousies of the three big Maratha leaders in Central India tested the patience of the Peshwa. His trusted agents in the north watched over the execution of his orders and kept him informed of what was happening there. Rakhoji Sindia died suddenly in July 1745. He had four sons all of whom were valiant and capable. Jayappa, the eldest, became the leader of the family.

RAJPUTANA: There was trouble in Rajputana after the death of Jay Singh of Jaipur (September 1743). His two sons involved themselves in a war of succession which lasted intermittently for seven years. Isvari Singh, the elder, won a victory, and appealed to the Peshwa for support. But Peshwa was in a difficult position because Sindia and Holkar were ranged on the opposite side.

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI'S INVASION OF THE PUNJAB: Ahmad Shah belonged to the Abdali or Durani tribe of Afghans. He was captured by Nadir Shah at Herat, and rose to high rank in his service. Establishing himself at Herat, he captured

Kandahar and Kabul. Soon his authority spread over all Afghanistan and he assumed the royal title. He invaded the Punjab and captured Lahore (1748). On his march to Delhi he captured Sirhind. The imperial army assisted by the Rajputs succeeded in compelling him to retreat.

DEATH OF RULERS: Muhammad Shah died of dropsy on 20 April 1748. His son Ahmad was enthroned some days later. Muhammad Shah may not command our respect but he deserves our pity. At his death all that remained to Delhi were the northern half of the Gangetic Doab and a strip of territory along the southern banks of the Indus, Panjnad and Sutlej rivers.

Nizam-ul-Mulk died on 21 May 1748. Sahu had had no sons but before his death he prepared two notes: one forbidding the succession going to Kolhapur and requiring the Peshwa to be guided by Govindarao Chitnis, and the other requiring the next Chhatrapati, whoever he be, to vest responsibility for *raj* in Balaji. He died in his palace at Sahunagar, which he had built on 15 December 1749, at the age of 67.

Tarabai told people a story that Sivaji II had had a son by name Ramaraja whom she had concealed and brought up privately. This young man now 23 years of age was installed on 4 January 1750.

Though not a great statesman or a soldier Sahu was a good judge of men and had a kind and sympathetic heart. His sense of justice and goodwill for all made him respected universally. He had so much power of persuasion that quarrelsome generals and leaders composed their differences in his presence. He respected all religions equally.

A Stunning Blow to the Marathas

We have seen that the early decades of the later half of the eighteenth century witnessed a political confusion owing to the death of several leaders in succession. One notable feature of the Maratha body politic was that the Peshwa became supreme.

TARABAI: The Peshwa exercised his right to administer the kingdom for Ramaraja, a feeble-minded youth, and appointed his own

adherents to the chief officers in the State. Tarabai who propped up the claims of Ramaraja in the hope that she would have control over him was disappointed. She degraded herself by repudiating him on the ground that he was not a true son of Sivaji II. She arrested Ramaraja and confined him in Satara fort. When the Peshwa's attention was diverted to the south in the hope that the murders of Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang would give him an opportunity for the assertion of Maratha supremacy, Tarabai allied herself with Damaji Gaikwar and revolted against the Peshwa. The revolt was put down and Damaji Gaikwar had to give away half the territory of Gujarat to the Peshwa and pay a fine of 15 lacs. Damaji was recognized as the sole Maratha representative in Gujarat on condition that he should serve the Peshwa with 10,000 troops wherever and whenever required (1752).

The Peshwa's position as supreme manager of the Maratha State was recognized. Tarabai was obliged to make peace with the Peshwa but to the end she repudiated Ramaraja. She died at Satara (December 1762), ten months after the disaster of Panipat. Till her death Ramaraja was in prison. He was crowned at Sahunagar in March 1763 by Peshwa Madhavarao I. He died in obscurity in 1777 and his adopted son, Sahu, the younger, reigned till 1810.

Bussy set the affairs of Salabat Jang, son of Niaum-ul-Mulk, on a sound basis, and trained up troops of exceptional efficiency; for his expenses he got the districts of the north-east of Deccan, the Northern Sarkars and scored a victory for the French. When Bussy ravaged the Maratha territory after crossing the Godavari, the Peshwa resorted to guerilla warfare and scorched-earth policy. Peace was soon restored (1752) and *status quo* was maintained. Ghias-ud-din, the eldest son of Asaf Jah, was poisoned to death at Aurangabad on his way from Delhi, and this aroused the anger of the Marathas. The Maratha troops surrounded Salabat Jang in Bhalki and forced him to conclude a treaty by which the western half of Berar between the Godavari and Tapti and some other territories were given to the Marathas. Thus a large part of the Maratha homeland was liberated from the Mughal yoke. Bussy made friends with the Peshwa. Though he did not enter the Peshwa's service he allowed his lieutenants to do so and they helped the Marathas to train infantry troops in the use of artillery on the Western model.

KARNATAK AND HYDERABAD: The Peshwa made yearly expeditions into the Karnatak to gather money. The Maratha dominion in the south covered the whole of the Kannada region including the present Mysore State. The Nawabs of Shira, Savanaur, Kurnool and Kadapa were subjugated. The Nawab of Arcot was able to hold out by getting British support. The Peshwa compelled Salabat Jang to yield him territory worth 25 lacs along with fort Naldurg. In 1758 Bussy was recalled from Hyderabad. Nizam Ali (another son of Asaf Jah), who resented the Peshwa's mastery of Muslim capitals like Daulatabad, Burhanpur, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar started hostilities again. The Peshwa defeated him and made him surrender all the capitals. This crippled Hyderabad for ever. The success of the Marathas was due to Sadasivarao who was ably assisted by the Peshwa's son, Visvasrao.

After the death of Raghuji Bhosle at Nagpur there was a succession dispute between his sons Janoji and Mudhoji. The Peshwa mediated and brought about a settlement for which he got a large sum of money as present. But the domestic dissensions of the Bhosle continued to weaken the Nagpur State.

END OF ANGRIA'S NAVAL POWER: Tarabai sought the aid of Tulaji Angria against the Peshwa. The Peshwa sought the aid of the British at Bombay to put down Tulaji. The Peshwa's navy cooperated with Clive and Watson in the expedition against Vijayadurg (1756) and when the combined fleet arrived at the place, Tulaji started negotiations with the Peshwa's forces. The English regarded this as a breach of agreement on the part of the Peshwa. So they took the fort of Vijayadurg. The entire fleet of Angria was burnt down in a fire started by a chance shot. The English retained the fort and appropriated all the valuable booty. Tulaji was under the protection of the Peshwa, and the English demanded his surrender. But the Peshwa protested and the English had finally to give up the fort, for they did not wish for trouble on the west coast. The disastrous result of the Peshwa's summoning the English to his aid resulted only in the final destruction of the small Maratha navy. This was a lucky accident that steadily favoured the growth of the English power in India

MUGHAL COURT AFTER 1748: Ahmad Shah who succeeded Muhammad Shah was a vicious and dissipated young man of twenty-three.

The nobles were utterly selfish and devoid of patriotism or honour. Their only interest was in grabbing what was left of the Mughal empire. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab at the invitation of the Bangash and Ruhela Pathans and took up the *subas* of Lahore and Multan (1752). Safdar Jang died in 17 October 1754 and was succeeded by his son Shuja-ud-Daula who played a prominent part in history for the next twenty years. Safdar Jang's incapacity and grasping selfishness brought about his ruin.

Deposition of Ahmad Shah: On 2 June 1754 Ahmad Shah was declared unfit to rule and Aziz-ud-din, the youngest son of Jahandar Shah, was enthroned as Alamgir II. Ahmad Shah and his mother were blinded in prison. Ghazi-ud-din, the *vizier*, brought about this revolution and promised the Marathas who helped him with a large sum of money. Alamgir, 55 in age, was utterly wanting in strength of character and capacity for leadership, and Ghazi-ud-din II lacked political foresight or diplomatic capacity and during his five and a half years' dictatorship in Delhi the empire drifted to ruin beyond recovery.

Abdali's Second Invasion: Ghazi-ud-din appointed Mir Munim as the governor of the Punjab and this infuriated Ahmad Shah Abdali. Abdali's envoy to Delhi returned without getting a satisfactory reply from the vizier. So Abdali crossed the Indus by Attock and reached Sirhind in January 1757. The citizens of Delhi were panic-stricken. The invaders soon occupied Delhi. The emperor Alamgir II was deposed and the *khutba* read in the name of Abdali (21 January). Then followed a reign of terror which was not confined to Delhi but spread to Mathura and Agra. Abdali issued specific instructions that Hindu holy places should be destroyed. Mathura, Brindavan and Gokul suffered terribly and Abdali marched as far as Mathura to supervise the fell work. Reinstating Alamgir and Ghazi-ud-din in their places Abdali went to his native country with twelve crores of plunder. He made his son, Timur Shah, governor of the Punjab with Sardar Jahan Khan, the ablest of his generals, as his guardian and vizier.

Raghunatharao in the Punjab: Ghazi-ud-din called in the aid of Raghunatharao to recapture the Punjab. Raghunatharao drove out Timur Shah and took Lahore and occupied the whole of the Punjab.

But the Sikhs and Muslims looked upon the Marathas as intruders and made it difficult for them to hold the country. Ahmad Shah Abdali was provoked and the Maratha power suffered terribly from his retaliation.

Reprisal of Abdali: In August 1759 Abdali crossed the Indus. Sabaji Sindia who held the command in Lahore had to fall back on Delhi. Ghazi-ud-din contrived to murder Alamgir II. He proclaimed as emperor a grandson of Kam Baksh with the title of Shah Jahan III. Sindia came to oppose Abdali. Malharrao Holkar too came but the Marathas were defeated. All those who opposed the Marathas now joined Ahmad Shah Abdali. When the Peshwa heard of the disasters that had befallen Maratha arms in the north, he sent an army under Sadasivarao and his son Visvasrao. As the army marched towards Delhi, batches of Pindaris and irregulars of all kinds joined it. But the Rajputs held aloof. Ahmad Shah camped at Ramgarh. Sadasivarao had occupied Delhi earlier; Malharrao Holkar suggested that guerilla warfare should be adopted against Ahmad Shah Abdali. The capture of Delhi turned the head of Sadasivarao. He therefore wanted a straight fight. Shuja-ud-Daula turned against the Marathas and so did the Mughal emperor, believing that the cause of Abdali was the cause of Islam. Both sides were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their large troops. 'We are quite strong, but hunger is staring us in the face', wrote Nana Phadnis about the middle of September. A false rumour was spread that Sadasivarao had made Visvasrao the emperor. To counteract this, Sadasivarao arranged a public ceremonial in Delhi to proclaim Shah Alam II as emperor. The viziership was conferred on Shuja-ud-Daula in absentia in the hope of luring him away from the Abdali's side (10 October 1760) but he stuck to Abdali. Ahmad Shah crossed over to the other side of the river with his whole army including the artillery, a rare feat of generalship which enabled him at once to cut off Sadasivarao from Delhi and to get at the Marathas for a close combat.

Panipat: Two months elapsed before the opposing armies met at Panipat for a decisive fight (January 1761). In these two months Ahmad Shah made careful preparations to command a plentiful water supply and easy communications with the Doab on which he depended for his supplies.

At the same time he posted guards all round the Maratha camp and cut off its supplies so that no news reached the Deccan from Panipat for two months. As days passed there was an improvement in Ahmad Shah's position and deterioration in that of the Marathas. Brave Maratha leaders were falling one after another. Panipat, the site of many Muslim saints' tombs, was an essentially Muslim city. Its antipathy to the Maratha invaders arose out of military necessities. The Marathas at last advanced slowly for they could no longer suffer from hunger. In their sad plight they were determined to conquer or die on the field. The battle began well enough for Marathas but as the day advanced, Abdali grew stronger and stronger. He threw in his reserves and the effect on the exhausted Marathas was terrible. 'From midday to four o'clock nothing could be seen or heard but a furious slaughter which was going on at an incredible rate.' Visvasrao was fatally wounded. Sadasivarao fought for an hour more after hearing the sad news and met a soldier's death. The resistance collapsed and the rest was pursuit, massacre and plunder. The body of Visvasrao was brought to the Shah and everyone admired the beauty of the lad who seemed to be only sleeping. Shuja-ud-Daula had the grace to allow his body to be cremated according to Hindu rites. Balajirao was failing in health. He was distracted by family dissensions and financial straits. He was anxiously awaiting the news from Panipat in his camp in Bhilsa. When he gathered details of the tragedy he felt depressed. He returned to the south and reached Poona where he passed away in his palace. 'It was a dismal sunset to the glorious noon of his father's and his own reign.' The manner of Sadasivarao's death was admired by all. Holkar and Damaji withdrew when they knew that there was no hope. Mahadji Sindia and Nana Phadnis were among the few who escaped miraculously from the field. About 100,000 Marathas may be said to have perished, besides many fugitives who were murdered by peasants who had suffered by Maratha inroads.

THE EFFECTS OF PANIPAT: To the Marathas the defeat at Panipat was a disaster of the first magnitude. That they should have continued to play a great part in history for forty or fifty years more only shows the characteristic resilience of the nation. For about ten years it was impossible for them to think of any conquest of India. They suffered considerably from loss of their prestige. The

Punjab had to be abandoned to the Afghans and Sikhs, and the revived Maratha power had only the Jat country, the sands of Rajputana, and the wilderness of Bundelkhand—all Hindu territories—for its sphere. The remaining powers in India were convinced that Maratha friendship was no good, for it had failed to defeat the Afghans who had come with the purpose of perpetuating Islamic rule in the valley of the Ganges. This paved the way for the success of English diplomacy. 'Above all', as Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, 'to the reflective historian, the disaster by killing the Peshwa Balajirao and removing nearly all of his great captains and able civil officers, as well as his grown-up son Visvasrao and his expert and devoted prime minister Sadasivarao Bhao, left the path absolutely open and easy to the guilty ambition of Raghunath Dada, the most infamous character in Maratha history. Other losses time could have made good, but his was the greatest mischief done by the debacle of Panipat.'

The victorious Ahmad Shah could not make himself the emperor of India. His army was in arrears of pay and his men dreaded the Indian hot weather. They were on the verge of mutiny and insisted on returning home with their plunder. In fact, they had been disappointed, for there was not much to plunder. Ahmad Shah knew that it was not possible for him to hold Afghanistan and India together in his hands, nor was his position in Afghanistan perfectly secure. He was not anxious to interfere in the affairs of Delhi. His only wish was to secure the goodwill of the Marathas so that they might not interfere in the affairs of the Punjab which he needed to relieve the needs of his poor country. His negotiations with the Peshwa led to a definitive peace under Balaji's successor Madhavarao I (1763). Ahmad Shah made Najib-ud-Daula regent in Delhi before he left India.

CHAPTER XIX

CONTEST FOR PRIMACY I

Anglo-French Rivalry (1700–67)

After the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, Hindu principalities in South India competed in vain for southern sovereignty. Their mutual jealousies and contests only helped the rival Muslim States, and ultimately the Nawab of Arcot grew powerful with Arcot as his headquarters. He was nominally subordinate to the Nizam of Hyderabad but really exercised sovereign powers. In 1740 the Marathas exposed the hollowness of the power of Arcot by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Nawab. But the Marathas in their desire to establish their supremacy in Northern India failed to consolidate their position in the south.

The death of the aged Nizam in 1748 resulted in two wars of succession in which the English and their rivals, the French, took different sides. In the North the embassy of 1715 to Delhi, 'opened the eyes of the English to the hideous rottenness of the Mughal empire'. Conditions were favourable for the political adventures of the French and the English in India. The French gained an earlier and clearer appreciation of the real weakness of the country.

Relative Strength of the English and the French in India: In 1717 the Madras villages granted by Imperial firman in 1715 were taken by the English Company after six hours of bayonet fighting supported by field guns. On the west coast Bombay grew in strength and importance. In 1744 its population was estimated at 70,000 and it was considered the strongest of the Presidency towns in a military sense. It had also developed a navy in spite of protests from the Court of Directors. At the time when Delhi witnessed frequent rebellions, the English company made their

fortification in Fort William in Bengal. Thus the English were making progress in building up their strength.

The French Company too was also making fair progress. Mahe was considerably strengthened (1721–35) so that it became a power in the west coast. The Zamorin sought its alliance and even sent an embassy to Louis XV of France. On the east coast Pondicherry developed and its trade considerably increased. Dumas who was the governor (1735–41) made friends with Dost Muhammad, Nawab of Arcot through whom he got the right to coin rupees (1736). During the hostilities between Chanda Saheb and the Marathas, the French gave shelter to Chanda Saheb. Raghuji Bhosle who had been sent against Chanda Saheb was placated with the present of a few bottles of 'Liquor of Nancy' much appreciated by the Maratha general's wife. Dumas began the system of supplementing the strength of European troops by the training and equipment of Indian sepoys of whom he had five or six thousand in addition to 1,200 French soldiers. By his loyalty to his friends and by the strength he established against the Marathas, Dumas gained a high reputation. The Nizam felicitated him and sent him a robe of honour. The emperor Muhammad Shah made him a nawab and a *mansabdar* of 4,500. Thus the French Company was introduced into the feudal hierarchy of India. It became one of the Indian powers and interfered in disputes among them on equal terms. This policy of interference was followed much further by Dupleix who succeeded Dumas.

Dupleix: Dupleix had been the governor of Chandernagore before he took the governorship of Pondicherry. He managed to maintain constant trade with China, Japan, Persia and Arabia. He married a widow Jeanne d'Albert of mixed French and Portuguese parentage. Born and bred in India, she knew many of its languages and the interests of all the princes. In course of time she became her husband's minister of foreign affairs. She became so celebrated that she was respected as Begum Joanna. La Bourdonnais was Dupleix's rival and future collaborator. He was the governor of Mauritius and did very good work in strengthening its defence and providing amenities. About the time when Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry La Bourdonnais returned to the islands triumphantly after vindicating himself against unfounded charges brought against him in France.

The French had four political establishments, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahe and Karaikal, besides a number of counting houses (Masulipatam, Calicut and Surat). The English had Bombay, Madras with Fort St. David, Calcutta and counting houses wherever the French had them and also at Hugli. The French were at this time in an advantageous position for they held midway stations on the route to Europe in the islands to the east of Africa. They had a decisive superiority in their personnel. Dumas and Dupleix had no counterparts as yet on the English side in India. But the English company was the stronger in its financial power, commercial wealth and material resources. It was a voluntary association and was in no way subordinate to the government of England. It was capable, on account of its wealth and political influence, of lending considerable sums to government and even influencing its policy on occasions, whereas the home government in France discountenanced the French company's political power.

THE CROSSING OF SWORDS: The war of succession began in 1740. A French proposal made to the English Company in 1742 for the preservation of neutrality in India came to nothing. Although the home government in France knew that war in India was imminent, they asked Dupleix to reduce expenditure and suspend the construction of ships and fortifications. In 1745 an English fleet under the command of Barnet came to assist the English company. Dupleix who had inherited from Dumas the dignities of nawab and *mansabdar* persuaded Anwar-ud-din, the nawab of the Carnatic to forbid any attack on the settlements of the French company. La Bourdonnais equipped a new fleet which was reinforced from France. This reached Pondicherry early in 1740. There was a drawn naval battle off Nagapatam between the two fleets. Luckily for the English, La Bourdonnais and Dupleix developed differences over precedence. The English fleet sailed for Bengal leaving Madras undefended by sea, and Madras had to capitulate after a fortnight's seige. Among the prisoners of war was Robert Clive. The difference between the two French generals became acute for Dupleix had promised to give away Madras after its capture to the Nawab of Arcot while La Bourdonnais was negotiating to hand over Madras to the English if they paid a handsome sum. While the two French leaders were thus engaged in an unseemly quarrel there broke

out a gale of unusual severity in the monsoon season. This greatly damaged the French fleet. La Bourdonnais had to go back to Mauritius from where he was recalled to France. There he was imprisoned in the Bastille and had to stand a trial on a charge of secret dealings with the enemy. He was acquitted but died soon after (1753). Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Arcot, claimed Madras from Dupleix. When Dupleix delayed, the Nawab of Arcot sent an army to expel the French. But the cavalry of the Carnatic Nawab was no match for the musketry and field artillery of the French. The English attacked Pondicherry but they had to fall back in disorder on Fort St. David. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to the English and Louisburg in North America to the French (1748).

KARNATIC WAR: The peace, however, did not deprive Dupleix of his prestige but had robbed him of Madras, a tangible prize he had won. The French and British in India were determined to carry their conflict to a decisive conclusion. Chanda Saheb who had been freed by Marathas from prison claimed the Nawabship of Arcot. Dupleix had intercepted a letter from the governor of Madras to Anwar-ud-din agreeing to aid him with 2,000 soldiers if he would give St. Thome and Pondicherry to the English company and so the French supported Chanda Saheb. The two claimants made common cause against the rulers of Arcot and Hyderabad. This resulted in a war between the French and British as allies of the native dynastic competitors. At Ambur (3 August 1749) Anwar-ud-din was defeated and killed and Muhammad Ali, his illegitimate son who claimed to succeed him shut himself up in Tiruchirapalli, besides holding jinji. The rest of the Karnatic came under Chanda Saheb. Nazar Jang was assassinated in his camp near Arcot and Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed the Nizam. The two French candidates appeared to have practically won. But Muzaffar Jang soon died in a skirmish and Salabat Jang, brother of Nasir Jang, through French support became the Nizam. Bussy, the French general showed great tact and humility in his relations with the Nizam and built up French power at Hyderabad on a firm basis.

At Madras Saunders was the governor. He promptly sent all available assistance to Muhammad Ali at Trichi. Muhammad Ali had also secured the alliance of Mysore and the Marathas. It was

at this critical time that Clive, a young clerk of the English company who had managed to escape from French prison, secured permission to create a diversion by leading an expedition to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. The plan proved a triumphant success. The British forces which consisted of 200 British and 300 sepoys were able to capture the fort, which was practically undefended, and strengthen its fortifications. The news alarmed Chanda Saheb and with 10,000 troops he hurried to invest Arcot. It took some time for Chanda to cross the river Palar which was then in full flood. There was a desperate resistance of the English army for fifty days and the attack was finally repulsed. When the besiegers retired, Clive marched out of the fort and fell upon them and shattered them. Muhammad Ali was relieved by Lawrence and Clive and Chanda's forces were compelled to surrender and Chanda Saheb was beheaded by a Tanjore general (1752). The victory brought Clive to prominence. Clive followed it up by victories at Arni and Kauveripak.

Though fighting still continued in several places Muhammad Ali was henceforth the *de facto* Nawab of Arcot. Some time later even Bussy urged Dupleix to make the best possible peace. Bussy himself had trouble in Hyderabad but he soon recovered and got from the Nizam the cession of the 'Northern Circars' six hundred miles of territory along the east coast between Orissa and the Karnatic for the support of the troops he had to maintain in the service of the Nizam. Beaten on the field and in sore financial straits, Dupleix still centred fresh hopes on the loyalty of the Nizam and the friendship of the Marathas and pitched his terms of peace with the English rather high (21–25 January 1745).

Dupleix's Failures: In Europe the Directors of the two companies were dissatisfied with the conduct of their servants in India. Their negotiations for peace dragged on till 1755 with no prospect of aggreement. It was at last agreed that the two nations should no more interfere in the quarrels of the Indian powers that they should renounce all Indian titles and dignities and that the French should be allowed to retain their Deccan possessions. But before the terms could be ratified the seven years' war in Europe broke out leading to fresh conflicts in India.

In France public opinion against Dupleix grew strong. Godeheu, a Director of the Company, was sent out to India to supersede

Dupleix and enquire into Indian affairs. It was Godeheu who negotiated the unfruitful peace. He made Dupleix a grant for his expenses for his journey home. Godeheu successfully salvaged as much of Dupleix's work as was possible. There is no justification in Dupleix's accusation that Godeheu had 'signed the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation'.

Dupleix's failure was in a large measure due to himself. Finance was his chief stumbling block from the beginning to the end because he had failed to convince the home government on the advantages of territorial acquisition in India. The home government was bent on saving its position against English rivalry in America rather than embark on visionary enterprises in India. Dupleix was harassed by the creditors. He fell a victim to libels and calumnies. Neglected by the court and the public he died a poor man (10-11 November 1763).

LALLY'S CAMPAIGN: In 1756 the seven years' war broke out. British ships began to control Indian waters and no strong reinforcement had a chance of reaching the French in India. Bussy was occupied in maintaining his position in Hyderabad. The French carried on their struggle in the Karnatic under the leadership of Count de Lally. Lally was an able soldier but he knew little of India and was by temperament imperious, peevish and headstrong. He came to India in April 1758 by which time the English were well on their way to strengthen their position in Bengal.

Lally took Fort St. David by bombardment but he irritated the people there by making them move his cannon to position as there were no draught animals. To attack Madras he needed money and Pondicherry could not furnish it. Lally summoned Bussy from Hyderabad, who obeyed reluctantly. Bussy's worst fears came true. The Northern Circars were seized by a British force sent by Clive from the Bengal (December 1758). Masulipatam was stormed by the British. Salabat Jang ceded that city with adjoining territory to the English and agreed to have nothing more to do with the French.

Lally had no money and his troops were in a state of Mutiny. On 21 January 1760 the decisive battle was fought at Wandiwash, Eyre Coote commanding the British. Lally was defeated and Bussy taken prisoner. Lally withdrew to Pondicherry and surrendered after a siege of that place for some months (16 January 1761). He

was taken to England as a prisoner of war and released. In France he was tried and condemned to death.

When the peace of Paris was signed in 1763 nothing was left to France in India but trading stations dismantled of fortifications and held upon terms which precluded the maintenance of any effective drilled forces.

The British were established in the peninsula without possibility of a European competition so long as they could maintain their control of the seas.

CAUSES OF THE ENGLISH SUCCESS: The triumph of the English in the Karnatic wars is ordinarily explained with reference to their strong sound commercial position, mastery of the sea and superior military direction and the failure of the French to their lack of all these and to the blunders of their leaders. Smith says: 'It is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of Dupleix, Lally or lesser men in order to explain the French failure. Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the power that held Bengal and the command of the sea.' Smith stresses the value of the resources that flowed from Bengal to the help of the English, but does not specify what exactly were the resources. H. N. Sinha says,[1] 'since the English had the monopoly of saltpetre, the French could not get an adequate supply of it, and since they could not, they lost against the British in the last phase of the Karnatic War that began in 1758 and ended in 1761. It was not merely the supply of provisions which they wanted, the want of gun-powder seriously handicapped their military operations on the east coast.'

Bengal

RELATIVE POSITION OF THE EUROPEANS IN BENGAL: In Bengal, the English, the French and the Dutch had been living peacefully together for many years and all had chief stations on the river Hugli. Calcutta, the English settlement, was nearest the sea and the ships of other nations had to sail past Fort William to reach their respective ports. The French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch

[1] Indian Historical Records Commission: *Proceedings of Meetings*, Vol. XXIV, p. 81.

at Chinsura, though not so strong as the English, could still be regarded as the rivals. The Danes at Serampore were quite harmless and this principality remained for long an important missionary centre for the dissemination of Western education. The Danes closed up their commercial affairs in India by selling their factories to the British government in 1845.

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA: Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson called Siraj-ud-Daula, an impetuous and headstrong youth of twenty-three. Fearing the outbreak of war in Europe, the English and the French began to fortify their settlements, a work which they had commenced even during the days of Ali Vardi Khan. The English irritated Siraj by carrying on friendly correspondence with the faction opposed to his accession. They further offended him by sheltering a Hindu merchant whom he desired to plunder and by abusing their trade privileges under the firman of 1717. Siraj ordered both the French and the English to desist from fortifying their settlements. The French sent a conciliatory note to the Nawab but the English defied him. Thereupon Siraj seized Cossimbazaar factory and marched upon Calcutta with a large army. The English, thoroughly unprepared for this attack, fled into Fort William. They, however, imprisoned a wealthy merchant called Omichand whom they found intriguing. The Fort was in no condition to resist, and the women and children in it were sent off to Fulta down the river. Many others joined the refugees including the governor Drake. Among those who remained behind was Holwell, an ex-surgeon and he was made commander. But soon he was obliged to surrender with his men (20 June 1756). Their number is not known; they were confined in a small room for the night and suffered untold hardship. Holwell is responsible for the story of 'the Black Hole of Calcutta'. Some say that it is a trumped up fraud, while others concede that it is substantially true, although the number is exaggerated.[2]

It is quite clear that the Nawab's personal responsibility for the occurrence cannot be established and it was probably due to the indifference of his subordinates. In a few days all

[2] Brijen K. Gupta in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, XIX No. I (Nov. 1959), pp. 53-63 discusses the matter of the 'Black Hole' and concludes that an incident occurred and that the number involved was 64 of whom 21 survived.

the English factories and agencies fell into the hands of the Nawab.

CLIVE IN BENGAL: The Council at Madras hearing the news of the disaster sent Clive, who had just come from England as Governor of Fort St. David, to command the relief expedition. His army was supported by five ships of war under Admiral Watson. On 2 January 1757 Calcutta was retaken and Hugli surrendered a few days later. An offensive and defensive alliance was made with the Nawab. The company regained its former position in Bengal. The Nawab compensated for the loss and allowed the English to fortify Calcutta and mint coins.

But Watson, who had little regard for the Company servants, did not agree with Clive on several matters. The Calcutta Council claimed authority over Clive who had been invested with special powers by the Madras government. The Madras council summoned Clive back but Clive stayed on in Bengal fearing that his departure would imperil his work there. When Siraj showed his sympathies with the French and corresponded with Bussy, Clive and Watson acted together and attacked Chandernagore. After a brave resistance the French garrison surrendered. Siraj was in no position to interfere and Clive and Watson took it for granted that they had the permission of the Nawab to attack the French.

The Nawab of Bengal was now the ally of the English according to the terms of the treaty. But Clive supported a plan for the overthrow of the Nawab. Omichand who knew of the correspondence between Clive and Mir Jafar, the commander of the Siraj's army, threatened to divulge the secret. To silence him Clive had two drafts of the treaty with Mr Jafar, the Nawab-elect—one, a sham document authorizing the payment of a large sum of money to Omichand with Watson's signature on it forged by Clive and the other, the real document, omitting the clause. For some reason or other a hard dishonesty entered into Clive's character which he continued to defend with astonishing effrontery. Mir Jafar on his part entered into a secret agreement guaranteeing large sums of money to the army, navy and members of the Council.

BATTLE OF PALASI: Clive wrote to Siraj a letter announcing his intension of marching against him immediately as he had been

corresponding with the French against the English. The Nawab was camping with a large army at the village of Palasi (Plassey). Clive came with his forces of 3,200 troops at Katwa, a place within fifteen miles of Palasi. Mir Jafar had under him 25,000 troops of Siraj. In spite of the protests of the council of war, Clive continued his war against Siraj. He crossed the Bhagirathi in June (1757) and halted his troops in a mango grove at Palasi. It is said that Clive was not still quite sure of Mir Jafar's intention. But it is a fact that he did not fight for Siraj. The battle that followed the next day was a ridiculous affair, the victors having 23 killed and 49 wounded and even the vanquished having not more than 500 losses. The only real resistance was from a handful of Frenchmen in the Nawab's army. Siraj was completely defeated. Clive saluted Mir Jafar as the Nawab of Bengal and enthroned him at Murshidabad. Poor Siraj was put to death by the order of Mir Jafar's son. The plan was to take hold of the Nawab's treasury which was believed to hold forty millions. But in fact they found only one and a half million sterling. But the English conspirators demanded full payment according to the agreement. The company got the Zamindari of the twenty-four Parganas, 880 square miles mostly south of Calcutta. Clive received £234,000. Mir Jafar had to pay the Company and private persons nearly two and three quarter millions. This was treated as debt to be paid in instalments. Only Omichand collapsed when he heard that his claim on the Company was invalid because the agreement had been written on red paper.

MIR JAFAR AND CLIVE: Mir Jafar became the Nawab of Bengal but Clive was the real power behind the throne. The Company appointed Clive as the governor. Clive defended Mir Jafar's authority against internal rebellions and external assaults. Mir Jafar, out of gratitude to Clive, gave him the gift of a *jagir* which was confirmed by the emperor. The quit rent of the 24-Parganas, a sum of £30,000, went to Clive. The Dutch who disliked the sudden rise of the fortunes of the English refused to allow them to search their vessels in exercise of the right they held. Mir Jafar supported the English. In the war that ensued the Dutch were defeated although a fleet of seven ships of war had come from Batavia to their support. The English captured the fleet and the Dutch paid the damages. This put an end to the political rivalry between the English and

the Dutch in Bengal. In February 1760 Clive sailed for England.

Clive was rich enough to buy a considerable number of shares in the Company. He entered the House of Commons and spoke vehemently of the corruption in the Company's administration in India.

Mir Jafar's resources were crippled. He could not pay the Company and private persons as he had promised. The result was misgovernment. Vansittart from Madras became the governor of Bengal. He found that his council had a difficult time. The Company's treasury was empty and the Nawab was too poor to meet their needs. The Directors stopped sending remittances from England for they thought that the Company could get on with the money from their possessions in India. Shah Alam II, the Mughal emperor, invaded Bihar but was defeated by a British force.

Mir Jafar lost the favour of the English Company. On the suggestion of Holwell he was deposed and his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was made the Nawab of Bengal. Shah Alam confirmed the nawabship of Mir Kasim. In return for this the emperor was given an allowance of Rs. 1,800 a day. Mir Kasim gave the British the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong for the payment of troops that were to assist him. This was later called the 'subsidiary alliance', a method adopted on a large scale by Lord Wellesley. The Councillors received from Mir Kasim £200,000 for themselves.

BATTLE OF BAKSAR: Mir Kasim was an able administrator who sought to improve the revenue of his government and the condition of his people. His policy led to a conflict with the British servants of the Company. The English Company from 1717 had been exporting goods from Bengal free of duty. After 1756 its servants illegally extended the exemption to their private trade within the province. The Indian merchants were at a terrible disadvantage because they had to pay duty and sell their wares at comparatively high prices. Mir Kasim had to meet the demand of the Company's servants for gratuities and subsidies. He found that his revenue had diminished greatly through the illicit practices of the English merchants who unscrupulously sold their permits to Indians also. Vansittart and Warren Hastings appreciated Mir Kasim's point of view but the other members of the Council would listen to no

reason. In his desperation, the Nawab moved his seat to Monghyr and declared all trade duty free which really helped the Indian merchants though it lessened the revenue of the State. Now the Council at Calcutta charged him with having broken the treaty. In anger Mir Kasim butchered about 200 English prisoners and this was sufficient cause for the English to depose Mir Kasim (July 1763) and reinstate Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar restored the privilege of free trade to the company's men and made good the losses of the company, besides distributing presents to its servants.

Mir Kasim was supported by Shuja-ud-Daula and Shah Alam, and he carried on war against the English. After several inconclusive engagements came the decisive battle on Baksar (Buxar) on 22 October 1764. Munro, a King's officer who had brought reinforcements from Bombay, led the British force against Mir Kasim. It was a well-contested battle. The British emerged successful losing nearly 850 killed and about 7,000 men wounded. This battle at Baksar more than Palasi assured the position of the British in India. The emperor, Shah Alam, submitted to the English and accepted British protection. Soon the English had Oudh at their mercy. Now the last remnants of resistance to the English in Northern India disappeared.

Foundations of the British Empire: The merchants of the East India Company suddenly found themselves effective lords of the Karnatic and the whole of Bengal. In each of these provinces, there reigned a Nawab who owed his position to the British arms. And the Nizam of Hyderabad was virtually subservient to the Company. The situation demanded from the company servants statesman-like qualities necessary for organizing the government on a large scale. There were unlimited opportunities for exploiting the new dominions for their private and personal advantage. The servants of the Company in general were intent on getting rich quickly and turned the situation to their personal advantage neglecting the interests of the Company they served and the needs of the people. It was in fact too much to expect these selfish traders to rise equal to the situation created by unprecedented conditions.

Mir Jafar died in February 1765 and was succeeded by his son Najm-ud-Daula who had to renew the internal trade privileges and distribute presents—both practices repeatedly condemned by the Directors of England.

News of the terrible misrule in India reached England and Clive was looked to as the only possible saviour. So the Directors appointed Clive as the governor of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief and his *jagir* was guaranteed to him for ten years or till his death if it occurred earlier. The servants of the Company were promoting their selfish interests in defiance of the directors. Clive acted with courage and vigour. The servants of the Company were obliged to give up the privileges of internal trade and presents. Clive's reforms were resisted. He thundered against corruption but his views were not convincing because of his own past conduct. His argument was that the revolution in 1757 was a case apart and could form no precedent. Clive not only alienated the civil service but also the military by abolishing the system of double batta, a practice that had come into vogue after the battle of Palasi. This led to a dangerous mutiny which Clive put down with great promptitude and daring.

Clive summarily rejected suggestions to attempt the conquests of the whole of India in the name of Shah Alam. He deliberately confined the territories of British jurisdiction to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was no longer possible for the British to evade the actual responsibility of the Company to govern Bengal. But really they had no official status. Further an organization designed for the mercantile management of a factory was not certainly suitable for the practical administration of a province as large as France. Clive obtained official status by a treaty with the Mughal emperor who was still recognized as the authority over the whole of India. The dominion of Oudh, with the exception of the districts of Kara and Allahabad reserved for Shah Alam, was restored to Shuja-ud-Daula who was required to pay fifty lacs of rupees as war indemnity. A defensive alliance was concluded with the Nawab by which the Company undertook to provide him with troops that he wanted if he paid for their maintenance. This settlement with Oudh lasted till it was annexed by Dalhousie. Shah Alam the emperor got Kara and Allahabad for the support of his dignity. He was also given an annual subsidy of twenty-six lacs. In his turn the emperor conferred upon the Company (August 1765) the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the reversion of Clive's *jagir*. He also granted deeds regularising the English

possession of the Northern Circars and the position of their vassal, the Nawab of the Karnatic. The Company servants were to collect revenues, meet the charges of administration and pay the Nawab and the emperor fixed sums of 53 and 26 lacs respectively. This was the actual transfer of the administration of Bengal to the Company. The grant of *Diwani* meant responsibility for administration and civil justice. For many years the whole administration was conducted through Indian agency though in 1769 English supervisors (later known as collectors) were appointed to control the Indian staff. This was called the dual system which led to grave abuses ended by the assumption of the responsibility by the Company later under Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis.

THE ESTIMATE OF CLIVE: Clive left India early in 1767, broken in health and spirits. Beginning as a clerk at £10, Clive returned to his country as its richest subject. The estimates of Clive are varied and conflicting. Some bestow on him high praise while others condemn him outright. His conduct came in for close scrutiny at parliamentary enquiries. Three resolutions were passed condemning the actions of Clive and others in general terms (10 May 1772). But the attempt to censure Clive's conduct in severe terms failed ultimately. The final resolution stated the fact of his having received £234,000 and coupled with it the statement 'That Robert Clive at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country'. Clive put an end to his own life on 2 November 1774 in his fiftieth year.

'Clive left the Company proprietor of the lower Ganges region, suzerain of potentates like the sovereign of Oudh, the Nawab of the Karnatic, the Subedar of the Deccan and the Great Mughal, and victorious against all its European rivals.'

The Contestants for Primacy

The events of the contest for primacy which will be described in the next chapter are complicated and for their clear understanding it is necessary to give a picture of the contestants for power and their relative position and strength.

In North India the emperor and his feudatories were too weak to resist the expansion of the British power. The Jats had

sufficient strength to give anxious moments to the Mughal emperor but had no striking power against the British. The Rajputs once regarded as the 'flower of chivalry' and 'embodiment of valour' were at this time degenerate. The Sikhs in the Punjab were broken in spirit in their struggle against the Muslims and Ahmad Shah Abdali.

In the south, the Marathas in spite of their crushing defeat at Panipat in 1761 were a power to be reckoned with. The Nizam of Hyderabad, like the Nawab of Oudh in the North, was too pliant to the British to be regarded as a rival in the contest for primacy. But still he played a part which weakened the Maratha resistance against the British expansion.

THE EMPEROR: The year 1761 opened badly for the Indian powers. On 14 January the Marathas received a severe set-back. The very next day Shah Alam II was defeated by the British. A day after that Lally surrendered Pondicherry to the English hands. The English star was in the ascendant. We have seen that after the death of Aurangzeb Civil War became chronic and armed contests between the rival nobles common. During the period from 1707 and 1720 there were seven bloody battles of succession among the emperor's descendants, The Nizam was able to get the viceroyalty of the Deccan only after defeating three rivals. There were three ruinous encounters for the kingship of Gujarat. In all these wars quite a large number of princes, nobles and the best soldiers perished. Probably the Marathas lost the pick of their nation at Panipat. The Jats, Bundelas and Rajputs were also depleted in numbers. From Bukhara and Kurasan no recruits came to the Mughal army. The Mughals had completely alienated the Hindus and the emperor had no Hindu allies of any military value on his side. Even the Shias felt that they had no chance of getting offices under the Mughals. The emperors themselves were incapable of thought and decision and allowed themselves to be dominated by worthless favourites and flatterers. Prominent nobles finding their position insecure at the Mughal court sought their own peace and prosperity by founding independent local dynasties. As Ghulam Hussain says Muhammad Shah was the last ruler of Babur's line and after him the kingship had nothing but name left to it. It is no exaggeration to say that at that time the government was discredited and the conditions were anarchic. However, the Mughal emperors still

continued to represent something great in the world of ideas and of law. They were dismayed to see their feudatories becoming independent and bandit chiefs elevating themselves to the rank of kings. Even more distressing was the fact that European merchants were nibbling India. To all these the emperor was the sole source of legitimacy. The Muslim dynasties of Avadh (Oudh), of Bengal, and of the Deccan felt secure on their thrones only by virtues of a *firman* from the Mughal emperor. The English company like the rest derived their power from the Mughal emperors' *firman* and followed their policy of conquest and aggression under the guise of *jagirdars* and *diwanis*. In fact the Mughal emperors had nothing which they could call their own but they had the disposal of everything in favour of others. It is impossible to contemplate without emotion that the hand which at one moment signed the *firmans* was stretched out soon after to receive a pension.

It appears that there was a moral crisis in the eighteenth century. Jean Law reported to the historian, Ghulam Husain Khan, in 1759 that the nobles and potentates did not weigh in their minds the praiseworthiness or shame of their conduct. 'The Indian nobles (umara) are a set of disorderly inconsistent blockheads who are solely for ruining a world of people.' After much bitter experience the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, himself recorded the same conclusion in 1768: 'Through the perfidiousness of the nobility and vassals this anarchy has arisen, and every one proclaims himself a sovereign in his place, and they are at variance with one another, the strong prevailing over the weak.... In this age of delusion and deceit, His Majesty places no dependence on the services or professions of loyalty of any but the English chiefs.'

Shah Alam's son Akbar declined to receive Lord Hastings as an equal in his palace but only as a subject and Hastings preferred not to make the visit. The tradition of regarding the Mughal emperor as the source of all legitimate powers continued till the days of Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. While in the North there was no Muslim power to challenge the British, there arose in Mysore Haidar Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan, who were able to oppose the British.

MARATHAS: The Marathas under Madhavarao, son of Balajirao, were still powerful although there were constant internecine wars between the Bhosles, Holkars, Sindia and Gaikwar all of whom

recognized the authority of the Peshwa. But young Madhavarao had a veritable enemy in his uncle, Raghunatharao, whose meanness and selfishness found satisfaction only in ruining the power of the Peshwa.

The Maratha administration in *svarajya* was well organized and carefully supervised by the Peshwa. But the severity of their raids in the Mughalai alienated the people, the bulk of whom were their co-religionists. Bengal, Gujarat and Karnatic suffered most from their raids. The Marathas flourishing on plunder developed a love of refinement and luxury and lost their former vigour. Although their army had the benefit of training under experienced French officers, they lacked the equipment necessary to fight the British. In those days the majority of soldiers did not fight with muskets and their ordnance was heavy, cumbrous and antiquated. They were trained to stake everything on the shock charge of heavy cavalry and hand-to-hand grapple. The employment of elephants in the age of muskets and relatively long range artillery carried on camels turned out to be a sure engine of self-destruction. Above all the Marathas foresook their traditional tactics in the field for new methods based on European models imperfectly assimilated'. Lack of leadership among the Indians greatly favoured the British in their expansion and consolidation. The European adventurers clearly demonstrated that the Indian soldier could hold his own in the field when properly trained and equipped and efficiently led.

THE BRITISH: The capture of Arcot by Clive may be regarded as a happy accident which favoured the British in the Karnatic. But their success at Wandiwash was the result of deliberate planning. In Plassey, too, their success was quite accidental. a few minutes rain made Siraj-ud-Daula's gunpowder wet and ineffective while the English troops sheltered in a mango grove managed to keep their powder dry. Further they had the treacherous Mir Jafar on their side. But the success at the battle of Buxar, comparable to that of Waterloo in the Napoleonic wars, was the result of a premeditated design. The British did not stumble upon an empire in India as some historians have said. The establishment of their rule in India was the result of a policy, carefully considered and steadily pursued.

Bengal with its navigable rivers and profitable commerce was a windfall to the British. In the two decades following the battle

of Plassey (1757), the servants of the East India Company outdid the native Nawabs in their pitiless exactions under the guise of presents and in their extravagance. Their misdeeds were frowned upon by the Directors of the Company at home and were enquired into by the Parliament. Their conduct clearly showed that in selfishness and greed they were as bad as the Nawab and his officials. However, in the political chaos that prevailed in India they clearly saw that the war for building up an empire was open to them.

The East India Company had certain advantages which the rulers of native States did not have. In the first place they had a well disciplined army with adequate supply of arms and ammunitions. They had the control of the sea to get reinforcement from England. Their weapons of war were superior in quality to those of the Indians. They were financially better off than any Indian State at that time. The Company's gross revenue in 1792 was £8,225,000. Besides, they had access to 'large and mobile resources in contrast to the uncertain and inelastic revenues of their Indian adversaries'.

They had able statesmen and tried diplomats to further their designs. Their surveyors mapped out regions for military campaigns. More than all, their civil and military officials were imbued with a greater sense of patriotism than their opponents in India. Not that they had no defects. Gambling, duelling and intemperance appear to have been common among factors; 'the bottle and the gun were the emblems of camp life'. What helped them to success in India was 'the congenital inability of the Indian States to unite even in the face of overwhelming danger'.

The crying need of the common people was peace, order and security of life and property. The Company administration in spite of its initial faults, seemed to promise peace and order. That accounts for the indifference of the people to the establishment of foreign rule. The new upper middle class of the community in Bengal and Karnatic supported the East India Company for they had vested interests as traders and *dubashes*.

CHAPTER XX

CONTEST FOR PRIMACY II

Peshwa Madhavarao (1761–72)

MADHAVARAO was made the Peshwa when he was only sixteen years old. His uncle, Raghunatharao, had intrigued to obtain the place for himself and having failed in the attempt turned against Madhavarao. As an elder he acted as regent for his minor nephew and sought to use his position to ally himself with the enemies of the State and get rid of Madhavarao. Gopikabai, Madhavarao's mother, was a masterful lady who organized a party in opposition to Raghunatharao.

Nizam Ali, the brother of Nizam Salabat Jang, coming to know the dissensions in the Peshwa's court invaded the Raichur Doab. The Peshwa called up to his aid Damaji Gaikwar, Malharrao Holkar, Janoji Bhosle and others. As Holkar was just then in charge of negotiating peace terms with Abdali, he could not come immediately. A strong Maratha force was gathered and Nizam Ali was defeated. Raghunatharao was not willing to be severe in his dealings with Nizam Ali for he had ulterior motives. The Maratha nobles were thoroughly dissatisfied with Raghunatharao for they saw that he was trying to secure the aid of the Nizam Ali against Madhavarao. Nizam Ali who was let off lightly went to Bidar. Throwing his brother, Salabat Jang, into prison, he seized the government and Shah Alam, the emperor, ratified the usurpation. Nizam Ali thus became the viceroy of the Deccan under the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah II.

PESHWA'S VICTORY AT RAKSHASBHUVAN : The differences between the Peshwa and Raghunatharao broke out into open war when the Peshwa refused to grant his uncle's demand for a separate *jagir* of ten lacs a year and five important forts. Malharrao Holkar supported Raghunatharao. There were a few indecisive battles between the

uncle and the nephew. The Peshwa thought it wise to yield to his uncle, and Holkar acted as a mediator between them. Nizam Ali came to fish in the troubled waters. Raghunatharao returned a major part of the territory that he had taken and the quarrel was patched up for the time being. In spite of this Madhavarao and his mother found that their movements were restricted and watched. Raghunatharao removed the friends of Madhavarao from the offices they held and put his own men in their places. The Gaikwar also supported Raghunatharao and they both tried to gain control of the Chhatrapati and punish those that had supported the Peshwa. Now all the leading citizens among the Marathas took Raghunatharao to task for planning to ruin the State with the help of the Nizam. Undaunted by this Raghunatharao went on with his activities. Then the leaders who had suffered at the hands of Raghunatharao made up an alliance and succeeded in getting the support of Janoji Bhosle and Nizam Ali. The interference of Nizam Ali in Maratha affairs was strongly resented and hence there was some unity in the Peshwa's camp. The campaign that followed dragged on for five months with much destruction of each other's territory (1763). Large numbers were killed on both sides. The new Maratha allies of Nizam Ali were, however, soon weaned away, and thereupon the Peshwa pursued the Nizam. At Rakshasbhuvan there was a tough fight between the Mughal and the Maratha armies. Bhosle made his submission to the Peshwa. Nizam Ali was forced to surrender and enter into a treaty with the Peshwa. The territories estimated at 82 lacs a year that had been captured by the Nizam were surrendered. Probably no commander of the Marathas had ever gained an action with such flying colours as Madhavarao had done at the battle of Rakshasbhuvan. Madhavarao was able to assert his power against his uncle. From now on Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Sindia rose to power and influence at the Peshwa's court. Madhavarao actively controlled the administration.

Madhavarao's Peshwaship was one of the most critical periods in the history of India. As the English had gained a firm foothold it became impossible for the Maratha to collect *chauth* from Bengal and Bihar, in accordance with the grant of the emperor given in 1746. Delhi was under the virtual dictatorship of Najib-ud-Daula who was in alliance with the enemies of the Peshwa. The Jat ruler, Surajmal, succeeded in extending his kingdom and depriving

the emperor's representatives of all control in the country south of Delhi. He died at the age of 55 leaving behind him five sons, of whom Jawahir Singh was adopted by the chief queen. It is not necessary to follow the military campaigns of Jawahir who had a stormy career till his death in 1768. Ahmad Shah Abdali had troubles with the Sikhs in the Punjab and had to deal with Delhi that had not yet paid him the promised amount. However, he acknowledged Madhavarao as the Peshwa.

Holkar died in 1766 and next year his son died. Raghunatharao wanted to seize the treasure of Holkar State which now was heirless. Ahalyabai who was in charge of the State after her son's death appealed to the Peshwa, and Raghunatharao had to return defeated in his purpose.

Najib with political insight built up a spacious dominion of his own in the north and south-west of Delhi not caring for his nominal master, the emperor. Leaving Ghazi-ud-din and Shuja-ud-Daula to fight over the title of vizier, Najib built himself a new capital at Najibabad. Ahmad Shah came to terms with the Sikhs giving over to them the Eastern Punjab including Lahore. Mahadji Sindia, the ablest of the new generation of the Maratha leaders, was no favourite of Raghunatharao and he had to experience difficulties till the end of 1768. There was a deterioration in the Maratha power in the north during the years that followed Panipat. The British were able to build up their power which neither the Bhosles of Nagpur nor the Peshwa could successfully oppose.

Najib-ud-Daula could not hold his own against the Sikhs; he therefore requested the emperor to come and take charge of Delhi. At this juncture Madhavarao, the Peshwa, prepared to rectify the Maratha position in the north. He despatched his forces under two able commanders. Shah Alam II who was chafing under British restraint welcomed the Peshwa's intervention. The Jats were also giving him unending trouble. He offered to pay 50 lacs if the Marathas would suppress the Jats. The Marathas had to march through Jat territory to reach Delhi. Fortunately for them there was a fratricidal war in the Jat State then. One of the rivals joined the Marathas and so they were able to get to Agra and Mathura. Najib was alarmed at the presence of the Marathas in the north. Mahadji who was on the side of Peshwa could never forget that Najib had been the chief cause of Maratha ruin in 1761.

But Najib had great diplomatic skill and instinctive perception of the realities of politics. He pretended to be friends with the Peshwa and in a secret alliance with his enemies managed to foil the Maratha attempts. A Maratha agent has recorded that 'All our plans, great and small, have been ruined by our alliance with Najib'. Najib died leaving his son, Zabita Khan, the richest prince in the north after the Jat King. The death of Najib relieved the Peshwa of the need for sending reinforcements to the north.

SHAH ALAM REACHED DELHI WITH THE MARATHA AID: Shah Alam was in Allahabad under the protection of the British. He heard that Zabita Khan entered the royal harem in Delhi and ravished his own sister among others. So he wanted to escape the English protection and go to his capital. The English had promised to escort him to Delhi but were evidently in no hurry to fulfil the engagement. Twelve years had passed since Shah Alam left Delhi and in spite of several attempts he had not been able to reach Delhi. He clearly understood that the sweet professions of the British were just meant to keep him under their grip and make political capital out of it. Sindia whose help had been sought by the Mughals took possession of Delhi after a brief bombardment (1771). For this help the Marathas were to get 40 lacs of rupees besides the assignment of Mirat (Meerut) and several other territories. Sindia agreed to surrender Delhi fort to the emperor's agent to enable him to go to the capital. Meanwhile the emperor had begun his advance from Allahabad. After a slow march the emperor reached Delhi on 6 January 1772. Peshwa Madhavarao who had a far-sighted view of English ambitions in India wrote to his general in the north: 'Now, you must remember never to allow the English to make a lodgement at Delhi. If they once obtain a footing, they can never be disloged. Of all the European nations, the English are the strongest. They have seized strategic points and have formed a ring round the Indian continent, from Calcutta to Surat.' With the help of the Marathas the emperor took the territory of Zabita Khan, captured its capital along with his family. Zabita fled to take refuge under the Jats and Sikhs. The spoils that Najib had taken at Panipat were 'recovered, including the report goes, even some Maratha women. Immense booty was obtained, including horses, elephants, guns and valuables'.

THE MARATHAS AND HAIDAR ALI: Haidar Ali, the son of a Mysore officer, organized a small body of well-equipped troops and attracted the attention of the powerful minister, Nanjaraj. In 1755 when he was 33, Haidar was appointed *faujdar* of Dindigal. Soon he received the district of Bangalore as his *jagir* and became Commander-in-Chief of the Mysore army. By 1761 he controlled more than half the dominions of his nominal sovereign and virtually ruled the whole kingdom. In 1763 he captured Bednur, which was then a very rich city. This gave him a vast amount of treasure which helped him to subsequent success and greatness. Haidar subjugated the Nawabs of Savanur, Kurnool and Kadappa who were all feudatories of the Marathas. He also seized the territory of Murarirao Chorpade. The Peshwa who came to know of his expansion determined to put an end to his aggression. In 1764 he crossed the Krishna with a large army. Haidar appealed to Nizam for help but nothing came of it. In the war against Haidar, Murarirao (of Gutto) distinguished himself as a capable commander and the Peshwa made him the *Senapati*. Haidar was camping at Jadi Anwati. Murarirao took Haidar's army quite by surprise and completely routed it. Haidar escaped into the jungles of Bednur hoping that he could gain out of the differences between the Peshwa and his uncle.

Raghunatharao who picked a quarrel with the Peshwa at Nasik sent for Nana Phadnis. The latter came from Poona to meet Raghunatharao. Raghunatharao ordered Nana to work under him. But Nana Phadnis refused. Hearing this, the Peshwa invited his uncle to come and assist him in the war against Haidar. Soon Raghunatharao cut into negotiations with Haidar. Haidar was willing to allow the Peshwa favourable terms but when he found Raghunatharao was willing to assist him he became stiff so that the Peshwa had to agree to let off Haidar on easy terms. By the treaty of Anantapur (30 March 1765) Haidar agreed to pay 30 lacs cash to cede all the territory north of the Tungabhadra and not to molest Murarirao and the Nawab of Savanur and allow them to continue to be Maratha vassals.

PESHWA'S ALLIANCE WITH NIZAM ALI: The Peshwa's attention was next turned towards the war that was going on between Nizam Ali and the Bhosles. Both the parties applied for help to the Peshwa. The Peshwa used this opportunity to prevent a possible alliance of

Bhosle, Raghunatharao and Nizam Ali against him. Bhosle had always been inimical to him. Therefore he wanted to humble Bhosle. So he joined Nizam Ali thus 'converting a traditional enemy into a potential friend'. Towards the end of January 1766, the combined forces inflicted a severe defeat on Bhosle. The Bhosle agreed to cede the territory which he had got before the battle of Rakshasbhuvan. He also agreed to join the Peshwa in future whenever called upon to do so. Raghunatharao was unable to save his friend, Janoji Bhosle. The friendship that the Nizam struck up with the Peshwa lasted nearly for thirty years. 'Madhavarao was the bold builder of a new era of honest dealings in Politics, discarding the traditional intrigue and dissembling in dealing with friends and foes alike.'

THE MARATHAS AND THE BRITISH: The growth of the Maratha power under the Peshwaship of Madhavarao attracted the attention of the British in India. The Resident of Bombay wrote (16 November 1767) that the increasing power of the Peshwa 'is a subject much to be lamented'. Madhavarao looked upon the English as his chief enemy and his alliance with the Nizam was in no small measure due to this feeling. When in 1767 the British were making war against Haidar, a mission was sent from Bombay to Poona under the leadership of Thomas Mostyn, assisted by Brome. The mission was well received, but did not yield any results. But the knowledge of the differences between the Peshwa and his uncle that the mission gained was of immense value to the British.

Raghunatharao was stricken with jealousy at finding the growing power and popularity of the Peshwa in contrast to his own waning reputation. He made up his mind to settle the issue by war. Raghunatharao's intrigues filled the country with unrest and dissatisfaction among the public servants. Madhavarao was ready to go as far as he could to satisfy his uncle. But Raghunatharao was inexorable and continued his old game of intrigues. He got into communication with Nizam Ali, Haidar Ali, Gaikwar, Bhosle and others. Brome visited him at Nasik several times and promised him British aid if he took up arms against the Peshwa. Raghunatharao adopted a boy named Amritrao on 19 April 1768 and demanded half a share in the Peshwa's dominion. In May the Peshwa marched against his uncle. Raghunatharao felt obliged to take refuge under fort Dhodap which shook the popular

belief in his intrepidity as a soldier. His army was dispensed and his lieutenants taken prisoners. Ultimately Raghunatharao surrendered his person and fort. He was taken to Poona and closely confined in the palace (June 1768). The worries of this long conflict with his uncle contributed to the break-down in the Peshwa's health. Even in prison Raghunatharao proved to be troublesome and wasteful. Six weeks before the death of the Peshwa he escaped from confinement, disregarding his nephew's request to bury the past and take charge of his young brother Narayanarao. Soon Raghunatharao was overpowered and imprisoned again.

Janoji Bhosle began to intrigue against the Peshwa in violation of the agreement of 1766. He marched on Poona to liberate Raghunatharao and make him the Peshwa. When he crossed the Godavari the Peshwa's army under Ramachandra Ganesh and Gopalrao Patwardhan met him. Bhosle had to flee in terror. Janoji's brother Mudhoji went over to the Peshwa. The Peshwa was magnanimous enough to bring about a reconciliation between the brothers. Janoji surrendered to the Peshwa, promising to restrict the number of his army and serve the Peshwa with 5,000 troops when required and to pay a tribute of 5 lacs yearly. He also promised not to intrigue against the State with any foreign power. The enemy of the Peshwa, Damaji was put in prison under Janoji and after the death of Janoji and the Peshwa, he was set free. He played into the hands of Warren Hastings.

Damaji Gaikwar avoided openly taking sides in the war between the Peshwa and his uncle. After consolidating his power in Gujarat and Kathiawar he died on 18 August 1768 leaving four sons to carry on the usual succession dispute. Madhavarao intervened and appointed Govindarao Damaji as Janoji's successor. The Peshwa's control of the Maratha confederacy was still real and effective.

War Against Haidar: War was renewed with Haidar towards the close of 1766. Nizam Ali and his son joined the Peshwa against Haidar. Haidar Ali lost almost all his possessions except Srirangapattam and Bednur. He sought peace offering to surrender all the territory in the Karnatic that the previous Peshwa Nanasaheb had possessed. At about this time Raghunatharao returned from the north to Poona and gave trouble. The Peshwa rejected the overtures of the English from Madras. An English agent Lt. Tod wrote:

'I blush when I think of the degree of contempt I was treated with considering my station and those I represented.' Haidar recovered much of the ground he had lost as the Peshwa was preoccupied with his uncle and Janoji, and the Peshwa had to begin all over again. Several reverses were inflicted on Haidar. The most distinguished soldier and commander, Gopalrao Patwardhan, fell seriously ill at the end of 1770. His place was taken by his brother Vamanarao. The war ended in a treaty, Haidar agreeing to pay a fine of 31 lacs and surrender a large part of the territory south of the Tungabhadra. The failure to destroy Haidar's power was one of the dying Peshwa's regrets.

THE DEATH OF MADHAVARAO: Madhavarao lay seriously ill at Poona. At the same time his mother, Gopikabai, also fell ill at Nasik, and she could not see her son. Narayanarao, Peshwa's brother, attended on him and received wholesome advice from his brother. Madhavarao wrote his last will on 30 September 1772 in the presence of Raghunatharao and Narayanarao and died peacefully. His wife, Ramabai, performed *sati*. Madhavarao is the last of the first four Peshwas who have won the admiration of most historians. In March 1771 the Madras Council wrote: 'From the present conduct of the Marathas both in the North and in the South and from the genius, spirit and ambition of Madhavarao we are inclined to suspect that their designs are not confined to the mere collections of *chauth*, but extend to the subjugation of the whole peninsula.' Madhavarao was 'one of the finest characters that the Hindu nationality has ever produced', and as the historian Grant Duff puts it, 'the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha empire than the early death of this excellent prince'—another accident that favoured the advance of British power in India.

The Marathas and Warren Hastings

The titular head of the Marathas was the Peshwa who controlled Western India with its capital at Poona. He was in theory the minister of Chhatrapati, Raja of Satara, who was virtually a prisoner. The Peshwa Narayanarao at the time of his succession (November 1772) was a minor. The guiding power in the State was in the hands of a minister or a board of ministers. The Gaikwar

established himself at Baroda, a State which after playing a minor part in the struggles of the time managed to survive as an Indian State until 1947. Across Central India in the State of Nagpur, there was the Bhosle. To the north of this were Sindia in Gwalior and Holkar in Indore. Both these States survived until 1947.

NARAYANARAO'S DIFFICULTIES: Although he had no serious external troubles, his position at home was rather difficult. His mercenary foot-soldiers consisting of Pathans, Abyssinians, Arabs, Rajputs and Purbias demanded payment of arrears and his treasury was empty. The British agent Mostyn living in Poona was eagerly waiting for a chance to acquire some places on the mainland like Salsette and Bassein. The Siddi of Janjira cast covetous eyes on the Raigarh fort. More than all the Peshwa had the wicked uncle Raghunatharao who was his uncompromising foe. This uncle corresponded with the enemies of the Peshwa and so conducted himself that it became necessary to put him in prison. Outside the prison were Raghunatharao's evil friends, one of whom named Tulaji Pawar was hired to kill Narayanarao. The Peshwa was brutally murdered in his palace in broad daylight at 1 p.m. His mother, Gopikabai, thus lost her third and the only remaining son and roamed as a beggar till a posthumous son was born to Narayanarao. Raghunatharao plotted to become the Peshwa, but as his complicity in the murder came to be known, Nana Phadnis who was in charge of the Maratha affairs and other Maratha leaders were strongly opposed to consider his claims. Under the head of Nana Phadnis there arose an organization which came to be called the Council of Barbhais (twelve brothers), to oppose Raghunatharao. In the name of the Chhatrapati, Raghunatharao was declared the murderer of the Peshwa Narayanarao and as such unworthy to hold office of the State. With Purandar as their headquarters the Barbhais carried on a relentless war on Raghunatharao and his associates. Taking advantage of the distracted condition of the Maratha court, Haidar Ali renewed his aggression and the English made an unprovoked attack on Thana and captured it. The birth of a posthumous son to Narayanarao named Madhavarao II Narayan shattered the hopes of Raghunatharao becoming the legitimate Peshwa. But he continued to intrigue against the child and his supporters.

English Aid Raghunatharao: The child Madhavarao II was formally invested with the Peshwaship on 28 May 1774. The Maratha confederates were not unanimous in their support to the Barbhais. It was not possible for Nana Phadnis to arrest Raghunatharao and keep him in prison. Raghunatharao was supported by Sindia and Holkar. Escaping with great difficulty Raghunatharao went to Surat and sought the aid of the English to reinstate him at Poona. A treaty was concluded at Surat between him and the English (6 March 1775) according to which Raghunatharao agreed to cede in perpetuity all the Bombay islands including Bassein and Salsette besides offering them two talukas near Surat. Now they started a war at the instance of Mostyn against the Poona government. Warren Hastings who was the Governor-General did not approve of the war started by the Bombay authorities. Disapproving the treaty of Surat as 'impolite, dangerous and unauthorised and unjust', Warren concluded a treaty with the Poona government at Purandar (1776). According to this the English agreed to surrender Raghunatharao on condition that they should be allowed to retain Thana and Salsette and that the Peshwa should give an allowance to Raghunatharao. Now there was a conflict between the English at Bombay and the Governor-General at Calcutta and the matter was referred to the home authorities who vetoed the treaty of Purandar and approved of the treaty of Surat. Nana Phadnis was in great difficulties. Haidar and Nizam Ali rose against the Marathas. Many local chiefs undermined the power of the government. Sindia alone remained loyal to the Poona government. Nana Phadnis welcomed an agent of the French king and this made Hastings decide on war against the Marathas. The Bombay government without waiting for the troops sent by Hastings sent an expedition to Poona. Being defeated they had to enter into a treaty by which they had to surrender not only Raghunatharao but all the possession they had obtained on the west coast since 1773.

But Hastings repudiated the treaty and thus compelled Nana Phadnis to organize a confederacy against the British. Raghunatharao promised to retire from public affairs and reside at Jhansi if his son, Bajirao, when he came of age, would be allowed to conduct the administration for the Peshwa.

NANA PHADNIS AND MAHADJI SINDIA: Nana assisted by Sindia became the sole manager of the Peshwa government, the position which he retained till the death of young Peshwa in 1795. Mahadji Sindia had to spend most of his time in the North. Although there were differences in temperament and outlook between Nana and Sindia, they did not allow their personal differences to interfere with the good of the Maratha State. While Raghunatharao was being taken to Jhansi, he effected his escape and Nana unnecessarily suspected Mahadji's connivance at Raghunatharao's escape.

ANTI-ENGLISH ALLIANCE: Nana entered into negotiations with Haidar and Nizam, both alienated by the English. Warren Hastings counteracted the diplomacy of Nana. Nizam Ali could at best be a neutral. The Bhosles of Nagpur had not been paid by the English the *chauth* due to them for Bengal and Orissa. However, Warren Hastings made Bhosle give up his allegiance to Poona. The Bhosle played a double game. To please the Peshwa he demanded the payment of *chauth* with all arrears and invaded Bengal. But Warren Hastings bought him over before he could start on his march from Cuttack. Hastings secured free passage for British troops through Orissa from Bengal to the south. Mudhoji was the first to inform Hastings of the Maratha confederacy against the British. It was this information that helped Hastings to neutralize the effects of Nana's diplomacy. Hastings feared Haidar more than he did the Peshwa. When Hastings found that in his war with the Marathas he met with reverses, he wanted to make peace with them. Nana wanted all the parties including Haidar Ali to meet at Poona to discuss the peace plans. But this fell through because Mahadji and Haidar were in no position to leave their stations in Malwa and the Karnatic.

Through their diplomacy the English were able to conclude peace with the Marathas at Salbye (May 1782). It is unnecessary to go into the details of the seventeen articles contained in the treaty. In general it is a recognition of failure by the English. Mahadji secured a personal victory in making Hastings allow him a free hand in the management of imperial affairs. Thana and the fertile island of Salsette were lost by the Marathas permanently and the claims to the *chauth* of Bengal tacitly abandoned. This treaty secured peace between the Marathas and the English for

the next twenty years. After this treaty the centre of Indian politics shifted once again to the North.

END OF RAGHUNATHARAO: The English got tired of Raghunatharao and stopped his allowance. He retired to Kopargaum on the Godavari near Nasik. Being conscience stricken in his last days, he performed an expiatory ceremony for his complicity in the murder of his nephew, Narayanarao. He died on 11 December 1783 at the age of 48. In his relatively short life, he had done quite enough to bring misery on himself and on his people by his blind selfishness.

WARREN HASTINGS: Hastings was undoubtedly a great administrator, statesman and lover of learning, and his difficulties, some of which were his own making, were indeed very great. His wars all over India cost him a lot. He had to bribe the Bhosle and had to meet the demands of the Court of Directors whom he called 'a mine of oppressive rapacity'. In his straits for money, he resorted to unscrupulous means.

One of his acts considered to be objectionable was the Rohilla war (1773-74). The Nawab of Oudh had troubles with the Rohillas. Hastings agreed to lend the Nawab a brigade of troops. With this help the Nawab annexed the fertile province of Rohilkhand. The Rohillas were treated barbarously and Hastings was severely criticized for having hired out English troops to the Nawab of Oudh.

Hastings wanted to get rid of Nandakumar who had brought charges of corruption against him. Nandakumar was accused of forgery. He was tried and condemned to death according to English law then in vogue, for Indian law would not permit a death sentence. It was considered to be a sacrilege by the people, for Nandakumar was a Brahmin.

It is difficult to defend Hastings in another affair in which he was morally wrong. The Company was entitled to get from the Raja of Banaras an annual tribute of 22½ lacs. In 1778 when war broke out with the French. Hastings demanded from the Raja an extra sum of five lacs, a demand repeated in the succeeding year also. In spite of repeated demands, the Raja evaded the extra payments. Hastings sent troops against him and made him pay the sums with an additional sum of 20,000 for expenses. In 1780

he got from the Raja a present of two lacs which he used for equipping a force against Sindia, but kept the matter away from the Council and from the Directors. Hastings continued to make exorbitant demands in spite of the Raja's submission and when the Raja's troops rose against him, he declared that he had forfeited his territory and bestowed it on the Raja's nephew subject to a tribute of 40 lacs instead of 22½. The Select Committee that went into the matter records: 'the complication of cruelty and fraud in the transaction admits of few parallels'.

BEGUMS OF OUDH: Asaf-ud-daula fell into arrears with his subsidy to the Company and cast covetous eyes on the large fortune which his mother and grandmother commanded, and wanted to seize the treasure. Hastings, badly in need of money, helped him with troops, in the pursuit of his aim. The landed estates of the princesses were confiscated and their treasure seized. Lyall's just, if mild, verdict on this transaction is: 'The employment of personal severities under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money, from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking.'

ESTIMATE: Hastings resigned his post and left India in February 1785. In spite of his faults Hastings had a lofty sense of duty and great zeal in the service of his country. He is one of those who held that there must be power with responsibility and did his best to turn the Company's servants from rapacious adventurers to responsible officials. He gave, as we shall see later, the people an orderly rule and freedom from attack from without. His chief faults were his relentlessness in the pursuit of his aims and an almost total lack of scruple in his choice of means to attain his ends. But he was an exceptionally able administrator, and he rendered great service alike to England and India. He did away with the duel government in Bengal and its evils, annexed Banaras, placed Oudh under English protection, dissolved the coalition of the Marathas with the Nizam and Haidar Ali, and retarded the effects of Haidar Ali's alliance with the French till the Peace of Versailles put a stop to French attacks on the British in India.

Hastings was an ardent orientalist. He encouraged scientific researches, sent a mission to Tibet, and promoted the study of

Indian literature, theology, jurisprudence and science. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was started in his time. His modesty forbade him to accept the presidentship of that learned association. He made Sir William Jones its president.

In England Hastings had to face an impeachment which began in 1788 and dragged on till 1795. Though he was acquitted from all charges, he found himself ruined financially. Public opinion gradually turned in his favour. When in 1813 Hastings went to Parliament to give his opinion on the renewal of the Charter to the Company, the members stood up and received him with acclamation. He died in 1814 at the age of 86 and was interred in the Church of Daylesford, his ancestral manor.

The Maratha Dissensions

Mahadji Sindia's Domination: Mahadji Sindia was called away to the south from Delhi after the murder of Peshwa Narayanarao and was not free to turn his attention to Delhi till after the treaty of Salbye. In the intervening period of ten years, the Mughal emperor was ably assisted by Mirza Najaf Khan, an experienced soldier who knew the value of firearms and military discipline. He was, as Count de Modave records, 'a politician who stood to his composure of mind and tranquility in the midst of court intrigues directed against him'. In the emperor's cause he destroyed Jat strongholds, controlled the aggressions of Sikhs and crushed what remained of the Rohilla power. The emperor after sometime appointed Najaf Khan as Regent Plenipotentiary (*wakil-i-mutlaq*). He served in his new capacity for two years till his death in April 1782. 'With him departed the last hope of the Mughals in India.' As Sarkar observes, 'he was the last of the great gifts of Persia to mediaeval India'.

For two years after the death of Najaf Khan there were incessant conflicts among his four lieutenants. Mahadji took control of affairs at once and reduced the rebellious lieutenants. Prince Jahandar Shah, the heir to Shah Alam's throne, fell into the hands of Hastings, who from Lucknow, was casting covetous eyes on Delhi. But Jahandar gained nothing by his British alliance and ended his days as a British prisoner in Banaras. Hastings definitely gave up his plan of establishing British control over the Delhi court.

Mahadji Sindia found that Shah Alam was unreliable; nor did he get any help from Poona. He needed a strong army to establish peace and order in North India. He discovered the military genius of the Frenchman Benoit de Boigne, perhaps the most celebrated of the foreign military adventurers who sought their fortune in India at the time. De Boigne enrolled European deserters and instructed Indian recruits. He never encouraged Sindia to launch a war against the English, and Sindia understood clearly that though his army could hold its own against the Mughals, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and even the Marathas, he had no chance of success against the European regiments commanded by the British.

In appreciation of Sindia's services, the emperor made him *Wakil-i-mutlak*. But as Sindia considered himself to be only the Peshwa's deputy, he suggested to the emperor to confer the title on the Peshwa. But the emperor forced it on him. Soon Sindia found that his office was no bed of roses and Ghulam Kadir, the son of Zabita Khan, proved a thorn on his side. Cornwallis who succeeded Warren Hastings kept up friendly relations with Sindia, but told him clearly that any attempt to revive the old demands for *chauth* would be resented by the English. Sindia succeeded in coming to an understanding with the Sikhs and the chiefs of Bundelkhand. He was forced into an unsuccessful war with the Rajput confederation. The political and military situation facing Sindia appeared to be insoluble. How could he maintain the Mughal empire if the Mughal nobility and even the emperor turned against its defenders ? How could he effect the 'Hindu reconquest' if the Hindus of Rajputana turned against the Hindus of Maharashtra?

Ghulam Kadir, the enemy of Sindia, now saw his chance. He captured the city of Agra, but not its fort. Sindia's attempt to relieve Agra ended in a failure. But when he got reinforcements from Maharashtra, it became possible for him to become the master of the area between the Sutlej and the Chambal.

Ghulam in co-operation with Ismail Beg got possessions of Delhi through the treachery of the emperor's *nazir* (1788). This was the last Afghan occupation of Delhi which lasted for two and a half months. Shah Alam was deposed and blinded ten days after. Princesses were dishonoured and women and children were done to death. The palace area was ripped up throughout in the search

of hidden treasure. Sindia found that he had no friends in Delhi. His army being in arrears of pay was mutinous. Ismail Beg developed a quarrel with Ghulam Kadir and made overtures to Sindia. Sindia reconquered Delhi fort in October 1788. The blind emperor was restored to his throne. In gratitude to Sindia, Shah Alam granted him the government of Mathura and Brindavan and issued a *firman* forbidding cow-slaughter throughout his empire. Ghulam Kadir was captured and tortured to death, a sop to the outraged feelings of the emperor.

Nana Phadnis sent Ali Bahadur, a grandson of Mastani, and Tukoji Holkar to the help of Sindia. Their arrival only increased the troubles of Sindia for they were in no mood to co-operate with him. As Nana had received a separate Resident for Poona, the difference between the two Maratha leaders widened. The new Resident at Poona, Sir Charles Malet, held his post till February 1797 and endeared himself to the young Peshwa. The Maratha power would have been firmly entrenched had Sindia commanded the co-operation of Ali Bahadur and Tukoji and been thus free to play an effective part in the war against Tipu. But that did not happen. His time in the north was wholly occupied in reducing the Rajputs to obedience. By the end of 1791 all north from the Narmada to the Sutlej was nominally held by Sindia who was able to establish some kind of political order.

His victories were largely due to de Boigne's military leadership. The French commander ultimately became the 'king of Doab' with a fief fetching 27 lacs. An Indian contemporary of his said: 'He is a magician, he makes cannon with stones, rice with sand, and heroes with Hindus.' Among those in the army were French, Swiss, English, Irish and Italians. The loyalty of the soldiers was due to the regularity of pay and adequate medical aid. In 1796 de Boigne left Daulatrao Sindia's service and on going to France he died on 21 June 1830.

In order to convince Nana of his loyalty to the Poona government, Mahadji Sindia came to the south. Nana really suspected Sindia of aiming at independence when he was in the north. When he came to Poona he was accused of attempting to usurp the Maratha government. In spite of Nana's studied hostility, Mahadji Sindia was able to win the intimacy and trust of the young Peshwa. In the Peshwa's durbar Sindia behaved with great humility and impressed on the Peshwa and the Maratha leaders

his unswerving loyalty to the Poona government. Young Peshwa did his best to bring about a better understanding between Nana and Mahadji. Nana realized that he needed the help of Sindia to bring about reforms in the administration. On his side, Sindia saw that with all his limitations, Nana was the only man capable of running the Poona government, and the Peshwa succeeded in bringing out the two leaders together.

Unfortunately within a few months of the apparent restoration of unity in the Maratha State, Mahadji died after a short illness in his camp near Poona on 12 February 1794 at the age of 67. His private life was pure. He was a man in the heroic mould. With tact, moderation and patience he overcame many difficulties single-handed. If Nana had co-operated with him readily and willingly the course of history would have been undoubtedly very different, for then the Maratha dream of Hindu-Pad-Padshahi might have become a reality.

Daulatrao, an adopted son, succeeded Mahadji Sindia. The three widows of Mahadji started a war against Daulatrao, and for a time created trouble. Nizam Ali refused to pay arrears of *chauth* due to the Marathas in spite of Sir John Shore's advice to settle the dispute by negotiations. The Marathas got in concert and defeated Nizam Ali who made large promises which he never kept. Not satisfied with the results of the war with the Nizam, Peshwa wanted to take the matters into his own hands and entered into negotiations with Bajirao, son of Raghunatharao. This aroused the anger of Nana. Peshwa took ill in September 1795 and grew weaker day by day and on 25 October he suddenly left his bed and flung himself down from the balcony into a water tank hurting himself fatally. Two days later he died after designating Bajirao as his successor.

Soon intrigues on the succession to the Peshwa followed. Nana was eager to avoid the Peshwaship going to any of the sons of Raghunatharao. Daulatrao Sindia supported Bajirao. As a compromise, Sindia and Holkar were ready to support the adoption of Chinnaji Appa by Yasodabai, the widow of the late Peshwa. Now Nana came to a private understanding at Poona according to which Bajirao was to become the Peshwa and Nana his chief minister. Sindia kept Bajirao practically a prisoner in his camp at Poona. Chinnaji was made the Peshwa. Nana was not willing to give up power or retire from politics. The Poona government

came under the control of Sindia. The Nana was terribly afraid of Sindia and Bajirao, for he felt that his accumulated treasure would fall into their hands. He made efforts to secure Nizam's support. His friends advised him to leave the political field. Finding his position too difficult, Nana escaped to Mahad and continued his intrigues against Sindia and the new Poona government.

Malet who looked upon Sindia as an ally of France was ready to help Nana in any plan of humbling Sindia. The Raja of Kolhapur, Siddi of Janjira and Tipu Sultan—all sympathized with Nana. Bajirao who was in prison under Sindia entered into a secret compact with Nizam Ali promising to annul the levy imposed on him in return for his support. Nana left Mahad and went to Poona on 25 November. At the same time Raghuji Bhosle came to Poona by Nana's invitation. A hollow pact of friendship between Bajirao and Nana followed, and Bajirao was invested as Peshwa on 5 December 1796.

PESHWA BAJIRAO II: But Bajirao and Nana could not get on and the administration soon came to a standstill. Bajirao oppressed the enemies of his father with heavy taxation. At this time, there was a succession dispute among the sons of Tukoji Holkar. Tukohi had four sons, the eldest of whom was an idiot, the others were capable and brave, but there was none to direct them properly. Now Nana supported Vithoji and Yaswantrao, two sons of Tukoji. The alliance resulted in making Sindia powerful. Sindia's armed strength joined to Bajirao's wicked tendencies became now a terror to all chiefs, bankers and leaders in the Maratha State.

Bajirao asked Amritarao, his adopted half brother, who might have been a moderating influence, to go away from Poona and retire on a fixed annuity. The English invited Bajirao to revive the tripartite alliance of 1790 with Nizam against Mysore but this was rejected. Nana was arrested treacherously and detained a prisoner in Sindia's camp in Poona for three months. It was in this period that there was an organized plunder of the people of Poona, particularly the Nana's friends. Sindia and his henchmen were at the height of their power.

The widows' war continued and there was civil war in the north and the south. Bajirao sought to mediate and restore peace but failed. Nana's services were needed. He was released from

prison and requested to take charge of the government. Nana much against his will took charge of the government and insisted on Sindia going away to the north. Bajirao gave Sindia permission to depart but privately begged him not to leave him alone with Nana.

This period of history in the Maratha territory is perhaps the most confusing. The enemies of the Marathas allied themselves to bring about their downfall. Shah Alam invited the Durari king Zaman Shah to invade India and expel the Marathas from Hindustan. But Zaman Shah with an empty treasury and chronic domestic disputes could not undertake any serious task in India. Further the Sikhs were strong under young Ranjit Singh. Jasvantrao placed himself at the head of a band of robbers and ruined the fertile land of Malwa. Daulatrao Sindia defeated Jasvantrao but could not follow up the victory as his army was mutinous clamouring for the payment of arrears. Meanwhile, Wellesley was growing powerful. There was a general feeling among the Maratha leaders against the continuance of the ruinous internecine war between the two Maratha leaders, but Sindia and Holkar could not be persuaded to make peace and the war dragged on with varying results. Finally, Jasvantrao decided to compel the Peshwa to recognize Khanderao's title to the Holkar State with himself as its working chief—a scheme which as Sarkar says 'he carried to success with relentless force and practical skill... but at the cost of Maratha independence' (Sarkar).

When the fate of Tipu at the hands of the British became known, Nana warned Bajirao saying: 'Tipu is finished; the British power has increased; the whole of East India is already theirs; Poona will now be the next victim. Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny.' Wellesley tried to tempt Bajirao by offering the territory he got from Tipu if Bajirao gave up his claims to *chauth* against Mysore and entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English. Bajirao rejected the offer. Nana died some months later on 13 March 1800 at the age of 58. In the oft-quoted words of Resident Palmer: 'With Nana departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government.' His failure lay in his inability to keep Bajirao out of the Peshwaship. Bajirao and Daulatrao who were the most important leaders among the Marathas were no match for the great English administrators and diplomats of the time such as the Wellesley brothers,

Metcalfe, Close, Elphinstone, Malcolm and others. With the passing of Nana Phadnis it was easy for the British to follow their policy of expansion successfully.

The British Expansion

European affairs of the time greatly influenced the British policy in India. In 1781 England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France all over the world. Even Warren Hastings heard that the North American colonies had broken away from Britain; he said: 'It is the more incumbent upon those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the east to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss.' The fear of France was a dominant factor. Although Napoleon's descent on Egypt in 1798 ended in a failure to the French, its implied threat to British India continued to influence British policy until Napoleon's downfall. It was seriously argued that Napoleon meant to recover French ascendancy in India as a means to the subjugation of Europe. During the Napoleonic wars political unsettlement and disorder were at their height in India. The situation needed a recognition of some power as paramount. The Mughal sovereignty had now for a long time been the merest fiction. The Maratha chieftains, as we have seen, were too jealous to be just to one another to put up a united front. Petty chiefs posed themselves as independent rulers and they hastened the downfall of the Maratha power. The Nizam was an opportunist who out of fear of both Tipu in Mysore and of Marathas, was playing into the hands of the British. The adroit Nana Phadnis had managed to maintain a semblance of unity among the Maratha confederates but after his death there were suicidal divisions which favoured the British attempts at control.

TIPU: The only aggressive power was Tipu in Mysore who had inherited the energy and personal vigour of his unlettered father, but not his diplomacy and statesmanship. He was aware of his father's fruitless attempts to unite the Indian powers against the British and wrote in his *Memoirs*: 'Haidar addressed all the peoples of Hindusthan and said that their disunion favoured the perfidious English who profited by them to raise their own power in India. He implored the assistance of all the inhabitants of

Hindusthan; his ambassadors demonstrated the urgency of a general coalition against the English.'[1]

Tipu negotiated with France, Persia and Turkey and made no secret of his desire to drive the British out of India. It was also feared that Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul might make an alliance with Tipu in Mysore and aim at the re-establishment of a great Muhammadan dominion in India. But Tipu's constant hatred of the British did not lack political jurisdiction. The British officers were astonished at his desire to strengthen his country with Western science and at the flourishing conditions of the peasants of Mysore in his regime. But Tipu's natural allies deserted him in the hour of need. 'He had to face unaided the whirlwind he had raised.' 'Had the Maratha chieftains, sinking their internal differences, possessed his singleness of purpose and all-consuming hate, the final advance of British supremacy might have been long delayed' (Roberts).

In fact there was a power vacuum in India and power was a necessity in the interest of profitable British trade in India. The English merchants in England desired to share in trade with India. They were for breaking the East India Company's monopoly. They believed that if the Company was put aside, the British power could be established in India. Arguments on these lines led to the idea of securing the complete British control of India. The British believed that no Indian power should be allowed to get the ascendancy and that they alone should fill the vacuum and become supreme as much in the interests of the Indian population as of the British. So the policy of the British in India was to see that no power other than their own should be paramount. Although there was no fear of an actual French invasion of India, still the armies of the powers in India were trained by French officers who received fabulously high salaries and perhaps also hoped that it might be possible to recover the French power in India. The British were greatly exercised over the presence of the French military officers with Tipu, the Nizam and the Marathas. They found it necessary to remove these officers before they could successfully deal with the Indian powers that opposed them.

The Mysore Affairs: Haidar Ali in Mysore became strong enough to threaten Madras. In fact, he forced the Madras government to

[1] *Revolutions in India in the 18th Century or Memoirs of Tippu Sultan of Mysore* (in French), Paris, 1896, pp. 56-57.

make a treaty on terms advantageous to himself. In 1778 he swept upon the province of Madras with a vast, well-trained army slaying everyone and burning the towns and villages right under the walls of the capital. In 1780 Haidar inflicted a defeat on the British. Hastings sent Sir Iyre Coote with a strong army to put down Haidar Ali. The Nizam and the Marathas stood neutral. At Porto Novo in 1781 Haidar was badly defeated. In 1782 he died and Tipu who succeeded him continued the war for two years and then concluded a treaty at Mangalore with the British. According to this, both sides agreed to restore their conquests and release prisoners.

Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis in 1786. His reforms would be dealt with later. Cornwallis knew that Tipu was waiting for his opportunity to attempt the overthrow of the British. Under curious circumstances Cornwallis became involved in a war with Tipu. The British demanded from the Nizam the cession of Guntur district according to a treaty which he had made with the British twenty years before. But the Nizam wanted the British to give effect to another clause in the same treaty and help him to recover certain other districts which had been taken over by Haidar. Cornwallis found it impossible to repudiate his obligations to the Nizam. Now Tipu concluded that a combined attack was imminent. He attacked the British protectorate, Travancore, and thus war began. In this war Tipu was brought to bay at the gates of his capital Srirangapatan and forced to submit. Tipu had to cede to the British half of his kingdom. Cornwallis retained one third of the territory so transferred making over the rest to his allies, the Nizam and the Marathas. Those retained by the British were of great strategic importance. Cornwallis retired in 1793 at the moment when the French Republic had declared war upon England.

Sir John Shore succeeded Cornwallis. Sir John Shore (1793–98) whose avowed policy was non-intervention in Indian affairs, for once deviated from it and intervened in the affairs of Oudh. The Nawab of Oudh died in 1797 and the heir to the throne was regarded as worthless. Sir John Shore interceded in the succession dispute and installed the Nawab's brother on the throne. The new incumbent entrusted the defence of Oudh to the Company offering an annual payment of 76 lacs of rupees and the cession of the fort of Allahabad.

In May 1798 Marques Wellesley (Earl of Mornington) became the Governor-General. He was the brother of Arthur Wellesley

who became famous as the Duke of Wellington. In quickness of perception, prompt and determined action, overweening pride and contempt for opponents, few among the Governor-Generals of India could equal Wellesley. He was sincerely convinced that it was his duty to save as many millions of Indians as possible from the oppression of their rulers. In the discharge of his self-appointed task he made no secret of his contempt for the Directors who warned him against aggressive intervention in Indian politics. The kind of arrangement that the Nawab of Oudh had made with the Company, in Wellesley's hands, turned into a Subsidiary System and forced the helpless rulers in India to surrender their sovereignty and accept the British suzerainty. According to this system, the Indian ruler had to agree to disband his military forces. While continuing to manage his internal affairs, the native ruler had to rely upon the English government for external defence and internal security. He was required to dismiss all foreign officers from his employ and refrain from alliance with other princes and accept a British resident and contingent of troops for the upkeep of which the revenue of certain portion of territory should be assigned. By this vigorous policy of virtual annexation, Wellesley brought about vast changes in the political map of India. The need for peace in those days was great, and perhaps there was some justification for Wellesley's high-handedness. But his attempt to defend himself by legal arguments and his pretence that he was acting according to engagements and keeping promises will not bear examination. Nor could his aggression be justified on the ground that he brought good government and security to life and property for the weakness of the Subsidiary System lay in the fact 'that the ruler being guaranteed in the possession of his dominion but deprived of all essential attributes of sovereignty lost that stimulus to that good government which is supplied by fear of rebellion and deposition and in nearly all the states the people suffered by the change'.[2]

In the course of six years of his Governor-Generalship Wellesley made vaster conquests than those of Napoleon. He closed India to the French, destroyed the Muslim power of Mysore, dethroned the dynasties of Surat, Karnatic and Tanjore, dismembered the *cities* of Oudh, the Nizam, Peshwa, Bhosle, Sindia and Holkar,

[2] H. G. Rawlinson, *A Concise History of India*, p. 289.

doubled the extent of the Company's territory, linked up Madras with Bengal, took the Mughal emperor under the Company's protection and put into practice the theory of English suzerainty. We shall briefly refer to his minor annexations before we pass on to his dealings with Tipu Sultan and the Marathas. He compelled Sarfoji, the Raja of Tanjore, to sign a subsidiary treaty by which he accepted an annuity for himself and resigned charge of the administration of his State. When there was a change of succession in Surat, Wellesley pensioned off the Nawab and assumed control of his territory. For a long time, the Nawab of Karnatic had been causing trouble by his misrule. When Wellesley discovered some evidence at Srirangapatan that the Nawab had entered into correspondence with Tipu, he made it the pretext to terminate the Nawab's rule and annex his territories. When a son of Muhammad Ali, who was the Nawab, died (1801) his son was given a pension amounting to one-fifth of the revenue and Wellesley got charge of the government of the Karnatic. In Oudh, the subsidiary was not in arrears, but Wellesley demanded and obtained the surrender of northern districts between the Ganges and Jumna and Rohilkhand, roughly half of his dominions for the maintenance of a vastly increased subsidiary force. Oudh was thus surrounded by a belt of British territory abutting on the Himalayas and coterminous with Sindia's dominions in Northern India. All the vassals of the Nawab lost their territories (1801–03).

The Directors of the Company were uneasy with the vast extension of their territory in India made by Wellesley. Besides this, there were other causes of difference between them. The appointments and emoluments conferred by Wellesley on his two brothers caused comment which Wellesley resented. He founded the Fort William College for the training of civilians in Indian languages without obtaining the previous sanction of the Directors. By two treaties of Teheran he made the Shah of Persia agree to help the English in the event of a French or Afghan menace to the British power in India and himself promised to help the Shah in case of need against the French and Afghans. This was again without reference to the Directors. But when Wellesley declared his intention to resign early in 1802, the Directors asked him to continue for another year and Wellesley agreed to do so as he found that a war with the Marathas was inevitable.

TIPU AND WELLESLEY: Having lost half of his dominions Tipu was burning with hatred of the English. The Governor of Mauritius issued a proclamation calling for recruits in response to Tipu's appeal and about a hundred semi-French rabble landed at Mangalore at the same time as Wellesley landed in Madras on his way from England to Calcutta. This gave sufficient justification for Wellesley to take sternest measures against Tipu. Wellesley could not start the war at once as Madras was not ready with the finances or forces. Some months of correspondence intervened 'of the most sweepingly dishonest cordiality on both sides'. That was the time when Napoleon Bonaparte arrived in Egypt. Wellesley sought the alliance of the Marathas in vain. Daulatrao Sindia was not prepared to dismiss his French generals. Wellesley demanded that Tipu should severe his connections with the French and enter into the Subsidiary Alliance with the British. Tipu refused Wellesley's offer and war began.

Two armies invaded Mysore simultaneously. Tipu's army was defeated and Tipu took refuge in Srirangapatan. His capital was taken by assault on 4 May 1799. Tipu fell fighting in the thick of the fray, desperately wounded and 'killed by a British soldier anxious to detach the gold buckle of his sword belt'. The success of this war brought the British Kanara, Coimbatore, Srirangapatan and some districts in the east so that Mysore came to be surrounded by British territory on all sides, except the north. The Nizam was given some lands in the north-east. The Peshwa declined to accept his share for it was offered to him under conditions which he could not accept consistent with his dignity, and this too was divided between the Company and the Nizam. A child of the old Hindu family of Mysore was made king of Mysore proper and Tipu's sons duly provided. Tipu's sons were disqualified for the succession because the British had declared Tipu as a usurper. The New Mysore region entered into the Subsidiary Alliance with the British.

BAJIRAO AND THE BRITISH: The Marathas occupied a large place on the political map of India at this time. They treated the English as their chief enemy and resisted all their attempts to entangle them into a subsidiary treaty. But their internal dissensions helped Wellesley to succeed in his diplomacy. Bajirao, the Peshwa was unable to effect a reconciliation between Daulatrao Sindia and

Jaswantrao Holkar. Both of them were unfriendly towards the Peshwa. Jaswantrao wanted the Peshwa to make him the virtual head of the Holkar State. Bajirao rejected the advice of Raghuji Bhosle to make an honourable peace with Jaswant and issued orders to confiscate the entire estate of the Holkars. Jaswant retaliated by ravaging the Peshwa's territories relentlessly. He marched straight upon Poona which he reached on the Divali day, 25 October 1802, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Peshwa's ill-equipped forces. The same evening the Peshwa fled to Konkan and, avoiding the pursuing bands of Sindia's soldiers, he reached Bassein and took refuge in an English ship. On the last day of 1802, in spite of the warnings of his brother Chinnaji, Bajirao signed the treaty of Bassein acknowledging the English overlordship in full. Now it became the duty of the English to restore Bajirao in his government in Poona. Jaswantrao after his victory occupied Poona and set up a Council of Administration which was supported by all except the Gaikwar who had already accepted the suzerainty of the British by a separate treaty on 29 July 1802. It was not possible for the Council of Administration to get Vinayak Bapu, Amritarao's son to be made the Peshwa according to their plan. Meanwhile, Jaswantrao was hard put for money. He had not enough resources to give battle to the British. Realizing Jaswant's difficulties, Colonel Close, with characteristic chicanery, invited Jaswant to show his friendship to the English and loyalty to Bajirao by quitting Poona. Jaswant left Poona on 25 February. Col. Wellesley entered Poona on 20 April and sent word to Col. Close at Bassein. Bajirao was restored to his capital on 13 May peacefully and in the midst of rejoicings.

The English Force a War on the Marathas: Bajirao cut off Amritarao's allowance of seven lacs, but Col. Wellesley had it restored to him. Amritarao showed his gratitude by intercepting a letter of Sindia to the Peshwa and forwarding it to Col. Wellesley who in his turn sent it to Holkar. In this letter Sindia had written to Bajirao that after the war with the English he would join the Peshwa and the Bhosle to destroy Jaswant. The discovery of this letter was of great importance, because it destroyed all chances of common action among the Maratha chiefs. Now the English argued that as the Peshwa, their suzerain, had accepted the subsidiary alliance, it was incumbent on his feudatories to follow suit. Sindia

and Holkar were asked to withdraw their forces to the north of the Narmada. Even in this crisis, the Maratha chieftains were unable to compose their differences and take decisive action.

So far as Bajirao was concerned, the subsidiary alliance proved to be fatal to his own cause for it brought about a war of the English against his friends, Sindia and Bhosle. Jaswant refused to join the coalition against the English and Wellesley's preparations for the war left nothing to chance. It took nearly a year and a half for the hostilities to begin. In this period an efficient system of administration was worked out under Henry Wellesley, another brother of the Governor-General. General Lake, Commander-in-Chief, carefully prepared his army for the war. Col. Wellesley organized an excellent system of transport with the aid of Mysore. The plan was to attack on all assailable parts of Maratha dominions. The chief theatres were 'the Doab where Perron had to be crushed and the Deccan where Daulatrao and Raghuji Bhosle were present in person'. The British had no difficulty in winning over Maratha allies and vassals who had been suffering from Maratha rapacity and want of statesmanship. On the eve of the war, the Governor-General issued a proclamation that Europeans and Americans in the service of Sindia and his confederates should give up the service and deliver themselves to the nearest British military officers. Such deserters were promised employment with equal employments or other adequate compensation. The British subjects who failed to do so were threatened with prosecution for treason. The effect of this proclamation was a general withdrawal of most European offices which crippled the fighting power of Sindia's forces. Here is an instance to show European disloyalty and treachery when their selfish interest clashed with duty. The French officers on whom the Marathas relied wanted only retirement from India with their accumulated wealth. All this the British promised. Perron and others abandoned their posts leaving the troops to their fate.

LAKE'S CAMPAIGN: It is not necessary to get into the details of the Lake's campaign in this war. At Aligarh his troops suffered heavy casualties, but he got large quantities of military stores and hundreds of guns stored there besides 70 lacs in cash.

Rightly did Napoleon decline to see Perron who on his return home tried to contact Napoleon as he was a 'traitor to his profession'. It was the treacherous conduct of this Frenchman and others

like him that assured the English the supremacy of Hindustan. The British succeeded in promoting discontent and disaffection among Sindia's troops. At a critical moment they deserted him. Lake got success after success. He crossed over to Delhi on 14 September 1803, met on 16 September Shah Alam 'blind and aged, stripped of authority and reduced to poverty, seated under a small battered canopy, the fragment of regal state and the mockery of human pride'. After a few days, Lake reached Agra, the real capital of Sindia. There too it was the same story, European desertion, desperate resistance by rank and file, and final surrender (18 October).

LASWARI: Ambaji Ingle who after Perron was the deputy of Sindia tried to carve out a principality for himself, independent of Sindia. He looted villages and everything possible to create conditions favourable for British success. Lake's army marched to attack the Marathas near the village of Laswari 20 miles due east of Alwar city. 'It was entirely a battle between Hindusthanis on both sides. ...The only soldiers of the Marathas...some 1,200 or 1,300 Deccan cavalry under Gulab Rai Kadam...made only a theatrical show by shouting and brandishing their swords from a safe distance and fled...without striking one blow in support of their infantry brethren' (Sarkar). After this victory, however, the English could not pursue the enemy for they had suffered heavy losses in officers and men. Though defeated, the Maratha army fought so well that Lake said: 'I never was in so serious a business in my life, or anything like it. Their gunners stood to their guns until killed by the bayonet. These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes.'

WELLESLEY'S CAMPAIGN: In the south, Col. Wellesley got the help of the Muslim *jagirdars* against the Marathas. He captured Ahmadnagar in the name of the Peshwa (9–12 August 1803). Sindia and Bhosle hoped in vain to persuade the Peshwa to dismiss his English protectors and revive the independent Maratha State. The British army kept marching hither and thither to keep the Marathas on the run. At Assaye about 45 miles north of Aurangabad Col. Wellesley won a hard fought battle. The losses on both sides were heavy. It was Raghuji's cowardice that led to the defeat of Sindia and Sindia retaliated by leaving Bhosle severely alone when the English attacked him at Argaon in November.

TREATIES OF DEOGAON AND SARJI ANJANGAON: After several serious losses, Bhosle and Sindia had to own failure and make peace with the British. By the treaty of Deogaon (17 December 1803) Bhosle ceded Orissa to the English besides surrendering all territory to the west of Wardha river except a territory worth four lacs a year. He entered into the Subsidiary Alliance. Daulatrao signed the treaty of Sarji Anjangaon on 30 December 1803. He surrendered almost all his territory in North India. In the south, the territories to the south of Ajanta hills were also given up. Sindia gave up all the claims on the British, the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Gaikwar and confirmed all the treaties made by the British with his feudatories. He agreed to submit his disputes with the Peshwa to British decision and to entertain no European, American or British Indian subject in his service without the consent of the English. The most important thing which assured British power as the source of legitimacy was that Sindia was made to renounce all his claims upon emperor Shah Alam II. The Governor-General carefully avoided entering into a treaty with Shah Alam whose jurisdiction was now confined to the interior of the palace fort of Delhi. The Mughal emperor ceased to exist except as a pensioner of the British. Even the territories set apart for his maintenance were administered by the British Resident like any district of the Company's possession.

WAR WITH HOLKARS: Jaswant made a belated attempt to oppose the English in Rajputana. The English rejected all the claims of Jaswant to collect *chauth*. Holkar threatened that he would plunder and burn mercilessly if his demands were not met. The Polygar War 'as it was described by Arthur Wellesley developed into a series of nasty reverses'. Although Holkar had some initial successes he was not able to take Delhi. He devasted the Doab and entered Oudh. Finally, Lake defeated Holkar near Farrukhabad and besieged him in Dig. Ranjit Singh, Jat ruler of Bharatpur and Sindia in secret helped Holkar against the English but it was too late for them to retrieve the position. When Lake took Dig, Jaswant and Ranjit Singh shut themselves in the fort of Bharatpur. After nearly four months of siege, the British abandoned the siege with losses of their men and prestige. The British were obliged to make peace with the Jat Raja on his agreeing to pay an indemnity of 20 lacs.

Recall of Wellesley: The Directors of the Company were waiting for an opportunity to recall Wellesley. When they heard of his reverses they sent out Lord Cornwallis again to replace him. Wellesley had the glory of having built up British dominions in India on the foundations that had been laid down by Clive, Warren Hastings and Cornwallis.

The End of the Maratha Rule and the British Supremacy

Reversal of Wellesley's Policy: Lord Cornwallis who succeeded Wellesley died in (July-October 1805). Sir George Barlow who became the Governor-General was a conscientious man of mediocre ability. His policy of non-intervention is described by Metcalfe as 'disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace without tranquility'. To please Sindia the English gave up their alliance with the Rajput princes and undertook to enter into no engagements with their tributaries or interfere in his conquests from Holkar between the Tapti and Chambal. Gwalior and Gohad were given back to Sindia.

Jaswantrao Holkar was thus deserted by Sindia. Holkar expected Ranjit Singh to support him when he was driven by Lake. But Ranjit Singh entered into a treaty with the English and Holkar was therefore also obliged to enter into a treaty with the British (24 December 1805). He gave up all claims to territories north and west of the Chambal. His other possessions were guranteed to him. Lord Lake who resented the policy of Barlow resigned his post and retired to England.

There was a civil war in Rajputana for the hand of the lovely princess Krishnakumari of Udaipur which ended only with her death by poison (1810). This was one of the results of having allowed the Marathas a free hand in Rajputana. Jaswant had no capacity for civil administration. Being harassed by financial worries and shocked by the death of Khanderao (1806), he fell into a fit of insanity. He died on 28 October 1811, at the early age of 30. As Sardesai observes: 'His short career of nine years is packed with daring incidents and hair-breath escapes.'

The Subjection of Peshwa: Bajirao unmindful of the dissolution of the Maratha State brought about by Wellesley began to lead a life of ease and pleasure. He oppressed the subjects with heavy

exactions and depended on the English for his protection against all trouble. He now realized the folly of having bartered his rights as the Head of the State. In vain did he contest against the careful administrative acts of the English. He came into conflict with the *jagirdars* when he took their lands to raise his own revenue. Elphinstone who was the Resident got the sanction of the Governor-General to bring about a peaceful settlement between Bajirao and the Jagirdars. The personal security of the Jagirdars was ensured and the British reserved the right of making separate treaties with them. The relations of the Raja of Kolhapur with the Government of Bombay and with the Peshwa were also defined by treaty after a show of force (1 October 1812).

In 1807 Earl of Minto I became the Governor-General. He modified the policy of non-intervention, although his methods were not so high-handed as those of Wellesley. Ranjit Singh, Sikh king of the Punjab, was seeking to extend his power to the east of Sutlej. Some of the Sikh chiefs between the Sutlej and Jumna called him in, while others applied to the English Resident in Delhi for protection (1808). Minto sent Metcalfe to propose a defensive and offensive alliance with Ranjit Singh and Metcalfe 'astutely made non-interference in his designs east of the Sutlej the price of an alliance against the French' (Roberts). By the Treaty of Amritsar, April 1809, Ranjit Singh agreed to confine himself to the west of Sutlej. Ranjit Singh kept his treaty till his death.

Although Napoleon met with severe naval disasters, the British in India feared a possible Franco-Russian invasion across Persia. Minto sent embassies to Tehran and Peshawar for treaties of mutual aid against the French. At the same time the Crown envoy secured a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the Shah of Persia. The Afghan Amir Shah Shuja made a treaty with the English at Peshawar by which he agreed to oppose any French or Persian attempts to reach India through his country. But his treaty became useless as Shah Shuja was driven from the throne. In 1810 there broke out a war between France and Russia and the possibility of Franco-Russian invasion of India disappeared. This gave the English an opportunity to conquer, not only the French possessions in the east, but also those of all the countries forced by Napoleon into his system.

NEPAL WAR: Marquis of Hastings became the Governor-General in 1813. In his regime of nearly ten years he succeeded in establishing British supremacy in India almost according to Wellesley's plans. Nepal became his first concern. The Gurkha hillmen were aggressive in their policy of nibbling the frontiers of Bengal and Oudh. Hastings planned the campaign, designed to attack four different points on a frontier of 600 miles. The English had bitter experience in this war. Metcalfe lamented saying: 'In some instances our troops, European and Native, have been repulsed by inferior numbers with sticks and stones. In others our troops have been charged by the enemy sword in hand, and driven for miles like a flock of sheep.' The Gurkhas demonstrated how, if they fought with a sense of patriotism, even stones and sticks were enough to defend their country against the British attack. Finally, however, when the British renewed their attack, the Gurkhas were obliged to enter into the treaty of Sagauli (March 1816) by which the English got Garhwal, Kumaun and a good part of the Tarai. The most distasteful thing for the Gurkhas was to accept an English Resident at Kathmandu, their capital. The English made a separate treaty with the Raja of Sikkim. The Gurkhas were allowed to be enlisted in the Indian army. Thus the Gurkhas and the British learnt to respect each other.

WAR AGAINST PINDARIS AND MARATHA CHIEFS: The financial distress of the British government caused by wars made them think of conquests of fresh territories for the maintenance of their forces. The initial reverses of the English in Nepal war roused the Maratha rulers to revive their anti-English activities. Even Bajirao, on the advice of his favourites, Khursetji Modi and Trimbakji Dengle, planned to get rid of British overlordship. The Pathan leader, Amir Khan, got ready to fish in troubled waters.

PINDARIS: The Pindaris were spreading their devastating raids all over the country from Central India. They were of no common race or religion and included Afghans, Marathas, Arabs, Jats, members of the criminal tribes and outlaws of every description. One of the effects of the spreading of the Subsidiary System under Wellesley was to swell the ranks of the Pindaris, for no arrangement had been made to rehabilitate the disbanded troops. The Pindaris out of necessity had to live by plunder. They were a menace to

society and the villagers were terribly afraid of them. The English government agreed to the extirpation of the Pindaris and the hunt for them became merged in what is known as the Third Maratha War. Hastings asked the Maratha chiefs, and Sindia in particular, to co-operate with him in the drive against the Pindaris. The Pindaris lived mostly in Malwa and so Hastings brought the Rajput States under British protection. Former treaties with Holkar and Sindia were abrogated so that the British might have full freedom of action in Rajputana and Malwa. Sindia was compelled not to assist the Pindaris. Amir Khan, the Pathan leader, was allowed to make peace before the operations against the Pindaris commenced. He was given a principality carved out of Holkar's territory and made Nawab of Tonk.

MURDER OF GANGADHAR SASTRI: Holkar was dissatisfied with the English because a part of his territory was given to Amir Khan. The Peshwa attempted to reassert his suzerainty. He claimed from the Gaikwar large sums of money as arrears of tribute and succession fees. There was a dispute over the share of the Peshwa in Gujarat, particularly relating to Ahmedabad. This territory had been transferred by the Peshwa to Trimbukji (October 1814). In order to settle the dispute Fatesinh, the Gaikwar, sent his representative Gangadhar Sastri to Poona under a guarantee of his personal safety from the Bombay government.

Sastri was a learned but tactless man and a friend of the British. He left Poona because he had a quarrel with Nana Phadnis and through the influence of the British rose to a position, next only to the Prime Minister of the Gaikwar. In Baroda there was an anti-British party which hated Sastri. When Sastri arrived in Poona in 1814, the Peshwa was unwilling either to settle the dispute or to let him go back for fear of reprisals from the English. Elphinstone noting the intrigues in the Poona court advised Sastri to go back; but Sastri stayed on, starting fresh negotiations and accepted the offer of the Peshwa's wife's sister in marriage to his son. But the marriage did not come off. Fatesinh refused to part with territory to the Peshwa and Sastri did not know how to wriggle out of the situation. On the evening of 20 July 1815 Sastri visited a temple at the invitation of Trimbukji. While returning he was hacked to pieces by a band of armed men. That there was a plot against the life of Gangadhar Sastri in the Gaikwar's court is a fact, but there

was no clear evidence to show who the murderers were. However, Elphinstone on circumstantial evidence concluded that Trimbukji and Bajirao were responsible for the murder of Sastri and their accomplices had perhaps come from Baroda. Now Elphinstone used this opportunity to bring to book Bajirao and his adviser, Trimbukji. Under orders of the Governor-General, Elphinstone demanded the surrender of Trimbukji within 24 hours. Bajirao was unwilling to comply. However, by force of circumstances, he had to hand over Trimbukji to the English. Trimbukji was kept in custody at Thana from where he effected his escape a year later.

The Peshwa while organizing a rebellion to be led by Trimbukji made Elphinstone believe that he was very friendly to the British. Realizing this, Elphinstone sought permission to open hostilities against Bajirao. A proclamation was issued by the Peshwa for the arrest of Trimbukji under pressure from Elphinstone. The anti-British feelings were running high among Indian rulers at this time. Elphinstone who had organized a splendid system of espionage kept himself posted with the secret correspondence and movements of the Maratha chiefs. Suspecting Bajirao, Elphinstone, with the permission of the Governor-General, compelled Bajirao to sign a treaty. According to this, the Peshwa had to declare Trimbukji to be the murderer of Gangadhar Sastri, cede to the English all his territory outside Maharashtra and give up his overlordship and submit himself to the position of a vassal under the British. These were terms which Bajirao could not help accepting however much he disliked them.

In Nagpur Raghuji's brother's son, Appasaheb was induced by the British Resident to sign the Subsidiary Alliance with the English on 27 April 1816. The rest of the Bhosles and several of the big officials accused Appasaheb of having sacrificed the independence of the State. Appasaheb fearing for his life took refuge in the suburban camp of the subsidiary forces. From there it appears he plotted against the life of Parasoji, son of Raghuji. On 1 February 1817 Parsoji was found dead in his bed. The British Resident, Jenkins, enquired into the death and found no proof of murder. Appasaheb, however, did not like the subsidiary alliance. He made friends with the Pindari leader Cheetu and gathered troops to aid the Peshwa in his plans. This made the British take action against the Pindaris who numbered 23,000. The Pindaris were

defeated and a good number of them slain. Some of them fled 'to the jungles of Udaipur. On the offer of amnesty, some of their leaders submitted to the British and agreed to serve accepting small emoluments. Cheetu, the most formidable of them was relentlessly pursued till he was devoured by a tiger in a jungle near Asirgarh.

End of Bajirao: Bajirao was treated leniently, but his request to the Resident that he should countermand the measures he had taken for his own security was not complied with. The Poona Resident was attacked by large bodies of Maratha horses, burnt down with Elphinstone's precious library, though Elphinstone and his staff managed to escape. At the battle of Kirkee, the British won a victory. The Peshwa fled south, but he was pursued and defeated in several engagements. Bajirao long evaded capture. His general Bapu Gokhale fought valiantly against the British but was unfortunately killed in a battle on 19 February 1818. Poona was occupied by the British (17 November 1817). Imitating Bajirao, Appasaheb attacked the Nagpur Residency. However, his rebellion was put down and he was captured prisoner. He was condemned as the murderer of his nephew and ordered to be confined in the fort of Allahabad. But on his way he escaped. A grandson of Raghuji, called Raghuji Bapusahib, was installed as new ruler in Nagpur (October 1818). At Indore, Tulasibai, the talented widow of Jaswant, was regent. Daulatrao Sindia was hostile to her. The English wanted to help her but the Pathan leaders who had control of her army compelled her to open hostilities. But when Amer Khan deserted, the army leaders felt that Tulasibai would betray them to the British. So they killed the unhappy woman. At that time, the British closed in on them and they were defeated. Holkar was compelled to sign a treaty and surrender a large part of his territory, and agree to maintain the subsidiary force.

In February 1818 a proclamation was issued setting out the case against Bajirao and declaring him unfit to rule. The British took care to placate Maratha sentiment by assuring the Raja of Satara personal security and giving him increased territory for his maintenance. Bajirao's fate was sealed and his followers deserted him in large numbers. On 3 June 1818, he surrendered to the British. Bajirao was forced to live in Bithur, a place near Kanpur. To this place he went in February 1819 and lived in virtual internment till he died (28 January 1851).

In private life Bajirao was not without accomplishments, but his utter lack of morality was inexcusable. As he happened to be the last representative of the glorious line of the Peshwas, the notoriety of the dissolutions of the Maratha empire naturally attaches itself to him. But in fact, as we have already shown, the disruption had begun decades before Bajirao became the Peshwa. His instinct to punish his father's enemies overcame his caution in his dealings with the old Maratha chiefs. The loss of Bapu Gokhale was a serious blow to Bajirao. The much maligned Trimbukji showed unstinted loyalty to Bajirao and Bajirao's affection for him brought him into trouble with the English. Trimbukji's one fault was that he was an inveterate enemy of the English. It was natural for any one in Bajirao's position to seek to free himself from the bondage of the Subsidiary Alliance. What is duplicity in Bajirao has come to be regarded as diplomacy in the case of the British. If a treaty once entered into should be regarded as inviolable, the British were as much to blame as Bajirao, judged by their refusal to assist Haidar Ali against the Marathas, their imposition of the terms of the revised treaty of Subsidiary Alliance on the Nawab of Oudh and the way in which they steadily reduced the pension promised to the Mughal emperor. It must be remembered that political conduct is mostly governed by expediency and necessity of the situation.

Among those who joined the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 was Bajirao's adopted son named Nana Saheb. Trimbukji was caught and imprisoned for the rest of his life in Chunar. Bajirao's forfeited territory was made over to the Raja of Satara. The rest of the Peshwa's territory became part of the Presidency of Bombay. Thus ended the Maratha power which had been supreme in the Deccan.

Hastings retired in 1823. He completed the work of Wellesley in India. 'He was an able administrator, a hard and conscientious worker, a good judge of men.'

CHAPTER XXI

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Company Government up to 1818

THE progressive substitution of British rule in India in different parts of the country became the main task of the Company. The Directors of the Company had come to enjoy at home a patronage which tended to become larger than that of the British government and there were rival groups which were up against the power and influence of the Company. There was a growing realization among the public in England and the members of the Parliament that it was not altogether right to leave millions of Indians to the care of a Company which thought more of its trade and dividends than of the well-being of the people. But the English ministry was by no means ready to place the government of Indian territories under the king and his ministers and was satisfied with the Company's payment of stipulated amounts to the treasury. Till 1773 the Company had a free hand in the government of Indian territories.

The British had succeeded in acquiring large territories in India owing to a set of peculiarly favourable circumstances. Leading British statesmen both in England and India felt that the very circumstances that had favoured them in India might at any time turn against them. Metcalfe thought 'the British possessions in India were precarious'. Elphinstone considered that 'the belief that our Indian empire will not be long lived is reason and not prejudice', while Malcolm wrote, 'in an empire like that of India we are always in danger'.[1]

British statesmen found it necessary to evolve a policy to administer the territories in India in a way favourable both for the Company and the British government in England. The keynote of the policy was profitable trade. Conditions favourable for rebellion

[1] Cited by Spear, *India*, p. 235.

or revolution were almost wiped out by the system of Subsidiary Alliance and the extirpation of the Pindaris. The administrative set-up had to be reorganized so as to eliminate corruption among officials and oppression of ryots and at the same time ensure efficient collection of revenue and peace and order for the purpose of trade and commerce.

BENGAL: When Hastings was appointed governor of Fort William, he found that there was a complete breakdown of the 'dual system' established by Clive and the Company's servants abused their trading privileges and extorted illegal gratifications from the Indians. In 1769-70, a severe famine swept away one-third of the population of the Bengal and caused misery to the survivors. There were no liberal tax remissions nor were there relief works. It was not till after the Permanent Settlement of 1793 that Bengal could recover its former prosperity.

Hastings began to reform the administration. He put an end to the dual system. The Court of Directors decided that they would henceforth be *diwans* and employ their own servants to collect the revenue. The offices of Deputy Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar were abolished and a Board of Revenue came into existence. The treasury was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and the Nawab's allowance was cut from 32 to 16 lacs. A quinquennial settlement of the land was effected in 1772. English officials who afterwards came to be called collectors displaced the Mughals in high office and they were aided by Indian assistants. From 1779 to 1793 there were annual settlements of revenue in Bengal. Civil law was dispensed by the collectors and criminal justice continued in Indian hands. Two Courts of Appeal were set up in Calcutta, one civil, presided over by the Governor and two members of Council, the other criminal under an Indian judge. It was Warren Hasting's system of civil administration upon which Lord Cornwallis raised the superstructure.

REGULATING ACT: Public opinion among the members of the Parliament urged that the Company's affairs in India should be controlled. The enquiries by Parliamentary Committee revealed corruption and mismanagement of the Company's administration in India. Parliamentary control seemed to be inevitable. The Company's financial position was so low that it had to apply for a

huge loan to the Parliament. Now the British government seized this opportunity to begin to control the affairs of the Company in India. Two laws were passed in 1773, one granted the Company the loan which they required and directed them to limit their dividends and submit accounts to the Treasury. The other is known as the Regulating Act. According to this, the Directors were to be elected for four years, one-fourth of their number retiring every year and remaining out of office at least for one year. A Governor-General of Bengal with a Council of four members was to be appointed. Decisions were to be taken by a majority of the members of the Council with the Governor-General having a casting vote in cases of equal division. The Directors of the Company were to lay all their correspondence before the government, the part dealing with revenue before the Treasury and the rest before a Secretary of State. The first Governor-General and Councillors who were to hold office for five years were named in the Act, but all future appointments were left to be made by the Company. A Supreme Court of Judicature with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges was set up at Calcutta, but neither the law it had to administer nor its jurisdiction was defined.

Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General. He was in a minority and had an enemy in Francis, one of the Councillors. The Supreme Court and the Council came to open quarrel by the end of 1779. The Council told the zamindars to ignore the Supreme Court and the judges of the Supreme Court held the Governor-General and Council guilty of contempt of court. To avoid such quarrels, in 1781 an Act was passed exempting the Governor-General and the Council from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

In 1784 Pitt's India Act was passed making the Company definitely a subordinate Department of State except in regard to its patronage and its commerce. According to this Act, a Board of six commissioners called 'Commissioners for the Affairs of India' but popularly known as the 'Board of Control' was established. This consisted of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the principal Secretaries of State and four Privy Councillors. But in practice the real power passed to the President of this 'Board of Control'. The powers of the Governor-General over the subordinate presidencies were enlarged so as to include all questions of war, revenue and diplomacy. The power of appointing or

recalling him however rested with the Directors of the Company. There was thus a cumbrous and dilatory double government of Crown and Company which continued unaltered till 1858.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS: An Act of 1786 legalized the appointment of Lord Cornwallis both as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief and permitted him to override the majority in his Council in emergencies. His financial probity was exceptionally high and he dealt firmly with administrative abuses. He enlarged the salaries of the Bengal Civil Service and also allowed them a percentage and gave them less than one per cent on the revenue collections and left them no further excuse for speculation. Cornwallis had very great difficulty in putting down corruption as sometimes even the Directors of the Company colluded with their servants in India and encouraged their nefarious activities.

He separated the executive and judicial functions of the Company's servants and ruled that the offices of collector and magistrate should not be united. However, Lord Hastings found the separation inconvenient and so reversed it.

The bulk of revenue then came as land revenue. There was a system of annual leases which led to frequent overbidding by revenue farmers. It was also difficult to collect arrears of payment and Parliament required the Court of Directors by an Act of 1784 to give up the annual leases and frame 'permanent rules' of land revenue. Cornwallis introduced the permanent revenue settlement in 1793 with the support of Prime Minister Pitt. While some hailed it as a brave and wise measure, there were others who condemned it as a sad blunder. The zamindars often defaulted and their estates were sold in public auction. The purchasers were selfish and greedy, and so the ryots were put to a lot of trouble. After a few years, however, the position of the zamindars improved and the permanent settlement brought prosperity to Bengal. In this system, the zamindars who by accident had become leaseholders turned into permanent landowners and the ryots lost their ownership of the lands. It was possible for the zamindars to gain enormously at the expense of the State for even when prices rose high, the zamindars paid the same amount to the State. In 1859, the Bengal Land Act was passed which gave to the ryots some relief from the exorbitant collections of the zamindars. There was nothing before to

restrict the zamindars from increasing land revenue from the ryots, but now there was a check.

Cornwallis began the Europeanization of all the higher administrative posts. The European functionaries who had taken to Indian ways of living were distrusted by the higher officials of the Company. The Indian officials were distrusted as a matter of course. Cornwallis did away with the old criminal courts manned by Muslim officers and administering Muslim law, and created four provincial Courts of Appeal at Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. Each had three judges. The *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* continued to be the final Court of Appeal. Cornwallis did away with the rule against the capital conviction of a Muslim on the evidence of a non-Muslim, and substituted imprisonment for mutilation and made other salutary changes.

He reformed the police system dividing each district into Thanas under a *daroga* and placed the whole police force under the direct control of the District Magistrate. Superintendents of the police were appointed over the districts. For civil justice, an ascending hierarchy of courts was set up. Four provincial Civil Courts of Appeal each under three European judges were established. These judges were assisted by Indian assessors. Above all these courts was the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* consisting of the Governor-General and the members of the Council. Cornwallis did his best to establish rule of law and order. This however led to an enormous increase of litigation. It was Cornwallis that laid the foundations of British administration in India by improving the status of the Covenanted Civil Service, by the permanent settlement of land revenue and by the organization of judicial administration. He retired in 1793. His administration created a favourable impression about the Company to the British government, and so when the Company requested a renewal of its monopoly of the Indian trade for another twenty-four years, it was granted. But the merchants of the seaports and manufacturing towns of Britain opposed the grant and some minor concessions were given for limited export trade.

Wellesley started the Fort William College in 1800 to give poor young men coming from England a good grounding in their future responsibilities in the Indian Civil Service. This college raised the level of the Company administration in India, but it was short-lived as the Directors had not been consulted. In England, Haileybury College was founded in 1806 to serve the same purpose.

Some thoughtless changes in military attire including the manner of trimming beards and the abandonment of caste marks were taken by the sepoys in Vellore to be attempts at converting them to Christianity and so they rose in mutiny. This was suppressed and Tipu's sons then residing in Vellore were taken to Madras and then to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras at the time, was recalled (1806).

Minto, the Governor-General (1807–15), forbade propagandist preaching in Calcutta by the Baptist missionaries and compelled them to agree to a censorship of their publications.

CHARTER OF 1813: The Company's charter was due to expire in April 1814. In 1812, a Parliamentary Committee of enquiry sent up its momentous report on the administration of the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. The monopoly of the Indian trade was strongly opposed although there was no inclination to disturb the political power or patronage of the Court of Directors. So by the Charter of 1813 the Company's government of India was confirmed for twenty years from April 1814. An annual allotment of £10,000 was set apart for the encouragement of education, literature and science among the inhabitants of the 'British territories in India—the first recognition of the duty of government towards ameliorating the intellectual and moral condition of the people'. The commerce of India was thrown open to all and only the China trade was reserved in which tea was the chief item.

In the time of Lord Hastings the working out of the Ryotwari system of land revenue in Madras under Sir Thomas Munro deserves mention. In Bengal a limited occupancy right by prescription was given to the ryots as against the zamindars who were required not to raise rents arbitrarily. Hastings incurred the displeasure of the Directors because he refused to interfere in the matter of William Palmer and Company, in Hyderabad. These were moneylenders who grew enormously powerful charging high interests for the loans given to the Nizam. Hastings resigned in 1821 though he stayed on in India till the end of 1822.

It was not until the Charter Act of 1813 that the political and commercial accounts of the Company got separated. Lord Hastings stopped the presentation of *nazars* to the Mughal as inconsistent with the paramount authority of the British in India. A currency of 'sicca' rupee bearing the name and titles of the Mughal emperor,

Shah Alam, continued till it was terminated in 1835 when a new silver coinage with European devices was introduced throughout British India.

The government of the Company was on the whole the revival of the Mughal Raj with an emphasis on trade. They maintained the same hierarchy of officials. Foreign agents were employed by the Company as they had been by the Mughals. The Governor-General in Council lived in pomp and splendour as the Mughal emperor. But the Company and the Parliament in England had some powers over the Governor-General while there had been no power to check the emperor. But the private audience of the Governor-General was much the same. The civil and military servants were more or less like the Mughal *mansabdars* with their thirty-three grades. In the days of Mughals nearly 70 per cent of the higher *mansabdars* were foreign born. Similarly the British maintained the monopoly of high office. The British acknowledged their debt to Todar Mall's land system. In one way the British differed from the Mughals. The Mughals lived in India and identified themselves with the country whereas Britishers lived as a class, socially different from the Indians, monopolized government service and went back to England after retirement. There were of course a few who married and lived in India as domiciled Europeans. Later when they brought their families they lived in isolation not having any social contact with the Indians and thinking themselves to be superior to the subject people. The members of the Civil Service though subordinate to the Governor-General in Council had large powers of discretion. They often met and discussed political matters and created an effective public opinion among themselves. This was lacking in the Mughal administration.

Social Conditions in the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century was a period of war and anarchy. There was much unsettlement particularly among the village folk who were subject to constant attacks and extortions. In the later half of the eighteenth century the Company officials and servants made exorbitant demands from the princes and petty chiefs, who in their turn pitilessly taxed their subjects. In such political storms, the agrarian system was much impaired; sometimes people had

temporarily to desert their villages. There were also some permanent extinction of villages. It is wonderful to note that even under such difficult circumstances, the social fabric of the country was saved from dissolution by the hold of custom and the tenacity of village institutions.

The joint family and the caste system continued to regulate Hindu social life. The Panchayats in villages were encouraged and even the worst among the Maratha rulers did not challenge their jurisdiction. These courts by dispensing cheap and speedy justice in civil cases offered a striking contrast to the civil courts under British rule. But their system of criminal justice was on its last legs. Village life retained its simplicity and had its mild diversions such as the visits of jugglers and celebrations of festivals. Brahmans pursued their Sanskrit studies in the seclusion of temples and groves. The village schools imparted an elementary education to children and the vocational training of artisans continued to be a domestic affair.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MUGHAL COURT: The Mughal Court so long as it lasted was the school of manners and had an influence on high life in India comparable to that of the Court of Versailles on Europe. Mughal etiquette was the standard accepted from Bengal to the Punjab, and as far south as Madura. Persian was the language of diplomacy and polite society. Dress and behaviour followed the pattern of Delhi. Even the Marathas did not escape the Mughal influence in their dress and manners.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE: A new factor in the social life of the people was the influence of the English contact. Peshwa's court was very receptive to new modes of life under the influence of European residents, doctors and scholars. Europeans in high office paid courtesy visits to the Peshwa's court and to high placed Indians and attended the celebrations of important festivals. Maharaja Sawai Jay Singh took an interest in astronomy and induced the King of Portugal to send out a Portuguese astronomer to advise him. Princes and potentates developed an interest in modern European learning. Raghunatha Hair Navalkar of Jhansi built up a library of English books and a laboratory for scientific experiments at his capital. Raja Sarfoji of Tanjore learnt English and wrote well in the language. He collected the valuable books,

paintings and manuscripts in the celebrated Sarasvathi Mahal library at Tanjore.

European Life in India: The Company's servants were not at first expected to marry. They lived more or less like students in a university hostel under the disciplinary control of their superiors. The Governors kept up much state and moved about only with flags and trumpets and the firing of salutes. Factory towns became enlarged with the addition of hostel, church and courts of justice. A Mayor's court was established in each of the Presidency towns in 1728. Private trading was common and recognized as legitimate because the salaries were very small. 'It is best', says Ramsay Muir, 'to think of the Company's affairs as being administered, not by salaried agents, but by some groups of individual traders, who in return for a small honorarium with broad and lodging, and favourable conditions for their own business, undertook to see the Company's ships were supplied with suitable goods'. Many thus acted in two capacities—that of 'country' merchant and Company servant, and sold in one capacity the pepper which they bought in the other. There was no lack of instances of men, especially in high places, who contrived to defraud the Company without breaking the law; and in their case the official salary was 'an insignificant proportion of their total emoluments'. Slave labour was employed on a considerable scale and the Company traded in slaves till 1764 and did not prohibit their export till 1789.

The European in India did not seek home for himself or for his children. He sought a position in the social order in England which had perhaps been denied to him previously. So no settled community of Europeans grew up in India. While the officials had intercourse with princes and *diwans*, the large majority of the Company's servants had little intercourse with the Indians on equal terms. Ananda Ranga Pillai who has left us a full record of the life of the French officials of his time says that there was nothing of the ordinary give-and-take of social intercourse between the Europeans and the Indians. In Surat there was scope for social exchanges on equal footing because it was an important trade-centre. In Bombay the Parsis mixed freely with the Europeans and this, as Spear describes, 'gave Bombay the atmosphere of cosmopolitanism and racial tolerance which it still possesses'.

Surat and Bombay were exceptions. In other places, the English and the Indians were quite apart in ideas and habits. At first there was indeed some Indianization of the Englishmen in externals. There was no deep-rooted colour prejudice when it came to marriage with coloured women and half-castes. It may be said that racial bias born of a consciousness of superiority had not yet developed. The kind of a life that the Englishmen lived can best be understood by a remark of a Hindu dancing girl to Schwartz who said that no wicked and unholy person could possibly enter the Kingdom of Heaven; she said: 'No European then will ever enter it.'

At the end of the eighteenth century there were not more than 5,000 European men and women in India and there were approximately 20,000 European private soldiers. The European traders that lived in Indian territories were not more than 2,000. The reforms of Cornwallis closed the avenues of high official appointments to Indians for many years and this was largely responsible for the social segregation of the Europeans and when European women came with their husbands to India, the racial gulf became more widened.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY: In spite of the disorder due to war and misgovernment, trade and industry continued on a scale sufficient to attract European enterprise throughout the eighteenth century. Surat was the greatest commercial market of India in the west and then came Bombay. In this period, the direct trade between Bengal and China grew up. The indigenous indigo industry of Gujarat declined owing to a discovery of a rival source of America. However, when the cultivation of sugar and coffee became more profitable in the West Indies, the Company took up the cultivation of Indigo in Bengal with the aid of planters brought from the West Indies. Shipbuilding under European supervision began in Bengal perhaps about 1760, with the aid of teak from Pegu. But the Indian ships could not stand up to the competition from America. However, ships were turned for the Royal Navy from the Bombay dockyards till 1881 when iron and steel replaced the use of wooden walls. The Company's government was hard put for money; but there was an advance in prosperity of the European and Indian mercantile community.

LITERATURE: Despite the disorders in the time, cultural life of the people continued unextinguished. The literary work, however, struck no new paths. The writings were mostly derivatives commentaries, restatements of grammar and philosophy and imitations. The Peshwas were great patrons of Sanskrit learning and the funds accumulated by them for distribution as *dakshina* were employed for the foundation of the Deccan College. In the south the Maratha court at Tanjore and the rulers of Cochin, Calicut and Travancore supported Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and other local languages. It is impossible to give a detailed survey of the literary activities of the period. Among important works may be mentioned *Sangitasaramrita* (on music) written by the Tanjore ruler Tulaja. The *Anandaranaga-vijayachampu* (1752) of Srinivasa Kavi is an interesting quasi-historical work.

Maratha ballads dealing with the incidents in the war of independence such as the fall of Afzal Khan came to be composed. In this period there was an outburst of Maratha poetry. The growth of an extensive Maratha empire led to the development of the Maratha prose in letters and reports. In Punjabi several spiritual lyrics came to be written. Prose was developed in biographies, commentaries, religious discourses and translations of famous Hindu poets. Urdu literature reached its standard form in this period. There was no lack of output in the South Indian languages. *Puranas* and *Prabandhas* were produced in Tamil. Among the Muslim poets Umaru Pulavar wrote in Tamil *Sirappuranam* narrating the life of the Prophet. Sivagnanamunivar wrote a classic restatement of the doctrines of Tamil Saivism (1750) in his *Dravida-Mapadiyam*. Beschi, a Tamil scholar otherwise known as Vira-ma-munivar, produced many works before his death in 1742. *Chatur-agaradi*, a Tamil lexicon, was prepared by him.

In Kannada popular dramas suited for rustic audience became more common than in the previous century. In Telugu the period from the later half of the seventeenth century to the third quarter of the nineteenth century has been called the 'Age of Despair'. This was the period of *Satakas* addressed by disconsolate poets to various deities. Among the prose works of the period were *Bharata*, *Bhagavata* and *Ramayana* written by Kandurti Venkatachalakavi. The *Kirtanas* of Tyagaraja belong to this period.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ORIENTALISTS: Warren Hastings was a great scholar and an ardent orientalist who encouraged scientific researches and promoted the study of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was started in his time and he modestly declined the presidentship of that learned association in favour of Sir William Jones. Jones translated Manu (1794), and Colebrooke produced a *Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession* (1797-98). A Sanskrit college was founded at Banaras (1792) for preserving the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus at the centre of their faith and to aid the European Judges indirectly.

A Muhammadan College or Madrasa was founded at Calcutta to qualify well-born Muhammadan youth for respectable offices of State.

Wilkins translated the *Bhagavad Gita* and Jones the *Sakuntalam* of Kalidasa. The work of the orientalists awakened the interest of the European scholars in Indian Literature and Philosophy.

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CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN

Factors in British Policy (1818–58)

THE British expansion in India did not end with the defeat of the Peshwa and the suppression of the Pindaris. The four decades that followed the event witnessed a further extension of the British sway till it covered the whole of India and a part of Burma. The British policy was dictated by European high politics. After success in the Napoleonic wars (1815) Britain had no fear of the French. However, there was the fear of Russian expansion and possible threat to India across Persia and Afghanistan. The British had entered into treaty with Persia in 1814 by which they had pledged themselves to defend Persia against any European invader. But in 1826 when Persia was attacked by Russia. Britain excused herself from her obligations of the treaty on the lame plea that the Persians were the aggressors. Later, after paying an indemnity to Persia, the British government had the clause in the treaty of 1814 cancelled. After this, the British scented more danger from Russia than before, because Persia was advancing into Afghanistan with Russia for her support. The Punjab under Ranjit Singh and Sind under the Amirs separated Afghanistan from the British territory in India. Ranjit Singh was strong and there was no fear of Russian design on India. But the Russian bogy was set up as an excuse for aggression. The British government thought it necessary to safeguard the north-western frontier and in order to do so, they wanted Afghanistan to be brought under their control. There was also some danger from the Burma government on the north-eastern frontier because the Burmese were following an expansionist policy. Therefore, the strengthening of the north-eastern frontier became a necessity for the British.

After the Napoleonic wars, England emerged as the strongest European power. She had the command of the seas. There was

practically no European power that could challenge her position either on land or on sea. Her one object was to prevent Russia from having access to the Mediterranean sea. The nineteenth century, particularly, the later half was the most glorious period in the history of England. It was a period which gave birth to high ideas and prodigious industrial growth that resulted in making England the workshop of the world. To secure raw material for her machine and market for her finished products, expansion of dominion in India was felt a necessity. Consideration of both trade and security led her to a policy of annexation and consolidation. From technical superiority, pride of conquest and imperial policy, the British rulers treated Indians as their inferiors in culture and civilization.

Wars and Annexations

The Rao of Cutch who had entered into treaty relations with the British began hostilities in 1819. The Rao was deposed and an infant prince was installed, the administration being carried on by a regency under the Resident till 1884. The island of Singapore at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula commanding the Straits of Malacca was occupied by Lord Hastings (1829).

War with Burma: The Burmese made themselves masters of the whole of Burma and came close to Chittagong, a British Indian outpost. In 1818 they laid claim to Chittagong, Dacca and Murshidabad at a time when Lord Hastings was in the thick of the Pindari war. In 1822 the Burmese overran Assam and in the next year, they began open hostilities. The Governor-General, Lord Amherst (1823–28), declared war on Burma (February 1424). The 47th Native Infantry at Barrackpore refused to cross the sea and fight for the British. They had also cause of discontent because their pay was low. Lord Amherst sent orders for shooting. The parade ground was turned into a shambles.

The Burmese war dragged on for two years and cost thirteen crores of rupees and the Company's troops got the worst of it in many small engagements because of mismanagement and the forests and morasses of Burma. In 1824 Rangoon was occupied by the British. But their progress was checked owing to rains. The troops suffered from rotten provisions and disease. The Burmese had an

experienced general in Maha Bandula who was then engaged in an invasion of Bengal. He was recalled for the relief of Rangoon where he arrived only to retreat several miles above the river Irrawaddy. After heavy losses on both sides, peace was concluded at Yandaboo (1826) by which the king of Ava agreed to pay an indemnity for a crore of rupees besides surrendering Arakan and Tenasserim. He also agreed not to interfere in Assam and Cachar, to recognize the independence of Manipur, admit a British Resident at Ava, and negotiate a commercial treaty. No Resident was sent to Ava till 1830. In this Burmese war, the British for the first time employed steamships in the Indian seas.

BHARATPUR: In 1825, the successor to the throne of Bharatpur was a young boy and the British interfered. The fort of Bharatpur was taken by storm by Lord Combermere 'the glory of the achievement was dimmed by the excessive rapacity for prize-money displayed by Lord Combermere' (Smith).

BENTINCK'S STATES' POLICY: By inclination Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General (1828–33), was a votary of non-intervention. But for lack of proper supervision, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Indore Baroda and Udaipur each suffered in its own way. In Mysore, Bentinck acted with vigour. The Raja whom Wellesley had set up as a boy proved unfit to rule. Bentinck deposed the Raja and took up the administration of Mysore into his own hands and British officials continued to administer Mysore till 1881, when the State was restored by Ripon to a young Maharaja. In 1832 Cachar was annexed on grounds of misrule and disobedience to British authority. The Coorgs proved to be a fine fighting stock who set a high value on education for both sexes and are intellectually well above many communities in South India.

SIND, AFGHANISTAN, RANJIT SINGH: Sind was cut into a number of principalities ruled by amirs who were constantly at war with one another. Legally they were regarded as rebels against Afghan authority. The amirs by their neglect had allowed a fertile land to remain a desert. It was a good jumping off ground for the British against Afghanistan. Its sea-port Karachi and navigable river Indus offered unlimited opportunities for commercial enterprise. Lord Bentinck under pressure from the President of the Board of

Control compelled the amirs to sign a commercial treaty with the significant reservation that the parties would 'never look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other'. In 1830-31 Alexander Burnes went up the Indus, ostensibly to present a number of English horses to Ranjit Singh. In fact, it was to ascertain the 'commercial possibilities' of the Indus. Metcalfe condemned this as 'a trick unworthy of our government' and a Sindi said, 'Alas! Sind has now gone since the English have seen the river', and before long it came true.

On his return Burnes met Shah Shuja who had been driven from his position of Amir of Afghanistan. Burnes promised to help him against his rival, Dost Muhammad, who was ruling in Afghanistan. In 1831 Bentinck concluded a treaty with Ranjit Singh by which the latter agreed to encourage trade along the Sutlej and upper Indus, to respect the territories of the Sind Amirs, and to be a perpetual friend of the British.

Dost Muhammad offered alliance with the British on condition that they should help him to get back Peshawar from Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh had a strong army trained by Napoleon's generals and the British thought that it was not prudent to provoke him. Therefore, Dost Muhammad opened negotiations with Persia and Russia. Lord Auckland, Governor-General (1836–42) sent Burnes to Kabul ostensibly on a commercial mission but really for political talks. At that time the Persian siege of Herat began. About the same time there came a Russian embassy to Kabul, Dost Muhammad turned Burnes away (1838) for he had nothing to gain from the British. The British thought that the fall of Herat to Persia would be a blow to British prestige and it would make the Russian aggression on India easy. In fact, it mattered little to the British to whom Herat went. Lord Auckland entered into a tripartite treaty with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja to depose Dost Muhammad and restore Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul. Thus began the Afghan war, one of the most foolish and unjustifiable wars of history. Under pressure from London, the Russians withdrew from Persia and the feeble excuse against war of Afghanistan disappeared. The Shah raised the siege of Herat. But Auckland persisted in his foolish policy.

In flagrant violation of the treaty of 1832 by which the English had undertaken not to use the Indus for the conveyance of military stores, a British contingent from Bombay landed in Sind. The

Amirs were compelled to accept a subsidiary force and the Company's rupees as legal currency (February 1829). Although Ranjit Singh objected to the passage of the British army through his territory, he sent the Sikh expedition under Shah Shuja through the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad abandoned Kabul. Shah Shuja's entry into Kabul looked more like a funeral procession than a triumph. Honours were showered upon the officials who occupied Kabul by the ministry in London. Dost Muhammad surrendered in 1840 and was sent over to Calcutta on a liberal allowance. Lord North who was in charge of the army of occupation found Afghanistan perfectly peaceful. But trouble began very soon.

The English occupation of Afghanistan cost the British treasury a lot and there were revolts everywhere. The old and incapable General Elphinstone commanded the troops in Kabul. Burnes was the adviser of Shah Shuja. In November 1841 Burnes' house was surrounded by a mob and he was dragged out and killed. Elphinstone found the situation dangerous and alarming. Hunger compelled the British to conclude a treaty by which Macnaughten agreed to evacuate Afghanistan and liberate Dost Muhammad. Dost Muhammad's son, Akbar Khan, agreed to escort the British army to the frontier. The British army consisted of 4,500 troops and 12,000 camp followers. They had to encounter the attacks of the warlike tribes all along the route. All the British soldiers were put to death except Dr. Brydon who managed to escape and tell the sad tale to others.

Auckland could do little to retrieve the disaster. Shah Shuja was assassinated. Elphinstone died in captivity. Kabul suffered heavy damage. Dost Muhammad was released and soon he re-established himself in Afghanistan. This war brought to the English, the sacrifice of 20,000 lives and expenditure of 15 million sterling.

Conquest of Sind: Ellenborough (1842–44), Governor-General, provoked a war with the Amirs of Sind with the object of annexing the country and gaining unfettered control of the Indus. The Amirs were too weak to take advantage of even the disasters of the Afghan war. Sir Charles Napier was sent with full authority. He seized their territories. At the battle of Miani, February 1843, the Amirs were beaten. The annexation was announced in a proclamation and the Amirs were exiled. Napier got £70,000 as his share of

the prize-money. Napier frankly wrote in his diary: 'We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be.' Napier was the first Governor of Sind till 1847 and he tried much to increase its material prosperity by developing an elaborate irrigation system.

GWALIOR: In 1843 Jankoji Sindia of Gwalior died. His adopted son was a minor. There was the usual succession dispute. Ellenborough taking advantage of the provisions of the treaty of 1804 sent two armies against Gwalior. A haphazard battle followed and resulted in a victory. The English troops gained by sheer hard fighting. The administration of Gwalior after some years passed into the British hands. Ellenborough's erratic genius and the arrogant tone of his correspondence so alarmed the British authorities that they recalled him, exercising this right for the first time.

THE CONQUEST OF PUNJAB: Ranjit Singh 'Lion of the Punjab' died in 1839. He was the greatest Indian ruler for the last two centuries in India. His death was the signal for an outburst of anarchy all over the Punjab. Duleep Singh, a boy of five, was the nominal ruler and his mother, the Queen Regent, was an incapable woman. There was an Army Council called Khalsa which held the real power in the Punjab. This Council had 55,000 troops trained by European officers.

The Khalsa itched for expansion, and the Queen Regent had no control over it. On 13 December 1845 the Sikhs, in contravention of Ranjit Singh's treaty with the English, crossed the Sutlej. This meant war. A series of pitched battles were fought, two of them at Mudki and Aliwal. The British suffered heavy losses. The Sikhs would have won a complete victory had not their leaders behaved treacherously. At Sobraon, the army of Khalsa was defeated again and the Sikhs submitted. The Sikhs offered to pay 50 lacs by way of compensation, and entered into a treaty with the British at Lahore. Lord Hastings (1844–48) placed the young Maharaja on the throne with a British army of occupation. Sir Henry Lawrence was made President of the Council of Regency. He was the virtual protector of the Punjab. Kashmir was detached from the Punjab and handed over to Gulab Singh, the Raja of Jammu on payment of a large sum of money. In this way the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir came into existence. It

should be noted that Kashmir passed direct from the Sikhs to Hindu hands. Sir Henry Lawrence helped by his brothers, George and John, and by a number of able young officers, set about the work of reform in the Punjab. But the remnants of the old Khalsa were seething with discontent. In Sir Henry's absence they rose in revolt. An outbreak under Mulraj, Governor of Multan, took place in April 1848. In this two British officers were murdered. This was the signal for the general rising of the Sikhs against the British. Meanwhile, Lord Hardinge had gone home and was succeeded by a young and able Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie (1848–56).

Dalhousie decided to annex the whole of the Punjab. His firm belief was that no one could govern better than the British. He found none from among the bitter rival chiefs capable of restoring peace and order. Several pitched battles were fought in which both sides lost heavily. At Gujarat on 21 February 1849 the Sikh army was practically destroyed and on 12 March 1849 the remnants of the army laid down their arms.

The Punjab was annexed and the settlement of the Punjab went apace under the energetic leadership of Lord Dalhousie. The young Duleep Singh who was deposed was sent to England where he embraced Christianity. Henry Lawrence was made the President of a Board of Three Commissioners to administer the new province. Henry did good work on the political side, and John, his brother, looked after revenue and judicial matters. Transport and irrigation were improved by the construction of roads and canals. The success of the administration was attested by the readiness of the Sikhs to fight for the Company in Burma within three years of the Treaty of Lahore and by their loyalty at the time of the 'Sepoy War' of 1857. There was a difference of opinion between the brothers, John Lawrence and Henry Lawrence. John had more sympathy with the peasants while Henry favoured the aristocracy. In 1853 Dalhousie transferred Henry to Rajputana, abolished the Board, and gave John sole charge of the Punjab as its Chief Commissioner. Henry took this as a 'snub' which he never forgot till his dying day. The position in the north-western frontier was strengthened by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with Dost Muhammad.

WAR WITH BURMA: The British merchants in Burma complained of oppression by the governor of Rangoon and applied to Dalhousie for redress. He practically forced a war by sending a frigate to Rangoon under Commodore Lambert who, exceeding his instructions, exchanged shots with the Burmese and began the war. This was a short war. The Shwe-Dagon pagoda of Rangoon was stormed in April 1852. Prome and the province of Pegu were occupied before the end of November. No formal treaty could be concluded as the Burmese ruler would not sign one. Dalhousie annexed Pegu by proclamation. The entire east coast of the Bay of Bengal came under the Company's rule. The Burmese king notified in June 1853 that he would allow the invaders to remain in his country and asked that the blockade of the Irrawaddy be lifted and trade relations resumed.

ANNEXATION OF STATES: Dalhousie was strongly convinced that the British rule was much more conducive to the benefit of the people than that of Indian rulers. In 1834 the Directors had laid down that the recognition of adoption for political succession 'should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation'; further, they had declared their intention 'to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue'. The Governor-General, Dalhousie, took advantage of the Company's declaration and propounded the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. According to this Dalhousie refused to recognize the adoption in the matter of succession to the States and annexed them. He distinguished between the protected allies like Hyderabad and Baroda which had been in existence before the advent of the British and dependent States which had been created by the British power. In the case of the latter, Dalhousie held that whenever a ruling prince was without heirs, he could not exercise the right of adoption without the previous sanction of the British government. If sanction was sought, it was rarely granted. On this principle Dalhousie claimed a number of States by lapse. A typical instance of lapse was Satara (1848). In one sense it was a creation of Lord Hastings in 1819 but as a matter of fact the ruling family traced its descent to Sivaji. Even Elphinstone was shocked at the annexation. This destroyed the confidence of the people in the Company's straightforwardness. Nagpur, a State of 80,000 square miles with a revenue of forty lacs,

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with the finest cotton lands in India and a straight road between Calcutta and Bombay was annexed, on the Principle of Lapse. No successor for Arcot was recognized on the ground that the dignity was personal and not hereditary (1855). A similar line was taken with regard to a large pension of eight lacs per annum granted to Bajirao Peshwa. Dalhousie declined to pay it to Bajirao's adopted son, the Nana Sahib. Dalhousie would have even abolished the title of the emperor of Delhi but the Court of Directors would not permit him to do so. Tanjore shared the fate of Arcot.

ANNEXATION OF OUDH: There was misgovernment in Oudh. Vice and corruption reared their heads. Threats and warnings of the British government was useless. The talukdars living in their strongholds defied the government and oppressed the peasantry. In 1837, Auckland had concluded a treaty under which the ruler of Oudh agreed either to reform his administration or make it over to the British, himself retaining only the sovereignty. But the Directors disallowed it; this was not communicated to the king, and government acted as if it was in force. By order of Dalhousie, Nawab of Oudh was deposed on 7 February 1856 and the deposed ruler received handsome pension. 'If the British both annexed when there had been the test of strength in war, as with the Punjab, and when there had been nothing but decades of slavish submission (Oudh), where did any one stand?' (Thompson and Garratt.)

Warren Hastings established the Company as the greatest power in India. Cornwallis expanded the dominion by annexing a considerable portion of Tipu's territory. He built the framework of British administration in India. Wellesley, the ardent imperialist, extended the dominion to the greatest possible extent. The enlargement of the jurisdiction of British government reached its logical conclusion in the time of Dalhousie. 'Two-thirds of India came under direct British rule, while the rest became native states called "dependent allies".'

Change and Reform

The eighteenth century was a period of political instability; but the beginning of the nineteenth century brought settled government to a large part of India. In the territories governed by the Company,

there was a firm maintenance of internal peace. What remained of the piracy of the West Coast was completely suppressed before 1820. There was no fear of internal revolution or external aggression.

The nineteenth century is a period of rapid change and reform. Hence there was an intellectual ferment particularly in Bengal. As the intellectual opinion of the nineteenth century Europe forms the background of the altered political and social conditions in India, it is necessary to review it briefly here.

At this time there were intellectuals in England who were called radicals. Some of them accepted the French ideas of reason, humanity, and the rights of man. The others were followers of Jeremy Bentham, the apostle of the doctrine of utility. The humanism of these radicals got very much exercised over stories spread about the injustice of the caste system, and such features as the status of widows, infanticide and the outcastes in India. The Benthamites believed that the Indian society could be reformed by proper laws. Luckily for them James Mill, an ardent disciple of Bentham got an important position with the Company. The Benthamites thought that India would be a suitable experimental ground for their theories. So long as there was the Tory government in England, they had no chance for experimentation in their own land.

However, when in 1830, the Whigs came into power the Benthamites found themselves powerful and influential. William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, was a staunch Benthamite. In 1828, he wrote to Bentham: 'I shall govern in name, but it will be you who will govern in fact.' (Spear.) Macaulay who, as we shall see, had much to do in the introduction of English education into India was also a radical. He sincerely believed that enlightenment would kill Hinduism and bring in Christianity.

The radicals had strange mates in their endeavours. The religious evangelicals who stoutly opposed radical theories quite willingly made common cause with the radicals in religious proselytism. There were again free traders whose principles could be traced back to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1780). They were for the removal of all restraints in trade and vehemently attacked the monopolies of the East India Company. These groups in varying degrees of intensity believed that they were the owners of the principle of reason which made scientific progress possible. All

these forces were directed towards leading Indians to reject the traditions of their country and accept new ideas of society and religion brought by the Europeans.

Most writers of the history of India proceed on the assumption that there is really a contrast between the so-called Western civilization and Eastern civilization. But each of these cannot be identified solely with any specific geographical or climatic environment.

'The notion that the Western and Eastern civilizations are either complementary or contradictory or conflictory seems to have no justification.'[1] Every civilization grows up to a great extent from the borrowings and accretions from other cultures (Hooten). It is not yet sufficiently recognized that science is not the work of one or two favoured nations or races; it belongs to humanity as a whole. It is surprising that such an eminent scholar as Lord Ronaldshay asks 'whether in the scientific knowledge which is in special degree the *prosperity of the peoples of the west*, we do not possess a golden gift which we can offer to the peoples of the east' (the italics are ours). Is Einstein's theory the exclusive property of the west? If so, printing should be considered as the property of the Chinese. There is no escaping the fact that laws of physics, chemistry and astronomy wherever they may have originated belong to humanity as a whole. Wisdom lies in considering that 'civilization is one and is indivisible into Eastern and Western; its elements are a function ever of time, decreasingly of space but never of race'.

To return to our story of change and reform in India, the Industrial Revolution gave Englishmen an impetus to remodel their society by means of parliamentary enactments. In a short space of time, it brought them fabulous wealth. Infatuated with pride of the present, they looked to the future with a great confidence. The growth of radicalism and utilitarianism among them resulted in a decline of respect for the past. The Benthamites were all for introducing what they conceived to be the West into India. Bentinck was one of those that believed that societies could be reformed by laws. In 1828, the Tory President of the Board of Control wrote to the Governor-General that the British rulers had a great moral duty to perform in India. William Bentinck enthusiastically took upon himself that moral duty.

[1] P. Kodanda Rao, *East Versus West*, George Allen and Unwin, p. 229.

BENTINCK'S REFORMS: Bentinck was wedded to economy and peace. He regarded the welfare of the Indian population as the main test of the British rule in India. At the risk of personal unpopularity he effected a saving of a crore and a half in civil and military services. As Commander-in-Chief he increased the rates of pay for sepoys after long service. Bentinck abolished the provincial courts of Appeal and Circuit 'which had become proverbial for their dilatoriness and uncertainty of decision, and increased the jurisdiction and salaries of Indian judges'. In the courts Persian was replaced by modern Indian languages and people felt that it was a great advantage.

SOCIAL: The practice of Hindu women falling into the funeral pyre of their husbands (*sahagamana*) has come to be called *sati* (a virtuous wife). Bentinck took courage and abolished this practice by law in Bengal (1829). He achieved what Akbar had tried and failed. He had the support of advanced Hindus like Raja Ram Mohan Rai. This practice had also been checked by the Peshwa and the Raja of Tanjore. At the time of Thugs, hereditary assassins, strangled and robbed travellers in the name of Kali. William Bentinck put down the Thugs with an iron hand with the help of Sleman and his colleagues.

EDUCATION: After long debate, the government decided that funds granted for education should be used to instruct Indians in English language and in Western science. This decision was enthusiastically supported by Raja Ram Mohan Rai and his friends. Orientalists headed by Wilson opposed it. Macaulay clinched the issue in his famous minute. His frank aim was to create a class of persons who would be 'Indian in blood but European in intellect'. The decision to impart English education alone was announced on 7 March 1835. It was hoped that the ideas gained through English education would filter down to others. In Bengal English established itself well. The Hindu college became the Presidency College of Calcutta when it was taken over by Government in 1854. Middle class Hindus in Bengal took to English education and in the beginning held the monopoly of subordinate government service. Muslims as a rule avoided English education and they were not looked upon with favour by the British rulers. Mission societies entered the field to establish and conduct similar institutions for higher studies.

English, oriental learning and professional courses in law, medicine and engineering made fair progress. In Madras, Bombay and North-Western Province (created in 1835) there was at first little effective demand for English and greater stress was laid on the local or classical languages. The policy started in 1835 was confirmed and extended in the great despatch of 1854 which covered the whole field of national education. A system of grants-in-aid came into existence to encourage private effort in the organization of higher education and Mission societies were encouraged to carry on their work.

It must be observed that the Company was reluctant to spread English education in India, nor had it any desire to promote traditional education. But just what was necessary for recruitment to subordinate service became inevitable. Tagore says: 'In those days the type of learning that was served out was neither plentiful nor diverse, nor was the spirit of scientific enquiry very much in evidence. Thus their scope being strictly limited, the educated of those days had recourse to English language and literature.'

FINANCIAL: His financial reforms which not only cut down expenditure but increased revenue, particularly that from opium monopoly, converted the deficit into a surplus. Increase in land revenue was effected by the fresh assessment of a number of estates after enquiry into their claims to exemptions from revenue.

CHARTER OF 1833: The report of the Parliamentary Committee (1832) issued after three years of enquiry 'laid down the principle that the Indian Empire did not exist for the sake of Britain, but for the welfare of the Indian peoples'. The Company was occupying an anomalous position of being in part a private corporation and in part a government department. Its dividends were now fixed at 10½ per cent and charged upon the revenue of India. The head of the government in India was the Governor-General of India (not of Fort William in Bengal as heretofore) in Council. He was required to make laws and regulations and to codify the Indian laws with particular regard to the rights and usages of the people. Macaulay was the first holder of the new office of law member. Europeans were allowed to acquire and hold land in India and the indigo planters availed themselves of this opportunity. This led to grave abuses and serious trouble in 1859-60. The Act also laid down

the principle that no native of India or other subjects of the king should be debarred by race, colour or religion from holding any office under the Company.

FURTHER REFORMS: Slavery was legally prohibited in 1843. The practice of offering human sacrifice and infanticide were put down. In the time of Dalhousie there were many rapid changes. The Governor-General ceased to administer Bengal which was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor (1854). The work of the central government was organized on a rational departmental basis. The Public Works Department was constituted. Main and branch lines of railway were planned by Dalhousie, the earliest to be opened being a short one from Bombay to Thana (1853). Several experimental lines soon followed. The electric telegraph was introduced. These were motivated more by military and administrative requirements than by the needs of the civil population.

The inefficient and cumbrous postal system gave place to the uniform half-anna postage. The famous education despatch of 1854 was rapidly implemented. Dalhousie sanctioned his scheme for an Engineering College at Roorkee, and himself maintained a girls' college at Calcutta.

Dalhousie retired in January 1856. He died in 1860, sad at the thought that his work collapsed in the Sepoy War. Dalhousie was an exceptionally able administrator. But he was imperious and paid little regard to advice from competent subordinates. He was intolerant of criticism and dismissed Captain J. D. Cunningham for writing a true account of the first war with the Sikhs in his *History of Sikhs*.

India Under the Company Rule

THE COMPANY AND THE EMPEROR: The helplessness of the Mughal emperor rendered it possible for the Company to usurp all his prerogatives and privileges and confine him in his palace. The story of the Company's dealings with the emperor is worth telling.

Shah Alam II on his part made Wellesley understand that he had accepted the 'friendship' of 'a favoured son' (that is as vassal). But Wellesley represented to the Directors that Shah Alam had accepted 'protection under the British crown' (1803). Really there

was no treaty and no definite promise to that effect. Shah Alam II died on 19 November 1806 and was succeeded by his surviving son Akbar II who was 'poorly endowed in mind'. Akbar II tried to regain and exercise imperial authority by nominating his own successor. In a letter intimating this, Akbar addressed the Governor-General as his 'favoured son and servant'. Minto's pride was touched to the quick and he immediately defined the British attitude to Akbar as a 'complimentary recognition of a nominal sovereignty' (6 January 1809). Two years later the Directors, in a despatch, confirmed this. When Akbar declined to receive Lord Hastings, as his equal in his palace but only as a subject presenting usual *nazrs*, Hastings preferred not to make the visit. However, in 1826 Akbar agreed to meet Amherst on terms he had refused to Lord Hastings. No *nazrs* were presented but the etiquette was regulated both during the visit and the return visit of the emperor to the Residency. Akbar applied for an enhancement of pension soon after and this was not allowed. He refused to meet Bentinck in 1831 and sent Ram Mohan Ray as his envoy to the court of St. James. In spite of the opposition of the Governor-General, Akbar conferred on Ram Mohan Ray the title of Raja. Promising to make no public appearance as the Mughal envoy, Raja Ram Mohan Ray received from Bentinck a number of introductions to his English friends. In a memorial which was regarded as an admirable draft Raja Ram Mohan Ray presented the case of the Mughal, offering to commute all claims for a total pension of thirty lacs. An increase of 18 lacs was asked for. But the Directors offered only an increase of three lacs. Ray advised rejection. Unfortunately he died a little later and Akbar accepted the increase (September 1833). But when he found that it was to be shared among his thirteen brothers, fourteen sisters and fourteen sons and daughters, he rejected the offer and died soon after (1837). His son, Bahadur Shah II, reopened negotiations in 1843 with no better success. The increase of three lacs offered by the Directors was never actually paid. To say the least, the Company in its dealings with the Mughal emperor lacked grace.

THE COMPANY AND THE HOME GOVERNMENT: In the Charter Act of 1813, the political power and patronage of the Court of Directors of the Company remained undisturbed. The Charter of 1833 gave the Company 10½ per cent of the revenue of India. The Company's

prime concern was to secure as much revenue as possible to increase the dividends. Severe measures were taken towards this end and the titles of *inams* were carefully scrutinized. Those who had lost their *sanads* had to forfeit their property. Even educational endowments, both Hindu and Muslim, had to be forfeited, for it was not possible to produce title deeds which had been lost or torn or eaten by white ants. As the Governor-General's relations with the Board of Control were not clearly defined, he was able to exercise arbitrary power.

According to the Charter Act of 1853, the number of Directors were reduced from 24 to 18. There were six nominees of the Crown. No term of years for the renewal of the Charter was fixed. The policy underlying the Charter was that the government of the Crown possessed decisive voice in the Indian affairs and was 'in the fullest measure unaccountable for all that has been done, for all that has been forbidden or omitted to be done'. The Company was made Administrator in Trust for the Crown till Parliament could decide otherwise. This administrative set-up was more feudal than that of the Mughal. The President of the 'Board of Control' had always the deciding voice so far as the relations between the Company and the Government of the Crown were concerned. The Governor-General being the man-on-the-spot had in practice the deciding voice in India. Strong disapproval of his action by higher authorities meant resignation or recall.

The members of the Civil Service at this period were all recruited from the landed aristocracy of England. They came with a baronial concept of ruling over districts assigned to them and looked down upon the Indians. The Company in India became the landlord's agent for all practical purposes. Those who were in higher administrative service were all entirely British and identified India with their own interests. Rightly does a historian call the Indian Civil Service 'the world's most tenacious trade union'. Trade was their chief concern. 'Government was this so-called trade, and trade was plunder. There are few instances in history of anything like it. And it must be remembered that this lasted, under various names and under different forms, not for a few years but for generations. The outright plunder gradually took the shape of legalised exploitation which, though not so obvious, was in reality worse. The corruption, venality, nepotism, violence and greed of money of these early generations of British rule in India is something which

passes comprehension.' (Thompson and G. T. Garrett.) The Company government was anything but responsible government. It was not 'rule of law' or justice but 'rule of rule' as Spear puts it. The Company government was as much a personal rule as the Mughal's had been. In 1853, Dalhousie's suggestion to include non-official Indians in the Council was rejected. On one occasion, when the Council recorded a resolution that the Court of Directors had no power to require the Council to enact any law it pleased, Sir Charles Wood looked upon it with horror. He rectified his mistake in the India Councils Act of 1861 which will be noticed later.

As Shelvankar observes: 'India had been conquered before, but by invaders, who settled within her frontiers and made themselves part of her life.' (Like the Normans in England or the Manchus in China.) 'She had never lost her independence, never been enslaved. That is to say, she had never been drawn into a political and economic system whose centre of gravity lay outside her soil, never been subjected to a ruling class which was and which remained permanently alien in origin and character.'[2]

THE COMPANY AND THE PRESS: The first newspapers in the Company's time were generally English concerns with which Indians had little to do. An alien government and a free press go ill together. At that time the government was very sensitive to adverse comments in the Press. Offending editors were deported to Europe. Wellesley had no love for the 'tribe of editors'. He wanted them to declare their name and address to the government and get its approval for everything they published; the danger of the French was perhaps the reason for such strict censorship.

Minto, however, relaxed press regulations. Lord Hastings took a generous view of the role of the press and virtually cancelled control, retaining, however, general rules which forbade the discussion of dangerous topics. James Silk Buchingham, editor of the *Calcutta Journal* had been too free in his criticism of officials and their doings. So he was expelled from India by the then acting Governor-General, Adam.

Raja Ram Mohan Ray was the Creator of India's Press in its own languages. In *Samachar Darpan*, a weekly, he made a serious effort to bring Western literature and science within the purview

[2] K.S. Shelvankar, *The Problem of India*, (Penguin Special, London, 1940), p. 259.

of their readers. He was the first 'to make Bengali prose a serviceable instrument for the common purposes of life'. The rise of the Press had an invigorating and modernizing influence on other Indian languages also. Although Bentinck had allowed great freedom for the Press, he took the view that public safety required a control of the Press. His successor, Metcalfe, incurred the displeasure of the Directors by removing all Press restrictions by legislation (1855). This position continued till 1857 when under the stress of 'Mutiny' conditions, a rigorous licensing of printing presses was established by the 'Gagging Act' of Canning.

RATIONALIST ICONOCLASM: For a time the spirit of Western nationalism seemed to make a wide appeal and promote an iconoclastic outlook, particularly in Bengal. Traditions, ancestral practices and beliefs were denounced, and India's salvation was held to depend on their total abandonment. Under the influence of their teachers, the students of the Calcutta Hindu College engaged for a time in a vigorous and reckless campaign against 'superstition'. They adopted an aggressive attitude to everything Hindu and openly defied the canons of their inherited religion. Some of them embraced Christianity.

Now there arose a reaction. The great body of people were conservative and orthodox. They were suspicious of innovation although they were ready to avail themselves of the new methods of organization and propagation of scientific thought. They opposed reformist legislation which abolished *sati*, child marriage, etc. and even went to law.

However, the most important group was the small body of men, who, stimulated by the new knowledge, sought to reform Hinduism and Hindu society from within. Raja Ram Mohan Ray was the most celebrated member of this school. Though he was influenced first by Islam and later by Christianity, he stuck to the foundations of his faith. He wanted to blend whatever was essential and true in the old and the new. 'He was perhaps the first earnest minded investigator of science of comparative Religion that the world has produced.' (Monier-William). He took his stand on the pure Hinduism of the earliest scripture, the Vedas and Upanishads. In 1828 he founded the *Brahma Sabha* and opened a *mandir* (temple) dedicated to Brahman and with no image in it. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore was helpful to Raja Ram Mohan Ray. He founded

Brahma Samaj in 1845 with the help of Raja Ram Mohan Ray. The Samaj split into two sections owing to the disagreement of Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–84). The Samaj experienced a further division because he had his fourteen-year-old daughter married to an Indian prince in contravention of the Samaj's condemnation of child marriage. Among those that reacted to the denunciations of Christian missionaries was Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj in 1875. The chief object of this Samaj was checking Christian proselytism. It repudiates the hereditary caste system and untouchability and admits the remarriage of widows. Its influence in Western and Northern India has been considerable. It runs several colleges to impart modern subjects. The *Gurukula* at Hardwar represents the ancient ideal of education. Ramakrishna in Bengal was untouched by Christianity or Western Education. He was the devotee of the goddess Kali. His religion was animated by a vivid social consciousness and his famous disciple was Vivekananda who organized the Ramakrishna Mission. Bengal which had an impact of the English fifty years earlier than any other part of India was more easily affected by the new ideas.

Economic Changes: A new class of industrial capitalists in England demanded a change in the British policy towards India. The measures taken by the Parliament under their influence resulted in closing the British markets for Indian products and the East India Company had to take measures to crush Indian manufacturers. British goods had a free entry into the country while the Indian manufactures were subject to internal duties. Indian Textile Industry almost collapsed and a great number of weavers and artisans were thrown out of employment. Bengal and Bihar suffered most and with the building of Railways, the process of disruption of Indian manufactures spread to other parts. In 1814, the value of the imports into India was less than half a lac of rupees while that of exports from India was roughly 85 lacs. In 1859, the value of imports into India was nearly 52 lacs while that of exports from India declined to about a lac. India's export trade gradually declined and her import increased to suit the industrial economy of England. Throughout the nineteenth century, the cottage industries of India experienced a decadence.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES: It is usual to quote Charles Metcalfe on village communities of India. In 1830, he wrote: 'The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they want with themselves; and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself...is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.'[3] The Company Rule resulted in the destruction of village industries. The newly created owners deprived the peasants of control over the land and its produce. The joint life of the village was considerably broken. The 'corporate character of the community and co-operative system of service and functions began to disappear gradually'.

The Sepoy War and the End of the Company

A good deal has been written about the Sepoy War of 1857. The Britishers called it the 'Sepoy Mutiny'. This has been described as the first war of Indian Independence by the nationalists in India. Jawaharlal Nehru in his book, *The Discovery of India*, describes this as the 'Great Revolt of 1857', and says, 'it was much more than a military mutiny and it spread rapidly and assumed the character of a popular rebellion and a war of Indian independence'. Further down he admits that 'there was hardly any national and unifying sentiment among the leaders and a mere anti-foreign feeling, coupled with a desire to maintain their feudal privileges was a poor substitute for this'. It is clear that the rebellious sepoys had no plan or aim excepting a feeling of resentment against the British officers who had been insulting them and against proselytism. Perhaps they thought that they could get rid of the English rule and revive either the Mughal empire or the Peshwaship. The enraged sepoys got the active support of the peasants in some areas of disturbance. Elsewhere in India there was general sympathy but no active support perhaps from a realisation of the difficulty in establishing an alternative government.

The leaders were the Rani of Jhansi, Nana Saheb, the taluqdars and those whom the sepoys had elected to lead them in war. The Mughal emperor was brought into this much against his will.

[3] Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 260.

These leaders had no common aim nor was there any unity of purpcse. Maulana Azad, Free India's first Education Minister, wrote in his Foreword to a book: 'I am forced to the sad conclusion that Indian national character had sunk very low. The leaders of the revolt could never agree. They were mutually jealous and continually intrigued with one another. They seemed to have little regard for the effects of such disagreement on the common cause. In fact, these personal jealousies and intrigues were largely responsible for the Indian defeat.'[4]

Here we present the course of the Sepoy War as briefly as possible, for we believe that the recollection of the gruesome details of the horrors of the Sepoy War serves no useful purpose. However, as writers of history, we have to state the main facts.

THE GATHERING STORM: It was the time when the Persian War began well enough for the British. The recollection of the Afghan war brought in its train a possible disastrous failure. The Crimean War in which England was engaged had just ended (March 1856). This had been a bright success for the British. Hostilities had been undertaken in China over a trivial matter and they lasted nearly for four years from 1856 to 1860. The proportion of European troops in India was low (38,000: 200,000). In some important places including Delhi arsenals, were left almost entirely in the hands of the sepoys. European troops were largely concentrated in the Punjab. In Bengal and Bihar, excepting Calcutta and Dinapore near Patna, there were practically no European troops.

The immediate cause of the rising of the sepoys was an Act passed in July 1856 making all new recruits liable for general service across the seas as well as in India. At that time the Bengal army was composed largely of high caste sepoys. They thought that the Act was an indirect attack on their religious and social order. The high officials of the Bengal army were men who had been promoted not on grounds of merit but through efflux of time. The Bengal army consisted of sepoys who had come mostly from Oudh and from high castes which were proud of their group traditions. Petty mutinies for minor reasons like differences over the rate of batta had been quite common.

[4] Surendranath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Publications Division, 1957.

The civil population was also filled with a sense of uneasy restlessness. Escheats and annexations caused unemployment. The ruling classes were driven to despair. In 1856, by means of legislation, protection of the civil rights of converts from Hinduism to Christianity was given, and this confirmed the worst suspicions of both the Hindus and the Muslims. The discontented and enraged sepoys had been planning to rise against the British and if possible to drive them out of India. Somehow or other, there was a general feeling that 1857, a century after the battle of Palasi, would see the end of the British rule in India.

GREASED CARTRIDGES: There were growing signs of unrest among the sepoys. But the outbreak was precipitated by the introduction of the new Enfield rifle. The cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs and the sepoys were required by regulation to bite at the end of these cartridges before use. The sepoys thought that it was deliberately intended to degrade them. Fearing the effect of the regulation on the inflammable sepoys, the authorities assured them that the greased cartridges would not be issued to them. On 23 January, the troops at Dum Dum made no secret of their aversion to the cartridges. On 29 March at Barrackpore a sepoy killed a British officer. At Meerut the sepoys who refused to use them were severely dealt with. Eighty-six of them were court-martialled and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. At a special parade on 9 May, the sepoys were degraded, stripped of their uniforms, manacled and marched off to jail. The next day the cavalry and two infantry regiments went into open revolt, released their comrades, burnt down the officers' residences, killed every European that fell in their hands. Then they went off to Delhi, which was guarded by 2,000 European troops under an incapable commander. The Sepoy War had begun on 10 May 1857. Delhi passed into the hands of the rebels. The magazine was blown up but much ammunition still remained. Bahadur Shah was proclaimed Emperor of India against his will in his palace. There was a lull for about three weeks during which the Punjab acted with decision. It was fortunate for the English that the Afghans did not come over to the help of the sepoys.

The Sikhs were very loyal to the British. In Bombay there were some signs of unrest in the Southern Maratha country but they were easily put down. The Madras and Bombay armies fought

bravely for the British. The Indian States did not join the rebels, for the princes knew that the slightest suspicion would dislodge them from their positions. Hyderabad, under the guidance of its *Diwan*, Sir Salar Jang, remained true to its treaties. There was no unity of purpose among the rebellious sepoys. The Hindus wanted to restore the Peshwa while the Muhammadans supported the Mughal emperor. More than all, the sepoys lacked good and efficient leadership.

DELHI: Delhi was the focus of the whole movement as far as the rebellious sepoys were concerned. The aim of the British was to recapture Delhi first. On 8 June a small British force was assembled on the Ridge but it was unable to attack the city until reinforcements came. The Sikh troops, with heavy guns, arrived from the Punjab in September. On 14 September Delhi was taken by assault, in the course of which John Nicholson, a famous British officer, was killed. Delhi was retaken. The emperor was captured, brought to trial and banished to Burma. His two sons were believed to have been guilty of murder of Englishmen and women and were shot dead.

ALLAHABAD, CAWNPORE, AND LUCKNOW: Allahabad Fort was secured by a bold stroke of Neil on 11 June and became an important base of operations for reconquest. Havelock, who had just returned from the Persian expedition, was charged with the task of relieving Cawnpore and Lucknow. In Cawnpore a garrison of about 400 soldiers with a large number of women and children surrendered to Nana Saheb. Most of these soldiers were shot down while being conveyed to Allahabad. Nana Saheb proclaimed himself the Peshwa. Havelock and Outram succeeded in forcing their way into Lucknow. Here they were besieged by the enemies. Sir Colin Campbell came to relieve the siege. A fierce fighting went on round Lucknow until March 1858. Havelock died of dysentery during these operations.

CENTRAL INDIA: The campaign of Central India was under the leadership of Sir Hugh Rose. The Rani of Jhansi was holding out, with the help of Tantia Topi, an officer of Nana Saheb. Jhansi was taken by storm in April 1858, but the Rani slipped away and managed to occupy the stronghold of Gwalior. Sindia who was

loyal fled to Agra. The Rani, 'the best and bravest' of the rebel leaders as Sir Hugh Rose described her, fell fighting in June and Gwalior fell into the hands of the English. Tantia Topi carried on a guerilla campaign in the traditional Maratha fashion with great skill until April 1859 when he was betrayed and hanged.

The resistance in Oudh was prolonged by an ill-conceived proclamation of Canning (March 1858) that the lands of the taluqdars except a few and others who could prove their loyalty were forfeit to government. The taluqdars rose against the British and kept up the resistance till the end of 1858. It is unnecessary to follow the complicated operations of the British to put down the Great Revolt. The Sepoy War left much suffering and loss of life and bitterness of feelings and brought no good results except that an indisciplined and inefficient army was disbanded and an antiquated and cumbrous system of government was abolished. It is regarded as a revolt of the old against the new. Discerning historians say that if the great revolt had succeeded 'India would have got no independence, but anarchy, insecurity and local tyranny'. But the aftermath of the revolt, as some fair-minded British historians say, is sickening. To the Britisher 'every Indian who was not actually fighting for the British became a "murderer of women and children"... a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi, a large number of whom were known to wish us (British) success, was openly proclaimed'. 'The days of Timur and Nadir Shah were remembered, but their exploits were eclipsed by the new terror, both in the extent and the length of time it lasted. Looting was officially allowed for a week, but it actually lasted for a month, and it was accompanied by wholesale massacre.' (Jawaharlal Nehru). Canning was surprised at the behaviour of his countrymen. He wrote to Queen Victoria of 'a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to set a better example' (Kaye). There was an outcry against Canning in British circles. When he was asked to publish the relevant documents, he declared: 'I would rather submit to an obloquy than publish to the world what would so terribly disgrace my countrymen. It is sufficient that I have prevented them for the future.'

End of the Company: In consequence of the state of things brought to light by the Sepoy War, the Parliament decided to abolish the powers of the Company and transfer the

Government of India directly to the Crown. To this end, the Act of 1858 was passed.

THE NEW SET-UP: A Secretary of State for India now took the place of the President of the Board of Control. He was to be advised by a Council of fifteen, appointed at first, 'during good behaviour' and later fourteen to fifteen years. The first eight were appointed by the Crown and seven by the Directors, subsequent vacancies in the seven places being filled by the Council itself. The Governor-General could no longer consider himself to be a bigger man than the Secretary of State and he could not repeat his previous behaviour towards the President of the 'Board of Control'. The dualism in the Indian army and navy due to the distinction between the Company's units and Royal units came to an end.

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION: Canning proclaimed the new government at Allahabad on 1 November 1858 as first Viceroy and Governor-General. The Queen's proclamation disclaimed all desire for extension of territory, guaranteed the rights of Indian Princes, promised religious toleration, and declared that race or creed would be no bar to office under the Crown. Amnesty was offered to those who were still in arms if they had no British blood on their hands. The 'doctrine of lapse' was openly renounced, and the princes were granted *sanads* enabling them to adopt heirs when necessary; but their international status was definitely taken away; they were to have no relations with foreign powers or with one another without the knowledge of the British; their military strength was curtailed, and the suzerain power could interfere in their internal government to correct serious abuses and even assume temporary charge of the government should it seem desirable for any reason.

CHANGES IN THE ARMY: The Bengal army had almost ceased to exist, 120,000 out of 128,000 having disappeared in the two years of disturbances. The proportion of British to Indian troops was fixed at one half while in the Madras and Bombay armies one-third was felt to be enough. All the artillery was concentrated in European hands. Great care was taken to avoid the preponderance of any single race or caste in particular units. In the reconstituted Bengal army, Sikhs and Gurkhas largely replaced the Upper India

Brahmin and Rajput. The absorption of the local European units maintained by the Company in the Queen's army with liability to serve wherever ordered, caused a 'White Mutiny'. In consequence 10,000 men were discharged. Recruitment of Europeans in India was disallowed in 1860.

Social Effects of the Mutiny: A social estrangement between the English and Indians became difficult to overcome. This had its repercussions on political relations. Distrust of the Indian and reluctance to promote him to positions of responsibility became settled features of the administration for a long time. The government showed extreme unwillingness to interfere in questions of religion or caste. Anti-European feeling among Indians became accentuated.

CHAPTER XXII

VICEREGAL RULE

Clash of Ideas and Interests

In 1858 the British Crown assumed direct rule in India. The six decades that followed this event are characterized by the establishment of a centralized government which firmly maintained law and order throughout the country. There was a progressive improvement in the means of communication both within the country and outside, which greatly helped the organization of administration and expansion of British trade.

A New Middle Class: The spread of English education led to the rise of an official and professional class with a common outlook. Educated men sought subordinate service in civil, judicial and military departments of the government in an increasingly large number. The profession of law drew talented men of the land. Leaders of the bar were prominent among the nation builders in the later half of the nineteenth century. The Indian mercantile community found opportunities to amass wealth. Thus a new middle class sprang up. It was the awakening of political consciousness of this class that fostered national unity.

Motives of British Rule in India: British policy was governed by the operation of two rival and opposite motives. One was the Liberal view of holding India as a trust to be returned to its people at the proper time, and the other that of the Conservatives to retain their hold on India as long as possible for the benefit of their mother country. It was the colonial type of government that was evolved although British officers who for a long time monopolized the higher services were birds of passage as were the British merchant magnates and missionaries. Men like Trevelyan thought that 'no effort of policy could prevent the people recovering their

independence' and that the aim should be a peaceful transfer of power by means of political education.

By and by educated Indians advocated the Indianization of the civil service and the army, trial by jury, separation of the executive and judicial functions, codification of the civil and criminal laws, consultation with Indians regarding fresh legislation and replacement of Persian by English as the language of the Courts of Law. They believed that these were measures calculated to train Indians for self-government. Men like Raja Ram Mohan Ray wanted that all restrictions on the free resort of British-born subjects to India should be removed so that British capital might have a full flow into Indian agriculture and industry. Even among the upper classes, the idea that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion in India had not yet dawned. It was an active association with the administration that was ardently sought. As for the masses they continued to be indifferent to the foreign rule though they found that the village economy was adversely affected by the industrial and trade policy of the British.

Fitz James Stephen, considered as the political philosopher of the Indian Civil Service, openly advocated, 'an absolute government founded, not on consent, but on conquest'. He said: 'That the British government, does not represent the native principles of life or of government, and it can never do so until it represents heathenism and barbarism.' The systematic ruin of village autonomy can be traced to his idea: 'They (village communities) are in fact, a crude form of socialism, paralysing the growth of the individual energy and all its consequences. The continuation of such a state of society is radically inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our rule both in theory and in practice.'

Points of difference between the British representing the West and the Indians representing the East in politics, economics and moral and spiritual values were exaggerated to show that Western ideas of science and progress and democracy were ill-suited to India and that their absorption would lead to chaos. The white man's burden was 'to civilize' the peoples of the East and find a solution of the cultural conflict between the West and the East. To men like Mayhew the solution of the conflict lay in India's acceptance of Christ and the spiritual and ethical atmosphere of the New Testament.

The politicians of the Victorian age believed that benevolent autocracy was the cure for India's socio-economic ills and that democracy was a harmful, exotic plant in India. Modernized Indian leaders pleaded for the displacement of scholasticism by science and of dialectics and metaphysics by useful knowledge. For progress they wanted science instead of scholasticism but at the same time they did not despise Indian philosophy and literature of the Indian language.

What in the West was regarded as progress came to be called Westernization in India. Some would call it modernization. The idea of Westernizing or civilizing arose from arrogance born of current superiority in power and material condition. Hardly has it been realized that such cultural traits as the use of power-driven machines, steam engine and telegraph are of comparatively recent origin and that with or without the British they were bound to spread to India.

Democracy is often claimed as the exclusive product of the West. Lord Bryce defines Democracy as 'nothing more nor less than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes'. And according to that definition he asserts that 'a century ago, except in Switzerland nowhere else did the people rule. Britain enjoyed far wider freedom than any part of the European continent, but her local as well as central government was still oligarchic'. Complete manhood suffrage was adopted in England in 1918 and adult franchise of women was adopted in 1928.

When such are the facts it is meaningless to argue that India was not fit for democracy. It is not true that the power of the king in India was theoretically unlimited, and in practice it was restricted by a Council, though a strong king could often get his own way. This Council sometimes with the king and sometimes in his absence carried on administration, regulated national finances and foreign affairs and appointed important officers of the State. We have seen how the method of departmental administration was applied to the government of the cities in the Mauryan period. However, the British concept of 'responsible government' is something different; as Mr. James A. Williamson observes: 'Responsible government is a peculiarly British conception, needing cool heads, a sense of proportion and generosity in allowing for the other man's point of view.' Perhaps that explains why for a long time

there was no responsible government in Germany and Italy. There is evidence however to show that responsible government is not in any way a special and exclusive characteristic of the West, although it occurs in some parts of the West as in England and the British dominions. America has followed the example of Britain and developed her own form of responsible government.

MODERNISM: In general terms 'modernism' is the tendency in matters of religious belief to subordinate tradition to harmony with modern thought. In history it is used 'in the sense of the secular, rational scientific, technological approach to living'. Secularism in one form or another was practised in all countries before the Industrial Revolution of 1770. Rationalism is as old as the hills. Buddha was its most notable exponent in India. In science notably was India well up of old, but science went out from India to the West, thanks to the Arabs, but in the course of the ages science so transformed herself as to appear almost a stranger to the nineteenth century India. What is decidedly modern is the technological approach to living. This was new even to England in the later half of the eighteenth century. It rapidly developed in the nineteenth century in the Western countries. To India modernism came with the impact of the British. But there is no reason to suppose that it would not have come at all, had it not been for the British. Material culture traits are bound to spread from one area to another. The process of their absorption in a particular area depends upon socio-economic factors which may offer resistance or ready reception.

The use of technological devices and machine tools is very largely independent of religious belief and social customs. One cannot change one's religion as easily as one does his style of dress; nor can form of marriage change so easily as means of transportation and communication. Non-material culture traits such as religious beliefs, political theories and social customs take a very long time to spread from one place to another; some of them do not travel beyond the region of their origin.

The point that requires emphasis is that technological approach to life is new even to the West and in eastern countries it is comparatively recent. The statement that with the advent of the British modernization of India began has to be accepted with due reservations.

Quest for truth is common to philosophy and science. The former's quest is for the ultimate Truth which is admittedly metaphysical and beyond science. The nineteenth century view of science was that it was materialistic and mechanistic. But concepts have changed in the twentieth century. Scientific activity, it is believed, can become a source of social values. This means as Hudson Hoagland says: 'The setting up of the discovering of Truth as a major social end, not only for the individual but for society as a whole. No society, of course, has ever been dedicated to this end.'[1] India's contribution to the world through her *Upanishads* is that the quest for Truth can become a source of social values.

War and Foreign Policy

In the later half of the nineteenth century, the British were supreme on the seas. There was no European nation that could rival Britain. India was safe from the attack of any foreigner. However, the Russian expansion in Central Asia caused concern to the British. The foreign policy of the Government of India was dictated by the Secretary of State. British concern in European politics largely weighed in determining the government of India's policy towards Afghanistan, Persia, Bhutan and Burma.

China was inert and the European powers were seeking trade with China, particularly in opium. Japan was of no account in the politics of Asia then. European powers that were holding territories in the East Indies largely depended on British sea-power for the safe passage of their ships across the seas. In Europe itself the powers were too preoccupied with internal matters to be able to pay much attention to the world beyond. India, during this period was almost isolated from the affairs of the world. The government of India, however, thought that they should guard their frontiers against any possible foreign incursion. North-East and North-West were vulnerable because war-like tribes inhabited these frontier areas.

BHUTAN: The occupation of Assam in 1826 brought the British into close contact with the mountain State of Bhutan. Bhutan frequently raided the adjacent territories in Bengal and Assam at the foot of their hills. The envoy sent by Lord Elgin (1863-64) was

[1] *The American Review*, January 1965, p. 105.

insulted. He was forced to sign a treaty surrendering the passes leading to Assam. The British government, however, repudiated the treaty and demanded the return of the British subjects kidnapped by the Bhutanese. When the Bhutanese refused to comply with the British request, the British army annexed the passes and stopped the allowances paid to the Bhutanese. In 1865, the Bhutanese were forced to surrender the passes in return for an annual subsidy. It was the surrendered district which became a productive area with tea gardens.

NORTH-WEST: Between the British Indian frontier and Afghanistan there was the large belt of tribal territory. The Pathans living there owed a nominal allegiance to Afghanistan and were ever ready to raid and plunder British Indian territory. Lawrence's policy with regard to these tribes was to leave them alone, but if there was an offensive movement he was always ready to punish. Lord Lytton who became the Viceroy of India changed this policy in 1878. The policy of the British government was the subjection of the tribal territory and if possible a complete conquest of Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad died in 1863 and his sixteen sons were engaged in a war of succession.

Lawrence followed the policy of recognizing the *de facto* ruler. But this was not liked by the British authorities at home for they advocated a forward policy. In 1868, Sher Ali became the ruler of Afghanistan. Russia was expanding in Central Asia. The large city of Tashkent was annexed in 1865 and Samarqand three years later. Lawrence suggested that the home government should reach an understanding with Russia regarding the spheres of influence of the two powers. Pressure was brought on Lawrence to interfere in Afghan matters and occupy Quetta. But Lawrence did not yield and his policy was called 'Masterly Inactivity'. In 1869, Sher Ali had a meeting with the Governor-General, Mayo at Ambala. Sher Ali's efforts to get closer alliance with the English proved a failure. Russia acknowledged Sher Ali's rule south of the Oxus on condition that he respected the integrity of Bokhara north of that river.

In Central Asia the Russian sphere was expanding. Afraid of this, Sher Ali sought closer alliance with the British Indian government. He could not get any promise of protection against Russia. The Governor-General, however, showed his friendship to Sher Ali

by sending him five thousand rifles and ten lacs of rupees. Sher Ali accepted the rifles and returned the money. In March 1874, Disraeli became Prime Minister in England with Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India. They both distrusted Russia and in order to strengthen their positions they wanted to instal a British Resident in Kabul. In spite of Northbrook's protest Salisbury persisted in his policy. The Viceroy resigned (1876), warning Salisbury that his policy would lead to another unnecessary and costly war of Afghanistan and he was right. Lord Lytton who became the Viceroy by his foolish Afghan policy brought about the fall of the strong Conservative ministry of 1874.

SECOND AFGHAN WAR: Lytton requested the Amir to receive a complimentary mission to announce the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India. The Amir declined saying that the reception of a British mission would involve his according a similar privilege to Russia. Lytton started a quarrel with the Amir. At the end of 1875 Lytton negotiated a treaty with the Khan of Kelat. This led to the occupation of Quetta, a place of great natural strength which commanded the Bolan Pass and a climate suited to European and the base from which a British army passed into Afghanistan in the first Afghan war. This move alarmed Sher Ali, and when a British agent was about to be established at Gilgit in Kashmir, the Afghans became even more uneasy.

Under instructions from Disraeli, Lord Lytton demanded that a British envoy should be stationed at Herat. Sher Ali was unable to guarantee the life of any Englishman in his country as the people were self-willed, and independent and prized their honour above life and hated the presence of any foreigners. But Lord Lytton would not listen to reason. In 1878, he insisted on sending a mission to Afghanistan which was turned back at the entrance of the Khyber Pass. Thereupon war was declared. Three columns of English army invaded Afghanistan. Sher Ali fled to the Russians and they refused to help him and he died miserably in exile shortly afterwards. Sher Ali's son and successor, Yakub Khan, signed the treaty of Gandamak (May 1879). The Amir agreed to accept a British Resident at Kabul. He also agreed not to make treaties with foreign powers. In return, the Amir got a subsidy of six lacs of rupees. In July 1879, Sir Louis Cavagnari took up his residence in

the city. For a time all appeared to go well. On 3 September, the Afghan army suddenly rose and murdered Cavagnari and all his staff. Once more the British army entered the country. This time, the British encountered a strong opposition. Yakub Khan, the son of Sher Ali, inflicted a severe defeat on the British. Roberts with 10,000 men made his march of 313 miles in twenty days to go to the relief of Kandahar. In 1880, Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister of England and he was anxious for peace. Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, was placed on the throne. He agreed not to have political relations with any foreign power except the English. Kandahar was evacuated. Abdur Rahman lived until 1901. He proved to be a strong and capable ruler and a firm friend of England.

PANJDEH: From 1880 to about 1910 British Indian foreign policy was more closely governed by the European situation than ever before. The Russians continued their policy of expansion and Panjdeh, a small village in Central Asia, was forcibly occupied by the Russians (1885), after they had inflicted a heavy loss on the Afghans. Abdur Rahman found that his country was the goat tied between the lion and the bear. He declared his readiness to give up Panjdeh in exchange for Zulfikar Pass about 85 miles to the west. This was accepted by the Russians. There was a boundary settlement between Russia and Afghanistan and 'the Amir did not lose a penny of revenue, a single subject or an acre of land'.

Out of the Indian Exchequer and with the help of the Indian States, there arose in 1889 the Imperial Service Troops, recruited in the States, officered by Indians, inspected by British commanders and available to the supreme government in case of war.

BURMA: The next important foreign crisis was concerned with the Burma government. Burma was then in the hands of a crazy king, Thibaw. The British merchants in Rangoon and lower Burma began to complain about the ill treatment of Thibaw. Thibaw began to negotiate commercial treaties with Germany, Italy and France. The English feared that the French influence with Thibaw would be harmful to them particularly when they contemplated a railway from Mandalay to French territory. That was the time when the English and the French were quarrelling about Niger,

Egypt and Madagascar. About the same time Thibaw imposed an enormous fine of ten lacs upon a British timber company. Lord Dufferin who was then the Governor-General demanded an enquiry. When this was refused, he ordered the invasion of Upper Burma. Thibaw surrendered unconditionally on 28 November 1885 and the kingdom of Burma was annexed by formal proclamation on 1 January 1886. Military operations had to be continued for some years before a settlement was effected. In 1897, Upper and Lower Burma were placed under a Lt. Governor with his capital at Rangoon. In 1935, it was decided to separate Burma from India.

TIBET: China had vague claims to suzerainty over Burma and Tibet. The annexation of Tibet came at a time when China had given a reluctant ascent to the despatch of a British commercial mission to Lhasa. The Tibetans resolved to oppose, with or without China on their side. The British, however, were willing to abandon the mission to Lhasa. They did so when the Chinese waived their rights over Burma and allowed Britain to annex the country (1886). Sikkim had its boundary with Tibet demarcated, and the Lushais, Chins, Shan States and Karneri were included in the British sphere of influence.

Tribal Area—Tibet—Native States

The tribal territory between India and Afghanistan is a belt of 25,000 square miles. This was controlled neither by the Amir nor by the British. It abetted on Russian territory at its northern end. The Amir of Afghanistan looked upon the tribes who owned him a nominal allegiance as a convenient buffer between his country and the British lines. Any interference of the British with the tribes was viewed with suspicion by the Amir. The tribes on their part were ready to obstruct the trade routes and raid British territory, on the slightest provocation. The Amir was unable to control the tribes. The British were compelled to make a punitive expedition against the offending tribes or villages. The aim of the British was to construct strategic railways and define the Afghan British frontier. An English envoy was despatched in 1893 to Chitral. The Amir did not like this, nor did he like the railways being pushed to the very mouths of the passes leading into Afghanistan. Negotiations

for an understanding with the Amir proved a failure, until Mortimer Durand proceeded without an escort and stayed in Kabul from 2 October to 16 November 1893. Durand's mission resulted in demarcating Afghan and Indian spheres, without consulting the tribes affected. The Amir agreed not to interfere with the tribes on the Indian side of the line—notably the Afridis in the Khyber, the Waziris, and the tribes in the Pamirs. The Amir was to be given a subsidy of eighteen lacs a year.

In Chitral the new Mehtar (Chief) was murdered in 1895 and Robertson, the agent at Gilgit, who proceeded to Chitral was besieged by the rival claimant. A force of 15,000 under Sir R. Low marched to Chitral. But the Swatis rose in support of the Chitrals. Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, advised the retention of Chitral, but the Liberal government decided on evacuation. There was a serious rising in 1897 over the whole trival territory due to the British intervention in Chitral. The Mullahs advocated a *jehad*. The Amirs were inflamed by the abuse poured by Englishmen on the Sultan of Turkey for his treatment of the Armenians. It is unnecessary to get into the details of the frontier war. The British experienced the severest test here. During the Viceroyalty of Curzon the trans-Indus provinces of the Punjab joined to the political charge of the tribal area was constituted into the new North-West Frontier Province with an area of 40,000 square miles. A Chief Commissioner directly under the Government of India was appointed to rule over the Frontier province. The relations with Abdur Rahman improved and he held the tribes fairly well in his hand. After his death his son, Habibullah, succeeded him without opposition (1901). When the British government wanted the renewal of the treaty which had expired at the death of Abdur Rahman, Habibullah maintained that the treaty was between the two governments and needed no renewal. The British had to concede the Amir's view of the treaty together with the title of His Majesty for him.

TIBET: Tibet was ruled by a theocracy of Buddhist monks (Lamas) under the nominal suzerainty of China. There were two great Lamas, the Dalai Lama and the Tashi Lama and both of them were considered as incarnations of the Buddha; the former was the political head and lived in Lhasa; the latter, the spiritual superior, was head of the monastery of Tashilhunpo near Shigatse. When

any one of them died, a successor was chosen from infant children born about the same time and treated as the incarnation of the dead Lama. A regency of the principal Lamas was set up during the minority. About 1898 the Dalai Lama overthrew the regency council. There was a Russian Buddhist named Dorjieff who was interested in Dalai Lama. He often visited Russia and was received by the Czar. The Indian government felt uneasy over these visits. It was believed that Tibet was seeking to throw off China with Russian aid; Curzon's attempts to reach un understanding with Tibet directly and through China failed. In the summer of 1903 Col. Younghusband was sent to Tibet with a small force. The Tibetans refused to negotiate till the mission withdrew to the frontier. Russia protested against this mission but Lansdowne assured the Russians that no Tibetan territory would be permanently occupied. Younghusband advanced into Tibet territory in 1904 and shot down some 600 Tibetans. The British army continued its march towards Lhasa and on 7 September 1904 a treaty was made. Younghusband imposed terms on Tibet far exceeding his instructions. Curzon defended Younghusband. But the Secretary of State felt compelled to revise the treaty drastically. The indemnity which Dalai Lama had to pay was fixed at 25 lacs. Chumbi valley was to be evacuated by the British after three instalments had been paid and the British Agent was accepted at Gyantse with power to visit Lhasa at his discretion. When the British troops withdrew, there was confusion. Taking advantage of this, China turned her vague suzerainty into practical sovereignty. British intervention in Tibetan affairs only resulted in a solid advantage to China.

Negotiations of the British with Russia ended in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. In 1908, Morley, Secretary of State for India, accepted the Tibetan indemnity from China to be paid in three instalments and ordered the evacuation of Chumbi valley in February 1908, despite the protests of the Indian government. England and Russia agreed to their self-denying ordinance regarding Tibet. The Chinese deposed Dalai Lama and installed a more pliable one in his place. The administration virtually passed into the hands of the Chinese Residents and the deposed Lama had an interview with Minto. But the English refused to aid him against China.

The Chinese garrison in Lhasa getting no pay or supplies from Peking revolted and plundered the treasury of Lhasa (1911). The

Tibetans expelled the Chinese garrison. The deposed Dalai Lama returned and resumed the administration. The Chinese Resident was deprived of all his powers. This changed position was recognized by the Peking authorities. When in 1912 there was a fear of Chinese invasion on Tibet, Britain made it clear that while she recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet, she could not allow that country to become a mere province of China. Tibet kept up its semi-independent status till the Communist Revolution of China (1948-49).

NATIVE STATES: The relations between Native States were controlled by the Foreign Department of the Government of India. From the days of Marquess of Hastings these States were regarded as external powers. But their relations with the government of India were generally secret and *ad hoc*, and the extent of the interference depended much on personal factors, but there existed a tendency to build up precedents which governed the interpretation of old treaties. The succession to a State became valid only after recognition by government, though *sanads* issued to about 140 States recognized the legitimacy of adoption by Hindu princes (but not their widows). The succession in Muslim States was according to Islamic Law. The development of transport, posts, telegraphs and canals greatly helped the prevention of misrule in the States. Rajkumar College at Rajkot and Mayo College at Ajmer were started for the education of Indian princes. The theory that the States were 'independent sovereign states' ceased in 1877 when the Queen became Empress of India and the rulers of States her vassals.

Malhar Rao, Gaikwar of Baroda since 1870, proved to be a bad ruler in many ways. The charge of attempting to poison the Resident Col. Phayre against him proved a failure in the court and so it was dropped. However, the ruler was deposed for misgovernment and gross misconduct. The State was made over to a child prince of the royal house under the regency of Sir Madhava Rao, a Maratha statesman. In the days of Lord Ripon, the State of Mysore was returned to the adopted son of the Raja who had been deposed. When the minor king came of age, Mysore having enjoyed the British rule for half a century, came to be under the native ruler. From then, the State of Mysore had a fair record and was one of the first to accede to the Indian Union.

The Chief of Manipur was deposed as unfit to rule and his minor son established in his place with a political agent to administer the State during the minority. The Khan of Kalat who had executed his wazir was deposed with the assent of Sirdars of Kalat and the Khan's son was acknowledged as successor (1892). In Kashmir a new Maharaja, Pratap Singh, became the ruler in 1888. The British Resident was recalled as he interfered too much in the internal administration of the State (1888). But the very next year Pratap Singh was deposed, for reasons not clearly explained. The State was entrusted to a Council under the Resident, Bradlaugh raised a debate over the matter in the House of Commons in 1890. The Maharaja was restored in 1905. The entire episode still remains rather obscure.

The complete control of the Government of India over the States can be seen from the fact that early in the twentieth century Curzon forbade the foreign tours of princes.

Machinery of Government

After the events of 1857, the Parliament generally discharged the statutory obligations in a purely formal manner. India was usually kept out of party politics. The Secretary of State was practically unchecked in the exercise of his functions. Questions of policy, including those of peace and war, were settled by the Secretary of State and expenditure by the Government of India could hardly be controlled from London by a Council with just an advisory status. In 1870, the laying of the submarine cable by way of the Red Sea to India made the control of the Secretary of State more effective than before. In 1876, Lord Northbrook resigned owing to differences with Salisbury. Ripon regretted having accepted the viceroyalty of India because of his differences with the Secretary of State. Lord Elgin telegraphed twice a day for instructions from Sir Henry Fowler. Curzon for a time claimed equality of status with the Secretary of State and a right of appeal to the Prime Minister in cases of differences. There was a controversy between Curzon and Kitchener. Kitchener objected to a junior officer sitting in judgement as adviser to the Viceroy over the proposals of the Commander-in-Chief. Curzon, however, stuck to the principle of getting the advice of two experts on all important matters and overruled Kitchener's objections. The Conservative

government wanted to have neither the resignation of Kitchener nor of Curzon and so a compromise was arrived at by which a special member was to be appointed to the Viceroy's Council. Thereupon Curzon resigned in August 1905 and declined to withdraw it even when the Cabinet requested him to do so.

Morley was perhaps the most autocratic of the Secretaries of State. Minto who was the Viceroy during Morley's time complained about too much interference of the Secretary of State in the Indian affairs. He said: 'Legally his position may be sound but constitutionally it is impossible.' But the political reforms of 1909 and 1919, which will be described later, tended to curtail the powers of the Secretary of State.

VICEROY AND COUNCIL: The Viceroy and the Members of his Council continued on a five-year tenure. In 1859, a special Finance Minister was appointed to the Council. The Viceroy had the power of making rules for business under the Indian Councils Act, 1861. After several experiments, the Commander-in-Chief became the sole military adviser to the Governor-General in Council. Canning's rules of business increased the effective power of the Viceroy and reduced the importance of the Council. The practice of the whole Council migrating to Simla in the hot weather began with Lawrence (1864).

PROVINCES: In the provinces the Governors of Madras and Bombay were generally appointed from England. Their Councillors and Lieutenant-Governors were servicemen. In 1911, Bengal's Lieutenant Governor was replaced by a Governor-in-Council. Greater central control became possible with improved communications. In 1858, there was a distinction between the Regulation Provinces (Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Agra) and non-Regulation Provinces (Sind, Punjab, Nagpur, Oudh, and Lower Burma). The administration of the Regulation Provinces was marked by a rule of law and separation of the executive and judicial duties in the districts; in the non-Regulation areas it was the rule of men who enjoyed wide discretion. Such distinction continued to exist till 1918.

The general legislative power of the Government of India was employed actively from 1861 to adopt uniform codes for all India.

The executive orders gave place to positive civil laws in non-Regulation Provinces. Provinces for which the central government remained the sole legislative organ the personal rule became very essential. The new departments such as Education, Agriculture, Forests assisted the growth of uniformity in policy and administration.

FINANCE: The provincial governments were completely controlled by the Government of India. Income tax was introduced and a uniform import tariff of 10 per cent was imposed. Salt duties were raised and it may be said, 'financial equilibrium was attained in 1862'. The system of formal budgets came into vogue. There was a financial crisis in the country when the demand of Lanchashire for raw cotton stimulated by the American civil war suddenly ceased at the end of the war. There was no demand in Lancashire for the short staple variety from India and preference was given to the long staple cotton from America. Mayo entered upon a resolute course of financial reform. He raised the level of salt tax and of income tax. In December 1870, he took the first step towards the separation of provincial from central finance. Lump sums were allocated to the provinces and each government had a free hand in its utilization. This gave an incentive to economy in the provinces. Of Mayo it has been said: 'He found accounts in arrears and statistics incomplete. He left them punctual and full.' Mayo organized a statistical survey of the country and a department of agriculture and commerce. The first general census was taken under him.

The financial decentralization started in 1870 gave provincial governments a share in the revenues instead of a fixed grant. Manufacture of salt under unified control was made. Inland customs were done away with. The duty on sugar levied on the inland customs was abolished in pursuance of a new trade policy. For all these reforms, Sir John Strachey was responsible. In 1817, Southern India Agricultural Relief Act was passed, calculated to protect peasants' holdings from distraint by creditors. Sir John and Lytton were held blameable for extravagant expenditure in the Afghan war.

INDIANS IN SERVICES: The Act of 1833 held out the promise of employment irrespective of race or religion. This was repeated

in 1858. However, this promise was very slow of fulfilment, bringing about strained racial relations. The Directors of the East India Company in their despatch forwarding the Charter Act of 1833 observed that opportunities for official advancement could little benefit the bulk of the people under any government. The Directors were of the view that 'it is not by holding out incentives to official ambition but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness'. The spirit of this observation was that Indians should be kept out of the Covenanted Civil Service for good administration. The attempt to exclude the best men in the country from any important share in the administration had really a very depressing effect on the national character.

The Covenanted Civil Service was thrown open to competition but the age limit fixed and the conditions under which the examination was held were all unfavourable to Indian candidates. The first Indian to enter the great sanctum of the I.C.S. was Satyendranath Tagore, the brother of the Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore. The theory, that Indians could rise to any positions in the gift of the British government, thus came into practice with a solitary instance. The policy-makers soon began to entertain grave doubts and fears about the consequences of throwing the I.C.S. open to Indians. Therefore, several handicaps were put in the way of the Indian candidates. The age limit fixed was unreasonable. In 1855–59, the age limit was 18–23 but when Indians gave promise to joining it, it was brought down to 17–22 in 1865. The next year it was further reduced to 17–21 and continued to be so till 1878. From 1879 to 1921, Indian candidates were forced to take their examination between ages 17 and 19. Further, the examinations were held in London and Indians had to answer their papers in English and compete with British compeers. Some attempts were made to equalize conditions between the Indian and English candidates but they were short lived.

By the High Courts Act of 1861 Indians became eligible for the highest judicial posts. In 1870, the Duke of Argyll carried a Civil Service Act enabling Indians to be appointed to listed posts in the judiciary. But the Indian Government did not like this. Lytton's

proposals in 1879 that one-sixth of the posts in the Covenanted Civil Service should be filled by Indians nominated by the local governments from among young men of good family and social position did not prove a success and so was abolished in 1891. There were mainly two kinds of service. One known as the Imperial Indian Civil Service. For this recruitment was made in England by examination. This was open to Indians, who went to England and took the examination. The other was the Provincial Service. This was entirely made up of the Indians. For Provincial Service recruitment was by examination, nomination, as well as promotion from the subordinate service. Between 1867 and 1903 the number of European receiving over thousand rupees a month rose from 638 to 1,278. It was only in 1926 that the Public Service Commission came into operation. The idea that service in the higher ranks should remain exclusively British to carry the White man's burden was commonly shared by most of the British politicians except a few. Lord Bryce called the I.C.S. an 'inner oligarchy' and Wedderburn describing the formation of the 'Simla clique' wrote: 'Thus by a process of natural selection has formed, the dominant, "Simla clique" which controlled the government disregarding public opinion and trampling on the rank and file of the service.' The British members of the Civil Service made it a point to spread fantastic tales about the superstition of the Indians and often complimented one another for their achievements. As late as 1935' only one-third of the members of covenanted Civil Service were Indians. After the Sepoy War, a greater part of the United Provinces, now known as Uttar Pradesh, was condemned as militarily sterile, for it was believed that it was dangerous to recruit young men to the army from that region. Madras and Bombay feared no better although their part in the Sepoy War was very negligible.

Indians were not allowed in the artillery or other scientific departments of the army till the Second World War. The centre of recruitment of the army was shifted to the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Baluchistan and Nepal. Only a negligible number of soldiers were drawn from other parts of India. As Kulkarni observes, 'it required a good deal of effrontery on the part of the authorities to tell the Marathas that they were incapable of bearing arms'. A myth was sedulously circulated that Indians were incapable of fighting well unless led by the British officers.

Any man that came from England was quite fit to command, but the Indians could not aspire to rise even to the lowest position in the officer cadre. There were, of course, fair-minded experts among the Britishers who repudiated the doctrine of British superiority in the military field.

Constitutional Changes

We have seen that the British rule in India was autocratic in every sense of the word. Administration, justice and law-making were all centred in the hands of an all powerful Governors General with increased status as the Viceroy. With conflicting views among the rulers about the capacity of Indians to use Representative Institutions, India's preparation for independence was long and arduous.

THE BEGINNINGS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT: How to begin associating the Indians with the government of their country was a problem to those rulers who sincerely believed that in the distant future transfer of power to the Indians would become inevitable. Lord Canning began by entrusting the talukdars of Oudh with magisterial functions. This was stoutly opposed by the British revenue officers. They feared that the magistrates would use their powers to enforce their own rent demands. The talukdars on their part felt flattered that they were being trusted. Lord Lawrence, who was no friend of Indian aristocracy, developed the idea further. He found it difficult to make a start with local government under the natural leaders of the Indian society, for the landowners and the merchants were not attracted to the new education. Laws passed in 1842 and 1850 permitted municipalities to be established in Presidency towns and large centres of population. But these municipalities were mostly run by nominated Commissioners. They could do nothing more than improving the urban sanitation. In Mayo's time a resolution was passed on Provincial Finance (1870). This extended the scope of the municipalities so as to include education, local public works including roads, charitable and medical relief. The system of election was extended but not with much success.

It was Ripon's famous resolution (1883-84) which gave a greater and more real share in local government to the people. A local

board for each revenue district with subordinate taluk boards was established. A considerable proportion of the members of the district boards were elected. In every taluk board the Chairman was nominated and in the district boards the Collector presided. Details of the municipal administration varied from province to province. Ripon's forward policy was generally whittled down by the exercise of the government's power of inspection and even suspension of municipalities. Nevertheless Ripon affirmed that his measure was not meant so much to improve administration as to secure 'a measure of political and popular education'. Because of the obduracy of the officials, the results of Ripon's reforms fell far short of expectations. Local self-government came under the control of the popular ministers in 1921 and the powers of the officials and the local bodies were considerably enhanced.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS: There grew up a desire to consult Indian opinion in fresh legislation without, however, giving the Indian members any real power. Dalhousie followed the English procedure and prescribed three readings for each bill with a committee stage after the second reading. Although it was purely an official body, the new legislature developed a certain degree of independence.

There was an Indian Law Commission in England which initiated legislation for India, under the control of the Secretary of State. The government of India, protested against this procedure and the Indian Law Commission disappeared in 1870. The details of dispute between the Government of India and the Secretary of State are of academic interest and not necessary to be detailed here. What is notable is the strength derived by the Government of India from the presence of the non-official element in the legislature to stand up for its independence as against the Secretary of State. In this period there were other developments such as the starting of the Indian National Congress, the controversy over the Ilbert Bill and others, which promoted discontent. These will be discussed in the next section. We shall here confine ourselves to the constitutional changes.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1892: Dufferin was ready to recognize the reasonableness of some of the demands put forward by the Indian National Congress that had been started in 1885. His

proposals to satisfy the Congress demands led to the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The aim of this Act was to give the Government of India the benefit of 'the experience and counsels of Indian co-adjutors'. According to this Act, the Viceroy's Council was to have ten additional members, four selected by the provincial legislatures and one by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and five nominated by the Governor-General. The provincial legislatures were enlarged by the addition of twenty members each, representing municipalities, University Senates and commercial interests. This is the first step towards the introduction of the representative principle. The budget of the government was laid on the table for discussion and the members had the right of interpellation. The Council contained an official majority. The non-official members formed only one-third of the Council. The official majority could decide the issue irrespective of difference of opinion. The non-official members of the Council had the privilege of sitting with the Viceroy and his ministers. The Viceroy and the official majority, felt it incumbent on their part to listen to the representations and criticisms of the non-official members. This was the first step towards a still distant self-government.

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a political agitation which gained momentum during the period of the partition of Bengal by Curzon (this will be described in the next section). The Government felt that further reforms should be introduced to satisfy the Congress. The year of 1908 was the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's proclamation. King Edward VII took the occasion for announcing that his government would prudently extend the principle of representative institutions. On 17 December, reforms were announced superseding the Act of 1892 and these reforms came to be called 'Minto-Morley Reforms' of 1909. Minto was then the Viceroy of India and Morley the Secretary of State. This Act of 1909 provided for an increase in members in all legislative Councils. The provincial legislative councils were more than doubled. Provision was made for the representation of minorities such as Muhammadans, Sikhs, landowners, the tea and jute industries and Indian commerce. There was the principle of election side by side with nomination. The Imperial Legislative Council was increased from 21 to 60. Some Indian members were appointed to the Viceroy's Council, to Madras and Bombay Executive Councils and to the Secretary of State Council at the India Office. The British

authorities regarded this as a very notable advance. Indians for the first time were allowed to take part in the administration of the country. They were also admitted to the inner Councils of the State. But national leaders in the country were not satisfied with the advance made and agitation for responsible Government was vigorously carried on.

Lord Morley who was responsible for these reforms specifically announced that he did not regard them as milestones towards Parliamentary government. He said: 'If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in government, I for one, would have nothing at all to do with it.' Eight years later, however, Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, took a different view and announced that the British policy towards India was, 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government as an integral part of the British empire'.

It may be noted that this was the time when the Conservatives in England assumed a proprietory right towards the colonies and found active disloyalty in the healthy nationalism there. No wonder that the rise of nationalism in India was regarded as something to be trampled down with iron heels.

The Growth of Nationalism

Concerted action against foreign rule though not on a national scale had always been a feature of Indian politics. During the rule of the Afghans and the Mughals there had been pockets of resistance. But there was no non-official organization like the Indian National Congress. With the spread of English education there arose an intelligentsia nourished on the study of the Radical political philosophy of England. This group was responsible for the spread of nationalism in India. An unofficial body of advanced Indian reforms organized themselves under the guidance of a retired English Civilian A. O. Hume. Thus was started the Indian National Congress in 1885, which held its first meeting in Bombay. There had been other associations before the Congress, but they were all thrown into the shade. With the encouragement of the Viceroy, Dufferin, Hume issued an appeal, calling for fifty men with sufficient power of self-sacrifice and pride in their country. In it

he said that if they did not volunteer for service, 'her (Indian's) sons must, and will, remain mere humble and helpless instruments in the hands of foreign rulers, for if, they would be free, they themselves must strike the blow. And if even the leaders of thought are all either such poor creatures, or so selfishly wedded to personal concerns that they dare not or will not strike a blow for their country's sake, then justly and rightly are they kept down and trampled on, for they deserve nothing better.' Seventy educated men responded to this 'appeal'. The prospectus of the Congress stated: 'Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a native Parliament, and if properly conducted will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions.' Year after year the Congress rose in strength and in the fourth year in its annual session there was an attendance of 1200 men.

At this time the imperialists in England saw in the expansion of the British people the guiding hand of Providence. They were proudly conscious of the existence of some mysterious force which brought them an overseas empire. The establishment of law and order by the British officials who had so far treated the Muslims with suspicion now found them handy as a brake on Indian nationalism.

Muslim Separateness: After the fall of the Mughal empire, the Muslims were frustrated. Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims had any political organization worth the name for the assertion of political rights. The first 'political organization was the Indian National Congress started in 1885. Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan, a great educationist and reformer, keenly felt that the Muslims had long neglected the value of scientific education. In 1875, he founded the Anglo-Oriental College which grew into the Aligarh University. Somehow or other, he was not favourably inclined to the Indian National Congress. He considered it advisable that his co-religionist should not join it. His idea was to concentrate attention on making up the deficiency of the Muslims in modern education. Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan at first tried to bring Hindus and Muslims together wherever he was. He was very much in favour of friendly contacts between all classes of Indians and the British fellow-citizens. It was his opinion that the Congress movement had been started a little prematurely. Later in life, he felt and

said that in Indian democracy, Muslims would be overridden by the Hindus. But the dynamic movement for separation did not come in Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan's time. It was Sir Muhammad Ikbal (1876–1938), a Punjabi poet, that conceived for Muslims a homeland in India by making Islam control the new forces of science instead of allowing it to become a victim of materialism. Ikbal gave the movement for separation a dynamic faith, and later Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) gave political form to Islamic movement in India. As Spear observes: 'Ahmad was the philosopher, Ikbal the Prophet and Jinnah, the statesmen-creator of Pakistan.'

British foreign policy in the pre-war years upset the Muslim feeling in India. Morocco, Tripoli and Persia were dominated by European powers one after another and the Muslims blamed the British foreign policy for this. In Europe there was the Balkan war of 1912-13 and the Muslims felt that it was a general attack on Islam. The younger Muslims in India developed a pan-Islamic outlook. The Muslim League that had been started in 1906 became active. In March 1913, the League met at Lucknow. Among the objects declared by the League were 'the promotion among Indians of loyalty to the British Crown, the protection of the rights of Muhammadans and without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of the system of self-government suitable to India'. The reservations regarding the self-government are worthy of note.

ANARCHISM: Young men under 25 who had been quiescent for some time became active in 1914. Anarchism flared up and its votaries succeeded in stealing fifty Mauser pistols. These anarchists were assisted and encouraged by their compatriots abroad both in America and in Europe. Among them may be mentioned Krishnavarma who had fled from India in 1896 fearing arrest in connection with the Poona murders during the outbreak of plague. He started a journal known as the *Indian Sociologist* in London and later in Paris to bring home to the Europeans the Indian problem and the English mind on it. Savarkar, a follower of Tilak, was also propagating ideas about the Indian problem. During the war period (1914–18) some Germans expected great trouble in India for England and tried to get into touch with the revolutionary parties and help them to rise in revolt. But their attempts came to

nothing. The Defence of India Act of 1915 armed the Government of India with necessary powers to cope with the situation and control revolutionary movements in the Punjab and Bengal, and the way in which they were developing jurisprudence so caught the imagination of the leaders in India that they regarded the establishment of the British rule as a 'merciful dispensation of Providence'. However, this attitude did not preclude the Congress from demanding advance on several lines. Among the demands were the abolition of the Council of India, simultaneous civil service examinations in India and England, reduction of military expenditure and of salt tax, repeal of the Arms Act and admission of Indians to commissions in the army, separation of the executive and judicial functions, expansion of the legislative councils and their functions and privileges on the model of those of the House of Commons, the reduction of the official bloc and the larger use of elections. With such modest beginnings, the Congress gradually turned itself into an organization capable of being the recipient of the power to rule from the British hands.

The Press: The press had its own share in promoting national consciousness among the people. In fact, the rise of newspapers in Indian languages was one of the signs of the birth of a new India. The government was getting too sensitive to criticism and Lytton, despite the objections of some members of his Executive Council, controlled the Press so as to prevent rather than punish offences. Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act and left the press free except for the celebrated section 124A of the Penal Code on sedition.

The Ilbert Bill: Another cause of ill-feeling came up in the days of Ripon; there existed a law by which a European British subject could be tried only by Europeans. Ripon decided to abolish the judicial disqualifications based on racial distinctions. Ilbert, a legal member of the Council, prepared a bill to give effect to this decision. There were objections raised against Ripon but he brushed them aside. When the measure was introduced in the Legislative Council, there was an uproar among the members who were all Britishers. As Ripon's biographer says: 'Within a few weeks, the whole of the British community in the peninsula was swept by a tornado of violent denunciation of the Bill. A monster indignation

meeting took place in the Calcutta Town Hall, at which the speeches were of an intemperance beyond all limits of decency.' Europeans in India boycotted his entertainments and insulted him personally. After this deplorable exhibition of race feelings and animosity, the bill was so modified that it virtually left the privileged position of the European intact. The European was allowed to claim a jury before all District judges, European or Indian, and half of the jury were to be Europeans or Americans. This made the Indians understand two things. Firstly, the government would yield to agitation and secondly there could be no true fellow-feeling between Englishman and Indian. Ripon resigned and went away and Dufferin, his successor, tried his best to smoothen affairs but the bitterness continued.

PARTITION OF BENGAL: Yet another thing that accelerated the growth of national feeling was the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon (1905). This was introduced ostensibly for administrative convenience, but in fact it was to divide Bengal into Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal. There were fears of popular opposition. Protests were made against 'the division of a homogeneous people who were united by tradition, history and language'. Curzon did not yield and the partition was carried through according to plan. This led to the boycott of foreign goods and a nation-wide campaign against the partition. Morley denounced the partition of Bengal in the House of Commons; but he was not prepared to remedy the wrong because it had become a 'settled fact'. The Swadeshi movement which was started then gained strength. The governor of the new province was partial to the Muslims and adopted brutal methods to suppress the popular protests. This further strengthened the nationalist movement. The 'settled fact' was unsettled by means of an announcement by King George V at the Delhi Darbar on December 12, 1911. Indian nationalism asserted itself and was prepared to follow the argument wherever it led.

GOKHALE AND TILAK: Outside the Congress as well as inside it there developed a new extremist movement. This was impatient with the policy of the moderates. This extremist party wanted to keep up incessant agitation. Taking advantage of this policy, there were some who advocated the use of physical force and terrorism also. The leader of the extremists was Bal Gangadhar Tilak

(1856–1920), a Maharashtrian Brahmin from Poona. He brought to the extremist cause the fire of religious revivalism. He organized festivals in honour of God Ganesh and of Chatrapati Sivaji. He believed that the co-operation with the British would not bring self-government. In the newspapers that he conducted he openly advocated direct action.

In Bengal, there arose a cult of revolutionary violence. Tilak started an Anti-Cow Killing Society in Poona. Both educated and uneducated Indians supported him. There was a strong reaction to the excessive depreciation of the ancient religion of Hinduism.

At this time the Congress was in the hands of the moderates. Gokhale, whom Mahatma Gandhi regarded as his *guru*, was a learned man noted for his sobriety of thought and felicity of expression. He counselled moderation. Both he and Tilak were at first teachers in the same institution. But then they parted owing to disagreement. Tilak was uncompromising in his attitude towards the British. It was he who coined the word 'Swaraj' and fearlessly declared 'Home rule is my birth right'. Gokhale sincerely believed that India could attain self-government in gradual steps under British guidance.

The government brought in two Acts which made incitement to murder and the making of explosives felonious. These measures, far from preventing violence, only drove the revolutionaries underground.

In 1907 at Surat there was a split in Congress. Tilak questioned the election of the President Rash Behari Ghose. Tilak's motion was disallowed. There was confusion at the meeting. It was finally dissolved. In the eyes of the moderates Tilak was a revolutionary. His course, they feared, would bring the whole national movement to ruin and they wanted to stop it at any cost. Tilak's followers considered the moderates to be no more than stooges of the British government. The difference between the moderates and the extremists was only regarding the methods to be adopted to achieve the goal. Both of them had the same goal, namely the attainment of Swaraj.

In 1908, two British women were killed in Bengal by a bomb thrown by a terrorist. Tilak, in the *Kesari*, wrote applauding the action of the terrorist. This was regarded as an incitement to further similar deeds, and Tilak was brought to trial and sentenced

to six years' imprisonment. Such was Tilak's popularity that riots, breaking out in Bombay after the issue of the sentence, continued for six days. He was accorded by millions of Indians hero-worship which was later given only to Mahatma Gandhi. Tilak was an intellectual aristocrat and people revered him as Tilak Maharaj. Indeed, he was the uncrowned king of Maharashtra. After his release he rose up to be an all-India leader and in co-operation with Annie Besant, he worked for the Home Rule League.

CHAPTER XXIII

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Administrative Policy

LAND REFORM : Agriculture being the main occupation of the vast majority of the population, the just regulation of the relations between the cultivator and the land lord or money-lender has been the prime concern of the government. Canning passed the Bengal Rent Act (1859) and applied it also to Agra and the Central Provinces. This gave occupancy rights to cultivators who had possessed their fields for more than twelve years and forbade any increase of rents except for reasons specified in the Act. Lawrence, the friend of the ryot, saw that Tenancy Acts were enacted for the Punjab and Oudh in 1868. The Punjab Act recognized occupancy rights to nearly a fifth of the cultivators and laid down equitable principles of compensation for unexhausted improvements. According to this, rents could be raised only after application to a court of law and equity. Lytton passed Southern India Agricultural Relief Act of 1879. Bengal Act of 1885 checked indiscriminate eviction and ensured security of tenure at fair rents. The Oudh Act of the same year gave further protection to the tenants. In 1900, the Punjab Land Alienation Act forbade sale of holdings by money-lenders in execution of a decree.

CURZON'S REFORMS: Curzon passed a lengthy 'resolution' on land revenue policy in 1902, and explained that the recurrence of famines was due to failure of rains, not to the government demand upon the ryots. Although the representation to the Secretary of State with regard to the land revenue demand made by R. C. Dutt and others for fixing fair rents and making settlements once in thirty years was not conceded, a greater elasticity was introduced in revenue collections and a more generous remission of assessment

was made in cases of local deterioration. Curzon organized Co-operative Credit Societies to help the cultivators with loan, and appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture. He set up an Imperial Agricultural Department with a research Institute and experimental farms. He reorganized universities in 1904. His purpose was to make the universities take an increasing interest in higher teaching and research instead of being mere examining bodies. But the constitution of the governing bodies of the universities was viewed with distrust and vehemently opposed by the intelligentsia. This made Curzon unpopular, though his policy of military reforms was admired. Curzon's administration, as Gokhale observed, was marked by an excessive centralization like that of Aurangzeb. Even Gokhale heaved a sigh of relief at the end of Curzon's rule. Curzon had no sympathetic imagination to understand the Indian nationalist point of view. He made the surprising statement: 'My own belief is that Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise.' One thing that stands to the credit of Curzon is the creation of the department of archaeology for the conservation of the Indian artistic heritage and the carrying out of fresh excavation which led to the discovery of the buried cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Irrigation; Railways: Irrigation systems inherited from Hindu India were everywhere improved and extended. Lawrence introduced the plan of financing them by loans and in time this led to the accomplishment of great engineering schemes. By 1900 India came to possess one of the greatest irrigation systems in the world.

Railways have played a great part in opening up the country and combating famine. By the end of 1859, 5,000 miles of railway was laid by private companies. These companies had a guarantee of 5 per cent net profits, by the State. Progress was, however, slow and costly. Government lost heavily on the guarantees given to the companies and there was an extravagance which could have been avoided. All this expenditure was at the cost of the Indian tax payer. This was hotly criticized by Indian nationalists. The guarantee system was given up in favour of State construction for some years. But as government had to spend large sums of money on famine, wars and strategic railways, it became necessary for them

to revert to the guarantee system. By 1900, 36,000 miles of railway was laid with a capital outlay of £350 million. But yet 'no railway revenue worth the name came to the government treasury'. In 1905 a Railway Board was established and charged with the task of running the railways on commercial principles. There was a rapid expansion in the early years of the twentieth century and some profits also came in. But the outbreak of the First World War impeded the progress.

FAMINE AND PLAGUE POLICY: Indian agriculture depends largely on the regularity of the monsoon rains. When the monsoon fails and there is prolonged draught, the result is famine. The size of the country with seasonal variations is an advantage, for it will never be a good year or a bad year in all parts of the country. But this advantage is secured only in proportion to the development of communications. As means of transport and communication increased, there was a better control over famine. Deaths due to starvation became relatively rare. But in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century there were severe famines. Deaths became heavy because government was handicapped by lack of quick transport. Further they had made absolutely no provision against famine. In North-West Province and Rajputana there was a famine in 1860-61. It was very severe round about the regions of Agra and Delhi. The area affected was about 48,000 square miles and nearly 10 million people were affected. Measures were taken to relieve the distress of the famine-stricken people. There was free feeding of the disabled. In 1866 Orissa suffered from famine and it was estimated that one to two million people died. Those who escaped the famine were terribly affected by the flood that followed soon after. In 1868-69, Bundelkhand and Rajputana were affected by famine. There was a famine of exceptional severity in the crowded areas of Bihar and Bengal in 1873-74. The government met the situation with an expenditure of £ 6.5 million sterling.

A famine code was evolved in 1883 based on the Report of the Commission of 1878-80. According to this, relief works were to be planned and kept ready in advance to provide for work and wages to the able-bodied in a famine. Only those who were disabled were to be fed free. A Famine Insurance Fund was also to be constituted.

In 1896 India again suffered from famine and plague. A very wide area from Rajputana to Western Bengal and United Provinces to Madras was affected by famine. The government met the situation with an expenditure of five and a half crores of rupees. However, three-quarters of a million died.

Late in 1896 there broke out a plague in Bombay. Next year this spread to Poona. This was a new epidemic and measures adopted to combat it were crude and meddlesome. There spread a feeling that the government outraged religion and racial feelings also ran high. Two English officers on plague duty were murdered in Poona. Tilak, as has already been mentioned, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for incitement in the columns of the *Kesari*. In Cawnpore, there were riots against plague regulations and seven of the ring-leaders were executed.

The most severe famine on record was that of 1899–1900 spreading over an area of 417,000 square miles, in Punjab, Rajputana, Baroda, Bombay, Central Province, Berar and Hyderabad. Nearly 60 million people died. Some writers including Jawaharlal Nehru have stated that famines became more and more frequent under British rule in India. But it must be said that, in the absence of comparable data from the different epochs, it is not easy to confirm or contradict the statement.

FORESTS: In 1864 a German expert was appointed as Inspector-General of Forests. A series of Forest Acts came to be passed from 1865. In 1878 a training school in forestry was established in Dehra Dun. When the Forest Department took over the forests, they were in a ruinous condition. The primitive tribes had been practising 'shifting cultivation' by burning down patches one after another. The Forest Department has been controlling vigorously for the preservation of the forests.

Economic Development

In the second half of the nineteenth century was the hey-day of British imperialism. Britain's wealth was growing by leaps and bounds because of her industrial resources. In fact Britain dominated the markets of the world then. With India under her complete control, she could override every consideration for the benefit of her own

people. Towards the end of the nineteenth century rival imperialisms arose in Europe. Germany challenged Britain's supremacy in overseas trade.

In the East Japan threw off her reserve and feudal system, modernized herself and proved to be a powerful competitor to the British, particularly in the Indian market. The Industrial development in England led to the dumping of machine products in Indian markets. This led to the decline of the handicrafts of India. India which had been exporting finished products, by force of circumstances, became the exporter of raw material to satisfy the demand of industrialized England. The British *laissez faire* policy only held back the industrialization of India. It was not till the outbreak of the First World War that there was any appreciable industrial development in India. The processes of the exploitation of India by British finance, trade and industry went on unchecked till about the First World War. It was even argued that this was good for India. Some modern industries, chiefly textiles and mining, were established in the nineteenth century. However, the dependence of population on agriculture did not diminish. From England cheap textiles and a great variety of consumer goods came to be imported into India, and the Indian economy was considerably changed. Indian politicians and merchants complained of the drain on India. Even as early as the last half of the eighteenth century this drain had been a 'grave reality'. The weavers suffered most. Handloom industry was ruined for it was not possible for the Indian weavers to compete with foreign mill-made goods. In spite of all this, it is said, that between 1900 and 1929, there was some improvement in the standard of life of the people.

There was some economic progress due to the growth of large scale organized industry. We have no space to get into the details of 'the strange blend of enterprise, efficiency and tyranny that led to the establishment of indigo plantations; or the romance of the opening up of tea gardens in the trackless, malarial jungles of Assam or the rapid growth of the jute industry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century' (Griffith). There was a tremendous release of the British energy and British capital in India, particularly in the building up of the railway system.

MANAGING SYSTEM: In all these enterprises India played little or no part although Indians were not debarred from participation.

Indian capital was shy and not yet ready to take the necessary risk. In 1868, out of 49,688 shareholders in Indian railways, only 817 were living in India and less than half of the latter were Indians. In order to draw Indian capital and give efficient managerial training to Indian capitalists the Managing System was evolved. According to this, a British firm would float a company for a new project. The capital would be all British. When this project worked profitably for some years, Indian capital would be attracted to it. Then the British would sell a part of their interests to the Indians, taking care to see that British capitalists retained sufficient share for practical predominance. Indians might enter into a perpetual or long-term contract with the British Directors of the Company. It was open for the Indians to start new projects. The early risk in such a venture would also be that of the British promoters. It was hoped that this arrangement would in time develop considerable Indian managerial *expertise*. This Managing Agency System has been hotly criticized, for, there was concentration of economic power in a few hands. Among the industries that developed under Indian initiative must be mentioned the cotton textile industry in Bombay. This was combination of Indian capital and British technicians. Jamsedjee Tata, a man of vision and genius, started iron and steel industry in Jamshedpur. From that time onwards a few Indian owned industries have made rapid strides. Gradually India has been drawn into 'the orbit of the world trade cycle' and has hence become increasingly dependent upon forces over which she has some or no control.

The British Free Trade policy was advantageous to Britain and harmful to India. We have already mentioned how Northbrook felt compelled to resign over the question of protective tariff on Manchester goods imported into India. On the whole the policy was to allow Manchester interests to dominate Indian policy. The policy of free trade was given up only under the stress of war.

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: There was a fall in the value of silver due to several causes and from 1885 onwards the silver currency gave a lot of trouble to India. India, a country with silver currency, was called upon to discharge large obligations in England in gold in the form of interest on public debt in sterling, profits on industrial capital invested in India, shipping charges, pensions, India office expenses and so on. The five per cent import duty on all goods

except cotton was reimposed. Cotton goods also later came to be included for import duty. But to satisfy Manchester mill-owners a corresponding excise duty was levied on the products of Indian mills. This 5 per cent duty was the subject of heated controversy. In 1896 it was reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From that time on the rupee began to recover and its value was fixed at one shilling and four pence.

Discontent and Unrest

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 reduced the distance of the voyage from England to India. High British officials in India brought their families. There was absolutely no social intercourse between the British families and the families of even high placed Indian officials. British men and women in India were openly contemptuous towards the Indians and assumed an air of superiority which cut the Indians to the quick. Indians, however high, were not allowed into the clubs which the British officials had established. The British officers considered themselves to be a super-caste in India. Their attitude towards the Indians found a match only in that of the orthodox Hindu who regarded the Whiteman as a *mleccha* whose very touch was a pollution.

The economic sufferings of the people and the discontent heightened by the partition of Bengal resulted in the spread of Swadeshi movement which boycotted British goods, particularly mill-made cloth. The national movement gained strength by the activities of Dr. Annie Besant, an Irish woman who had dedicated her life for the service of India. The Theosophical Society of which she was the President propagated knowledge about India particularly about the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*, in various parts of the world. Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, represented Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago (1893) and awakened the interest of the Westerners in Indian philosophy. The Arya Samaj revived memories of the past glory of India and a spirit of nationalism pervaded the country. Western Oriental scholars did a great deal to spread knowledge about the ancient literature of India and this made Indians take pride in their past. There were scholars in France, Germany, America, and England who admired the *Bhagavad Gita* and the works of Kalidasa.

It was pointed out that in the matter of manufactured goods, European countries had always been behind India and China until the seventeenth century. It was only after the Industrial Revolution that the eastern countries were dumped with mill-made goods. Even the caste system that had been attacked persistently and with vigour by the British officials as well as by missionaries belonging to various European countries, came to be regarded by the Hindu with visible pride as a social system which had the capacity to survive for four or five thousand years. Above all Japan demonstrated how an Asian country, if she wants, can evolve faster than any European country. By her rapid industrialization Japan showed that Asians do not lack initiative, dynamism, will power and intelligence and drive for progress. Within twenty years Japan covered the ground in the technical, economic, political and military field which European countries had taken several centuries to reach. In 1902 Britain entered into a treaty of alliance with Japan giving her a status of equality. Japan was able to defeat China, her big neighbour. She exploded the myth of Western superiority by defeating Russia in 1904. Indians felt proud of the success of Japan and began to ask themselves: 'If such a small country as Japan could in a short time rise to great heights, why not India?'

THE CHARACTER OF INDIAN NATIONALISM: In the nineteenth century, politicians and reformers except those who were the followers of Bal Gangadhar Tilak were all liberals and great admirers of British ways and thought. Even Swami Vivekananda in a speech, in Calcutta, after his return from a tour of the West said: 'No one ever landed on English soil with more hatred in his heart for a race than I did for the English. On this platform are present English friends who can bear witness to this fact; but the more I lived among them and saw how the machine was working—the English national life—and mixed with them, I found what the heart-beat of nation was, and the more I loved them.' Between Ram Mohan Ray and Vivekananda was Bankim Chandra Chatterji who through his Bengali novels was the creator of Human nationalism. His *Ananda Math* embodies his views of the British rule in India—that the British had been sent to India by Providence to put an end to Muslim tyranny and anarchy in Bengal. But still he was

regarded as the instigator of the doctrine and technique of revolutionary insurrection in Bengal.

Leaders like Gopala Krishna Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjea looked upon Indo-British relations as a *barter* in ideas and values. While they were conscious of the worth of their national heritage, they realized the virtues of the British and hoped that in time Indians would become fit for self-government. The liberal form of Indian nationalism in fact thought less of the Hindus' past than of the achievements of the West in science and technology. The masses were still under the spell of the past. While they realized a continuity in religious matters, they had no historical consciousness. It was only after the emergence of Gandhi, that the masses became articulate.

There was unrest among the students when the Minto Morley reforms were found to be inadequate to satisfy the nationalist demand. Anarchism that began during the days of the partition of Bengal could not be checked by reform. Gokhale strongly supported the government and deprecated students' activities in the political field. Lord Hardinge succeeded Minto towards the end of 1910. He was to receive an address of welcome from the Congress; a bomb was thrown on his elephant (23 December 1912) during his State-entry into the new capital at Delhi. Fortunately it missed its mark. As terrorism spread, the government began to suspect political leaders of complicity in the matter. Surendranath Banerji was required by an order of the government not to address meetings on the 'land of Bengal'. He defied the order by taking his stand on a boat in the river and addressing a large gathering. Arabinda Ghosh, a poet, philosopher and mystic was under order of arrest. He left for Pondicherry (French territory) vowing: 'I will not set my foot on the unholy British soil.' He kept his vow till his death.

South African Affairs: Hardinge won great popularity by a strong speech he made at Madras in November 1913 censuring the anti-Asiatic legislation of the South African government. He expressed sympathy with the Indians who resisted the legislation under the leadership of Gandhi. It was in the course of this struggle that Gandhi developed his new political weapon of *satyagraha*. Further emigration of indentured labour was stopped. Gokhale visited South Africa to negotiate on behalf of the Indian

government. There was a commission of enquiry and an Indian Relief Act followed which Gandhi accepted as satisfactory for the time. Landless labourers in India were obliged to emigrate to foreign countries to seek livelihood. Struggle with the government as that in South Africa went on in Australia, Canada and British Columbia. These countries too declined to receive Indian immigrants. To protest against this a Japanese boat was chartered to convey 300 Indians from India to Vancouver. The purpose was to defeat the restrictions on immigration. But the immigrants were not allowed to land and they had to return to India after the commencement of the Great War.

CHAPTER XXIV

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM (1914–1947)

The First World War and Its Effects on India

We have noted that the ill-feelings caused by the partition of Bengal had been appeased by His Majesty's visit to India. About the year 1914 it seemed that India was on the verge of a new era of prosperity and contentment, in spite of the sporadic disturbances of anarchists in some parts of Northern India. Suddenly, the world was startled by the news that Germany had declared war on France and Russia. Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. So England declared war on Germany. We have no place here to describe the details of the war. During the first two years of war (1914–18) moderate politicians, the princes and the people in general were full of enthusiasm for the British cause. Indian troops were sent abroad to France, Africa, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. Munitions were provided on a tangible scale and the Munitions Board to co-ordinate the activity was set up (1917). This meant the development of manufacturing resources of India. In fact, India became a base of supplies for many articles sent for the use by the Imperial and Allied Forces. War loans were raised and subscriptions for them poured in. Nearly 1.75 millions of people were recruited for war; of them nearly two-thirds were combatants.

The response of Indians was an index both of the prestige of the British Government and the esteem in which it was held at the time. It was hoped, that the authoritarian regime would transform itself into a popular one, in appreciation of the loyal support of the Indians. But nothing of the kind happened, so that Indian politicians became bitter. The enthusiasm of the people for the British cause was only taken as an expression of their tribute to the benevolence of the British rule in India. While there was persistent demand for recruits to fight overseas, the British Government made it clear that every political issue would be postponed to a

date after the war. Near at home the British had met with the Irish rebellion. In 1916 the Sinn Fein campaign resulted in the separation of Eire from the Commonwealth of Nations. In India, the moment for the pacification of politicians had passed; only misunderstanding and discord marked the attitude of the Indian people towards the British. The Indian Army, whenever it fought, distinguished itself for valour. In the campaign in Iraq, it was the Indian army that played a large part and Baghdad was captured in 1917. Experience in the war bred self-confidence in Indian soldiers. They found they were not in any way inferior to European soldiers.

British civilians were recruited to war service. This deprived the Government of India of some of its best personnel at a critical time. When these civil service men returned, they found that the conditions in India had so changed that it was difficult for them to adjust themselves. It was, however, in the economic sphere more than in any other, that the effects of the war were felt in India. Taxes were raised all round, and the people paid them willingly. Duties on cotton goods went up to a general level of 7.5 per cent. But there was no enhancement of the countervailing excise duty and this caused a Lancashire protest. But as Roberts says 'it went unregarded in the clash of arms.' Gradually the feeling that the war was an external affliction crept among the people of India. To the British it was a fight for existence and victory meant glory to them. But the people of India could find little glory in the victory, when their political ambitions were thwarted. India, in fact, was as exhausted and war-weary as Britain. High prices added to the economic ills of the country. The people were sour and discontented. To a great extent they were resentful, when there was no promise of any political advancement. To the economic ills must be added the scourge of influenza which swept over the country in 1918. This epidemic took a toll of five million deaths more than all the deaths during the war in Europe.

We have already mentioned how jubilant the Indians were when Japan won the victory over Russia (1904). From that time on there was a mental revolution among the people and the national movement gained strength. The attitude towards Europe, and its peoples was radically altered. The people felt that the culture of Europe was in no way superior to their own. The war showed that the Europeans were divided among themselves and

would fight and kill mercilessly to win their cause. It was only their technical superiority that won the admiration of the people. But the Indians felt that with training they could develop technical skills as the Japanese had done. There was of course great admiration of British law and democratic machinery but at the same time people felt shocked at the brutality exhibited in the war. Western civilization as a whole came to be regarded with less esteem than before. As Spear observes. 'The first war casualty in India, was the idol of Western superiority.'

There were other happenings that brought about renascence in India. In 1917 there was the Russian Revolution. Russia, a great power linked with Britain, demonstrated how despotic rule could be brought to an end. Russia made clear disavowal of imperialism and the Indian people began to ask: 'Why should not the British Government grant selfgovernment to India?' When America intervened in the war in 1917, President Wilson enunciated Fourteen Points. The mention of National Freedom and Self-determination of peoples among them served as magic words to the dispirited people of India, so that the demand for the self-government was intensified. Gokhale's attitude of seeking concessions was given up; it was Tilak's attitude of demanding rights that became supreme in the political field.

The Indian Muslims were also greatly disturbed. The Sultan of Turkey was accepted by the Muslims of India as the spiritual head of the whole Muslim Community. The war resulted in the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and abolition of the Khilafat. The treaty of Sevres in 1920 threatened the homelands of the Turks in Asia Minor. The Indian Muslims regarded the Arab Princes as rebels against the Turkish Caliph and it was no consolation to them to be told that the Sheriff of Mecca, a descendant of the Prophet, protected the holy places as an independent Arab prince. So there began in India a Khilafat movement, demanding the restoration of the Caliph. The Congress made a common cause with the Muslims in the Khilafat agitation.

Austin Chamberlain, a conservative, resigned from the India Office in 1917. He was succeeded by Edwin Montagu, a liberal. He boldly declared that the policy of His Majesty's Government 'is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible

government in India, as an integral part of the Empire'. This was the starting point of the British policy towards self-government.

India, a country not overflowing with wealth, through her Legislative Council voted a free gift of a hundred million pounds to the Imperial Exchequer. In the spring of 1917, India gained a place in the councils of the Empire. The Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Satyendra Sinha took part with Sir James Meston in the Imperial War Conference in London and later at the Peace Conference. In 1918, Sinha became Lord Sinha of Raipur and Under-Secretary of India in the Coalition Government. The dominions accepted the principle of reciprocity on the treatment of immigrants. King's Commissions were granted to Indian Officers. It became known that Chelmsford who succeeded Hardinge in 1916 was considering the next step in the constitutional advancement. But all these did little to satisfy Indian political aspirations. Coercive methods adopted in the Punjab for recruitment to the army irritated the people. Even the moderates were annoyed at the stringent controls under the Defence of India Act. Muslim opinion was inflamed by the British sympathy with the Sheriff of Mecca, who had revolted against the authority of the Sultan of Turkey. We shall in the next section see the character of the political struggle in India and the communal tangle involved in it.

Non-Cooperation

THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME: The moderate politicians were weakened by the death of Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta. The extremists under Tilak and Mrs. Besant were putting forth demands for Home Rule. Tilak was gaining ground and at the Lucknow Congress in 1916 he had a clear majority to support him. At this time the Muslims who were agitating for the restoration of the Khilafat held a public meeting at Lucknow, to condemn those who sympathized with the Sheriff of Mecca as the enemies of Islam. This gave an opportunity for the Congress and the Muslim League to meet together and compose their differences. Their agreed plan of self-government for India came to be called the Congress-League Scheme. This included separate electorate and weightage for Muslims. It advocated not 'the Parliamentary' but the 'Presidential system' of government.

HOME RULE AND SATYAGRAHA: Mrs. Besant in Madras and Tilak in Bombay carried on a widespread propaganda for Home Rule. By this time Gandhi had returned to India (1915) and founded the Satyagraha Ashram on the banks of Sabarmati near Ahmedabad. By the end of 1915 Tilak re-constituted the Congress. He supported the war efforts and disavowed violence as a means of attaining self-government. He was for assertion of rights and for action if necessary. The members of the Congress responded to his call. Tilak welcomed the Montagu declaration of 1917. But he made it clear that he wanted more than what was implied in it.

Montagu visited India in 1917-18. The welfare of India was one mastering passion of his life. He has left a diary which is very illuminating. His remarks about Pentland clearly show, how the British authorities were responsible for promoting communal feelings. 'He (Pentland) talked about Brahmins bitterly; he assured me that all respect for the Government had gone; that people used to consider all officials from the Viceroy downwards as sort of gods not to be argued with or challenged. That had all disappeared; we were playing with fire; danger was written everywhere; that he does not know what to say or how to think.'[1] Montagu also mentions how a petition was signed by eight hundred non-Brahmins to disprove the statement that the Home Rule movement was a Brahmin movement and was not given permission to be presented till his arrival in Madras.

The Ulemas of Madras, in answer to a question from Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, said: 'We do not want Home Rule.' Montagu comments: 'Then a delightful old man with beautiful beard and fine profile told us that he had studied the *Koran* and all the Commentaries, the Bible and the Holy Books and he could find no sanction for the Congress-Muslim League scheme in them.'[2]

Tilak's call to his countrymen was to 'agitate and organize'. By now he came to be called Lokamanya Tilak. Soon the leadership passed from Tilak to Gandhi, whose weapon was Satyagraha or passive resistance. He won the first peaceful victories by the method of fastening on particular evils and asking for their removal in a given time on pain of offering Satyagraha, if it was not done. He succeeded in getting Veeramgam Customs Line removed.

[1] Montagu, Edwin S., *An Indian Diary*, p. 125.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

He also succeeded in stopping indentured labour before the time limit set by him (31 July 1917). He was served with an order to leave Champaran, but he chose to disobey the order saying: 'I have disregarded the order served on me not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the supreme law of our being, the voice of conscience.' The magistrate was at his wit's end. He was, however, relieved when, at the intervention of the Viceroy, the case against Gandhi was withdrawn. Gandhi succeeded in getting specific grievances of the labourers in the tea plantations at Champaran redressed. Now the Congress at a special meeting adopted passive resistance as the weapon to be used, in case the Government did not consider the Congress-League demand without undue delay. In June 1917 Mrs. Besant was interned. In August 20, 1917 came the announcement of Montagu. This declaration made it clear that the Home Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from India. Mrs. Besant was released to secure a peaceful atmosphere. The joint report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State was published on 8 July 1918. It adopted the principles of dyarchy. The home rule party denounced the proposals; but the moderates welcomed them. The proposals were enacted into law, although the major political parties in India condemned dyarchy as likely to cause friction.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1919: This act provided that the provincial executives were to comprise two sections; one section was to have two or four members of Council nominated by the Crown but half of them were to be Indians. These members would be in charge of police and revenue, called reserved subjects. The other section could be made up of ministers appointed by the Governor from the majority party in the legislature. These ministers were in charge of education, local self-government, forest and excise. These subjects were called transferred subjects. The United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam each got a governor and council and later Burma (1923) and North-West Frontier Province (1932). The provincial legislative councils were largely increased in numbers with at least 70 per cent of the members elected. Muslims, Sikhs in Punjab, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians got separate electorates. The

councils should elect their own presidents after four years. The Governor had the power to certify essential expenditure. The supreme government continued to be unitary and responsible to the Secretary of State and Parliament as before. The executive council was enlarged, and it was understood that half the number should be persons of Indian birth. The Indian legislature became bicameral. The upper chamber was called the Council of State, which consisted of 61 members with an elected majority. The official block ceased to exist. The franchise was based on high property qualification. The Legislative Assembly had 40 nominated members of whom 25 were officials and 106 members elected on a wide franchise, including women. The Council of State was elected for five years and the assembly for three. When there was a deadlock it was open to the Governor-General to have a joint session of the two councils to resolve it. The Assembly had no power to discuss or vote upon certain specific items of expenditure including interest on debts, salaries and pensions. The Governor-General had the power to certify or veto any measure passed or voted down by the Assembly. The Governor-General had powers to enact laws or emergency measures. At the end of ten years a parliamentary committee was to visit India and recommend reforms.

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES: Government also set up a chamber of princes over which the Viceroy was to preside. This had nothing to do with the Government of India. The princes could rule their States in their own way and were responsible only to the Viceroy. The Chamber of Princes gave the princes an opportunity to meet together and express their views on subjects of common concern.

DISTURBANCES: Unfortunately, the reforms went into operation in an atmosphere of tragedy and strife. As the Defence of India Act was due to lapse the Government wanted to arm themselves with sufficient power to check the outrages of terrorists in Bengal. So two stringent acts, popularly known as 'The Rowlatt Acts' were passed by the unreformed legislature in January 1919. These gave the authorities power to try terrorists without a jury. Political opinion of all shades treated the Rowlatt Acts as a challenge and campaigned to resist them. There were also other causes that

roused resentment of people. There had been a poor harvest in 1918; demobilized soldiers went into villages and stirred up discontent. Rich industrialists who had made enormous profits during the war were unwilling to spend money on equipment or wages. The epidemic of influenza, already referred to, carried away millions of people. Gandhi was in Madras at the time the Rowlatt Bills were passed into law. He appealed to the nation to observe 24 hours fast and a complete *hartal* (stoppage of business). People were exhorted to hold meetings to condemn the new laws. 30 March 1919 was fixed as the day of observance. Subsequently it was changed to 6 April, but the news of the change did not reach the north in time. There were demonstrations in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar which resulted in police shooting and loss of life. Gandhi was asked to visit Delhi and Amritsar, but he said that he would go after the demonstrations at Bombay on 6 April. When he started on 7 April he was arrested and taken back to Bombay. This precipitated trouble in Ahmedabad and Amritsar. Gandhi found that the demonstrations were taking a violent turn. He therefore suspended the civil disobedience movement on 18 April and undertook to edit two weekly journals, *Young India* in English and *Navajeevan* in Gujarati, in order to educate the country in the technique of non-violent non-cooperation.

THE JALLIANWALLAH BAGH TRAGEDY: Martial Law was declared in the Punjab on 15 April following the murder of four European men and a woman and the burning of some government buildings. Kichlu and Satyapal who were organizing the Congress activities in the Punjab were arrested and deported. Amritsar was handed over to the military and Brigadier General Dyer arrived at Amritsar. All public meetings were forbidden. On the evening of 13 April, the Hindu New Year's Day, there was a large gathering in Jallianwallah Bagh in Amritsar; probably the people had not known the prohibitory order. General Dyer marched to the spot with a small force of 50 rifles and 40 men with other weapons. Without any warning he fired at the dense crowd. In about 10 minutes according to official version 379 were killed, and 1208 were wounded. The casualty is regarded as higher by some eye-witnesses. General Dyer was satisfied that the shooting had 'a sufficient moral effect throughout the Punjab'. From 15 April till 9 January Amritsar was under martial law, and among the orders passed was one that men

should crawl on all fours through the street in Amritsar, where the European women had been attacked, and another was that at Gujranwalla all Indians should salaam any commissioned officer. Flogging even for minor offences was resorted to. Gandhi had not known about the occurrences in Punjab when he suspended civil disobedience movement on 18 April. To make matters worse, Dyer's actions were approved at the time by the government and he was promoted to a higher rank in the Afghan war that followed. In the House of Lords during discussion of Dyer's action, it was held that Dyer had saved British rule in India by his action. Consequently, the relations between the British and the Indians became more bitter than ever.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: The Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress held in December 1920 may be regarded as a landmark in the history of the country's struggle for freedom. At this Congress the goal was declared to be 'attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means'. The revision of the Constitution of India gave the Congress an opportunity to set its seal of approval on Gandhi's leadership and the Congress organization turned from an upper class urban group into a nation-wide mass organization. Gandhi's words penetrated into the heart of Indian society. In 1921-22 the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. This lasted for fourteen months. Its main objects were to secure redress for the Khilafat and Punjab's wrongs. Gandhi who now became Mahatma, called on people to give up titles and honours given by the government; to boycott law courts and educational institutions, to withdraw from government service and to refuse to pay taxes. Gandhi firmly believed that his programme of a non-cooperation could win 'Swaraj in one Year'. Gandhiji's life was modelled to that of a villager. His saintly character won for him universal respect. The villagers regarded his very presence among them as a benediction. He prepared them to be ready for sacrifice of wealth, position and comfort. The response to his call for non-violent noncooperation was splendid. Gandhi had several meetings with Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, between 13–18 May 1921, but the negotiations bore no tangible results. Respected leaders from all over the country were arrested and put in prison generally for short terms. In December 1921 the Nehrus and C. R. Das were arrested and sent to prison. To

have turned Pandit Motilal Nehru into a supporter of Civil Disobedience Movement was no small achievement of Gandhi. Jawaharlal Nehru, a man with socialistic ideas, was an ardent admirer of Gandhi and a faithful follower. He was for action and Gandhi's method showed him the way. The Government considered it unwise to spirit Gandhi away from the scene of his activities, for they felt that his presence would ensure non-violence. Official repression assumed frightening proportions. This made even loyal government servants angry. There were indiscriminate arrests and those arrested were maltreated. Secret trials were held in prisons and deterrent punishments were given. Men and women were arrested and detained in prison without trial. That year nearly thirty thousand civil resistors were in jail.

The willingness of people, high and low, to make any sacrifice for the country's cause amazed and unnerved the government. The Viceroy in his despatch to the Secretary of State in February 1922 frankly admitted that the non-cooperation movement had been 'engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations'. The non-violent non-cooperation of Gandhi challenged the British Government even more seriously than the outbreak of 1857.

Congress and Reformed Legislature

The first elections under the new constitution were held in October 1920. Non-cooperation was then at its height. Nationalist feeling was intense. Gandhi described the new system of government as a 'Whited sepulchre'. However, elections went on; about a third of the voters only took part in them. Only in Madras, the Justice Party captured political power, so as to redress social imbalance between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. This newly conferred power brought the Justice Party nearer to the British Government and the officials were not slow to use this as a weapon to beat the Congress with. In the other provinces, ministries were based on coalitions of various groups.

The Central Legislature was opened at Delhi by the Duke of Connaught on 9 February 1921, a year full of troubles. In April Lord Reading succeeded Chelmsford. The Congress committee resolved on boycotting the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales. Muhamad Ali presiding over the Khilafat conference declared it unlawful for faithful Muslims to serve in the army or help any

recruitment. In August of the same year the Moplahs of Malabar started a holy war. This developed into violent attacks on local Hindus, involving massacre, forceful conversion and desecration of temples. This revolt and the abolition of the Khilafat in 1924 led to the collapse of the Khilafat movement; Hindu-Muslim tension revived and Gandhi's plans to unite the Hindus and Muslims for a common cause proved a failure. The Ali brothers were arrested for the Karachi resolution and were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. In the Punjab, the religious and political unrest produced serious troubles. Sikh reformers known as Akalis attacked the Mahants of Sikh shrines. The Mahants employed armed guards for protection. The Mahants of Nanakana was responsible for the massacre of one hundred and thirty Akalis. He was arrested and government's attempt to bring about a solution between the Mahants and the Akalis failed. The Akalis grew in numbers and attempted to overthrow the government and revive Sikh rule. It was not until the arrest and conviction of about 1,000 Akalis in March 1922, that the Akalis' trouble subsided. In the United Provinces there was an agrarian unrest. Non-cooperation among the peasants tended to take a Bolshevik turn. An anti-revolution league was formed in which ex-army men cooperated and this brought the peasant revolt under control. The spirit of non-cooperation gained stimulus from the organization of national volunteers to arrange boycott in different places during the visit of the Prince of Wales (17 September 1921). Schools and colleges felt the effect of unrest. Dozens of men and women courted imprisonment. The Congress met at Allahabad in December 1921 and affirmed its faith in non-cooperation. Gandhi was appointed as the sole executive authority of the Congress. He was preparing the 'No-tax Campaign' in Bardoli but when he heard that there was an outbreak of violence he stayed his hand. The riots in Bombay on the occasion of the Prince's visit were resented by Mahatma Gandhi and he went on a five days' fast. At Chauri Chaura, a place near Gorakhpur in U.P., a violent mob brought to death some twenty police constables and a sub-inspector (5 February 1922). Now Gandhi called off civil disobedience in all its forms and advised people to take to peaceful constructive programme of social and educational work, besides hand-spinning. Gandhi was arrested and tried for sedition. He was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Cheerfully accepting the sentence, Gandhi

said: 'I do not ask for mercy, I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what, in law, is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.'

The work of the legislature went on smoothly. Ministries of the Provinces felt the inadequacy of finance in their nation building departments. Indianization proceeded in the civil service and fiscal autonomy came. Military expenditure was reduced and the organization of the territorial force gave an opening to military life for middle class Indians. The Viceroy had to certify a bill for the doubling of salt tax in 1923 to meet the deficit budget. With Gandhi in jail and the legislatures working smoothly, the Congress politicians though deeply over the situation in India. There were three trends of opinion among the members of the Congress. Devotees of Gandhi clung to non-cooperation and called themselves no-changers. Men like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru thought that non-cooperation should be combined with Council entry and they founded a new Swaraj party. Their policy was to wreck reforms from within the Council. There were others, who were for 'responsive cooperation or acceptance of office on terms'.

In the elections of 1923, Swarajists secured fifty out of one hundred and forty-five seats in the new assembly. In the provinces, except in Bengal and Central Provinces, nowhere was the Swarajists' strength enough to mend or end the councils. In the Legislative Assembly it was possible for the Swarajists to inflict defeat on government with support from others. In 1924 Motilal Nehru carried a resolution formulating 'National Demand' for a round table conference for framing a scheme for responsible government and a newly elected legislature to consider the scheme. The Swarajists found that refusal of office after obtaining a majority served no purpose. There was discontentedness among the members of the Swarajists party. They pleaded for responsive non-cooperation. There was a general sense of frustration and the Congress needed someone to give them a sense of direction. Outside the Congress ranks, Hindu-Muslim relations continued to worsen. As a result of Motilal Nehru's resolution a committee under the Chairmanship of Muddiman was appointed to enquire into the changes that might be made within the limits of the 1919 Act. The Muddiman

report was in two parts, the majority report recommended details for the smooth working of diarchy, the minority report declared that diarchy was inherently unworkable. The British Government adopted the majority report and Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State, challenged the Indians to produce a constitution of their own. This challenge was accepted by the Indian National Convention. But as a fresh political advance came into view, Hindu-Muslim tension increased and on the day when Lord Irwin landed in Bombay on April 1926 to succeed Lord Reading, there were fierce communal riots in Calcutta. Irwin was a man of remarkable character who though a conservative, had marked sympathy with the Indian cause of self-determination. He made an earnest appeal for communal peace in the name of the religion and Indian National life. In the next elections Swarajists lost heavily in the Central Assembly but gained strength in the provincial councils of Bengal, Bihar, and Madras. Swami Sraddhananda, Arya Samaj leader, was shot dead by a Muslim in Assam. The Gauhati Congress declared itself against acceptance of office until the National Demand was conceded.

Irwin soon became aware of the need to provide a lead to break the impasse in which the public opinion found itself. His first duty was to bring about communal harmony. He advised the Indian Office that there was in India 'a greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation' and that communal relations could improve only when the future political set-up was known. A statutory commission of seven members, all British, under the presidency of Sir Simon was set up to enquire into the working of the Constitution. As there was no Indian on the commission the Moderates under Sapru and the Congress party under Motilal Nehru united in opposition to that body. The Home Government would not understand the feelings of Indians over the all British Commission, and at last Simon was empowered to include six elected Indian members of the Central Legislature to sit with the commission and report separately at the same time as the British Commission.

In December 1927 the Madras Congress resolved that its goal was no longer Swaraj but *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence. On 3 February 1928 the Simon Commission landed in Bombay. There were *hartals* and hostile demonstrations including strikes. Racial antipathy ran high and this was aggravated by publication

of Miss Mayo's *Mother India* which contained damaging statements about Indians. Special legislation was resorted to for maintaining order. The Central Legislature refused to have anything to do with the Simon Commission, but the Provincial Assemblies agreed to assist it. The depressed classes and other minorities were also willing to give evidence before the Simon Commission. Bengal and Punjab witnessed renewal of assassinations and outrages and industrial strikes caused great economic loss. In March 1928, an All-Party Conference was held at Delhi. This Conference could reach no agreement, because the Muslims refused to give up communal electorates and Hindus would not consent to extension of reforms to the Frontier Province. They also objected to separation of Sind from Bombay. The reforms of the All-Party Conference were drafted mainly by Motilal Nehru and Sapru. These recommended the abolition of communal electorates, but on the other points, the question of North-West Frontier Province and separation of Sind, the Muslim point of view was accepted. Jinnah, the Muslim League leader, was a signatory of the report, but Shaukat Ali and other Congress Muslims did not accept it. Gandhi, who had been released in February 1924 on grounds of health devoted himself to constructive social work. He now reentered the political field and gave consent to the Satyagraha campaign by Vallabhbhai Patel at Bardoli, against the unjustified increase in land revenue assessment. This no-tax campaign continued for over six months and was a success (1928). Jawaharlal Nehru, who was getting into prominence did not at all like the Nehru committee report. However, he had to reconcile himself to it, when in December at a Calcutta Congress 1928, presided over by Motilal Nehru, the Constitution framed was accepted on condition that if the British Government did not accept it before the end of 1929 the Congress would be free to launch a countrywide non-cooperation movement, including non-payment of taxes. Now the Muslims, Hindu Mahasabha and the depressed classes under Ambedkar and M. C. Rajah formed parties to press their respective claims. In the Assembly V. J. Patel was the speaker, and there arose a difficulty over the public safety bill which had to be issued as an ordinance. A bomb was thrown on 18 April 1929 from the visitors' gallery on the Government benches. It was clear that something had to be done to satisfy the political aspirations of the people.

Civil Disobedience Movement—Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The Simon Commission paid two visits to India. The first lasted from 3 February 1928 to March 31, and the second from 11 October, 1928 to 13 April 1929. On both these occasions wherever the Commission went, they were met with cries of 'Simon go back'. The boycott of the Simon Commission was so complete that it had little to report except its own discomfiture. At Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai, a veteran Congress leader, was beaten on the chest in October 1928 when leading a protest procession against the Simon Commission. He died on 17 November. This caused deepest resentment and great sorrow to the people of India.

The annual session of the Congress was held at Lahore in December 1928 under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. At this session the Congress declared complete independence as the goal of India. 26 January was declared as the Independence day. The people all over India were exhorted to take pledges to liberate the country from British rule. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose desired that action should follow the Congress resolution. But Gandhi refused to yield. After many months he decided on defying the Salt Law and wanted abolition of the Salt Tax. Jawaharlal Nehru was not very much impressed with Gandhi's move, but very soon he found that this item of poor man's food caught the imagination of the people and the historic march of Gandhi to Dandi, a sea-side resort, on the West Coast was a tremendous success. On 5 April, he reached Dandi and ceremonially broke the Salt Law. Men and women in all parts of India, enthusiastically followed Gandhi in breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi was arrested; the civil disobedience movement gathered strength. About 90,000 satyagrahis were seized and sent to prison for short terms. The labour Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald assured the Viceroy of his Government's full support in suppressing the revolt in India. The Secretary of State, Wedgewood Benn, wrote to say that he had every confidence in the Viceroy's judgement and would support him fully. However, the massive character of the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 unnerved the Viceroy and the British Officials. Military experts viewed the situation with alarm, when the Garhwali troops refused to open fire on an unarmed crowd at Peshawar. The Salt Satyagraha made Britain understand that it was impossible to

govern the country in defiance of Mahatma Gandhi, who was determined to lift the foreign yoke.

While there was such widespread unrest in India, the first Round Table Conference was opened in London on 12 November 1930. All the members of the British Indian delegation were the Viceroy's nominees, some of whom were definitely against the Indian Nationalism. The Congress and Gandhi did not attend the Round Table Conference. On 19 January 1931, Ramsay Macdonald held out hopes of making a substantial transfer of power to India. It was clear that the question was no longer one of instalments of self-government, but the limitations to a complete transfer of authority. Though there was something like an agreement on the nature of provincial governments the rival claims of sectional and communal interests hampered progress. Each of the minorities was claiming virtual veto on progress, unless its own extravagant claims were conceded. The difficulties created by the minorities rendered the political wisdom and statesmanship of men like Sapru, Srinivas Shastri and Jayakar, almost ineffective.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT: Irwin, the good Christian that he was, took a bold step to save the situation with the approval of the Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald. He released the Congress leaders, and withdrew the notifications declaring the Working Committee of the Congress an illegal association (25 January 1931). After patient negotiations lasting about a fortnight, the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact was published by the government on 5 March 1931. By its terms Congress was to discontinue Civil Disobedience and take part in the next session of the Round Table Conference and government to withdraw its ordinances and release the political prisoners not convicted of violent crime: 'peaceful picketing' in the swadeshi campaign was allowed; public servants dismissed for their attitude to Civil Disobedience were to be restored; reservations in the new Constitution were to be only in the interests of India. The Congress gained nothing from the agreement except that the Mahatma was recognized as the real representative of the Indian people. This fact drove Churchill to feel horrified at the, 'nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this one time Inner Temple Lawyer, now seditious fakir striding half naked up to the steps of the Viceroy's Palace, there to negotiate and to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor'.

A special session of the Congress met at Karachi (30 March) ratifying the pact and authorized Gandhi to represent the Congress at the round table conference. The peaceful atmosphere created by the Pact was marred by the unfortunate order of the execution of Bhagat Singh, a young Sikh, who had killed a police officer in Punjab and subsequently thrown a bomb into the Central Assembly. Gandhi's failure to obtain his reprieve was a disappointment to his followers. Irwin left India on 18 April and Willingdon, a very different type, became Viceroy. Terrorism continued in Bengal and the Punjab. There was a communal riot at Kanpur. There were complaints from the Congress that Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not observed. Matters were patched up at an interview between Gandhi and Willingdon at Simla. Gandhi was enabled to leave India for London as the sole representative of the Congress party.

SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: The second session of the Round Table Conference lasted from 7 September to 1 December 1931. By then the Labour Party had gone out of office. Sir Samuel Hoare was the new Secretary of State. The British attitude to the Indian problem stiffened under him. Gandhi claimed that he was the sole proper representative of all India, including Muslims, depressed classes and other minorities and questioned the credentials of the other delegates. The Muslims now became more suspicious than ever before. So they definitely set themselves against self-government for India based on majority control; every minority group clamoured for safeguard for itself and Prime Minister Macdonald declared that if the Indians could not evolve an agreed settlement, his government would impose a provisional scheme of their own. On 28 December 1931, Gandhi returned to India to find his lieutenants like Abdul Gaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru in jail. Ordinance rule was prevailing in India and Willingdon justified that it had been due to subversive Congress activities. Gandhi himself was arrested on 4 January 1932 and put in Yerrawada jail. This was Willingdon's answer to Gandhi's request for an interview and permission to tour the country.

The Viceroy made up his mind to crush the Congress. The working committee was declared again an unlawful body. The ordinances were turned into law by the Central and Provincial legislatures. Thousands of persons were sentenced during the year and the Congress funds were sequestered.

COMMUNAL AWARD, POONA PACT: In August 1932 the 'communal award' was published by the government. On 20 September Gandhi began a fast unto death to secure its modification. Ambedkar yielded to the moral persuasion of Gandhi. The Poona Pact was concluded between the Congress and the depressed classes (24 September 1932). According to this, the 71 special constituencies to the depressed classes were converted into 148 reserved seats in the general constituencies subject to a parliamentary election in which voters of all these classes formed an electoral college to choose a panel of candidates in the first instance. This pact was accepted by the government. The third and the final session of the Round Table Conference was held without the Congress and the Labour Party (27 November-December 1932). This conference devoted itself to technical questions such as form of the Instrument of Accession for the State and administrative relations between the Centre and the provinces. The White Paper embodying the conclusion was published in 1935. A Parliamentary Joint Select Committee was appointed to draft a Government of India Bill, Burma being left out. The White Paper did not satisfy even the moderate Indian opinion. Full control was still retained by the British Government as the arbiters of India's destiny. Even such a bill was opposed by a section of Conservatives led by Churchill. The bill became law, on 2 August 1935. The amendments of this bill prescribed direct election to the upper house in the Centre and indirect election to the lower house left undisturbed. In the next section we will notice the provisions of the 1935 Act and the Congress in office.

The 1935 Act : The Congress in Office

We saw that the Montford reforms gave Indian Ministers portfolios without power and position without substance. The Act of 1935, in a large measure, continued that tradition. This Act provided for an All-India Federation in two stages. The first consisted in setting up autonomous provinces in British India. The second was the federation of these provinces with the Indian States whose accession would be voluntary and on terms negotiated by them with the suzerain power. The Act provided for the separation of Burma from India and for the creation of Sind and Orissa into two new provinces. The North-West Frontier Provinces was raised

to the status enjoyed by the older ones. The Crown was to be represented in its relations with the princes by a Crown representative, who may be the Governor-General of British India also.

This Act fell far short of dominion status contemplated in the statute of Westminster. The essence of responsible government was seriously compromised by the retention of all the objectionable features of communal representation. Diarchy was abolished but there was no substantial improvement in the effectiveness of the Council of Ministers, for there were safeguards at each stage. The Governors and the Governor-General could, according to the instrument of instructions, nullify any assertion of popular will in the country's administration. The Governor of a province could overrule his Cabinet in matters affecting the peace and security of the province to protect minority interest or for some other purpose specified in the Act. The Viceroy had special powers and responsibilities relating to the maintenance of internal peace, defence, foreign policy, safeguarding of financial stability and of minority interest. Jawaharlal Nehru described the new Constitution as 'a car all brakes and no engines'. Mahatma Gandhi said that the policy of the Congress was not to secure an amendment but 'an absolute ending of the constitution which nobody likes' (30 March 1937). There were cleavages and differences which necessitated the continuance of safeguards; and the British policy was to make use of them to postpone the date of transfer of power to Indians. The worst that could be said of the British policy was that they promoted communal differences for their own good; it cannot be said that they were the creation of the British.

THE CONGRESS IN OFFICE: The Congress fought the elections, and accepted the responsibilities of government in the provinces in 1937. The Congress policy was to bend the Constitution to its will or to break it, and as Nehru said, acceptance of office meant 'fight against the coming of Federation by all means in our power inside as well as outside the legislature'. But the federation never came and the Second World War unsettled many things, important among them being the death of the Act of 1935 and the issue of Indian freedom being taken out of the hands of the British Government.

A QUIET TIME: The year 1934 was a relatively quiet year, except for the unsuccessful attempts on the life of Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal. Gandhi suspended Civil Disobedience Movement. He retired from politics for Harijan work. There was no ban on the Congress. A Congress Parliamentary Board was appointed to run and control members of Legislatures on the Congress ticket. The Communist party was declared unlawful. The Reserve Bank Act became law and protection was granted to the Steel Industry till 31 March 1941 subject to preference for English Steel under the Ottawa Agreement. The graduates of Dehra Dun Academy could by a new law get the Governor-General's commission in the army and the navy. The Congress party with the support of Jinnah threw out the finance bill which had to be certified.

The new regime of responsible government in the provinces was to begin on 1 April 1937. The Faizpur Congress rejected the reforms. But there was a definite drift towards constitutionalism. The Congress contested the elections to the new legislature. 54.5 per cent of the voters exercised their franchise. The Congress party gained absolute majority in Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa. In Bombay they were in a position to form a ministry with the support of independents. Coalition ministries of a non-Congress complexion were established in Bengal, Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Assam. The All-India Congress Committee renounced the proposition of non-acceptance of office. However, the Congress ministers did not accept office in the Majority provinces, until they were assured by the Viceroy that the Governors would not use their special powers in day to day administration. In N.W.F.P., Khan Saheb inflicted a defeat on his League rival and formed a Congress ministry. In Sind and Assam Congress coalitions came up later. Thus only Punjab and Bengal were outside the range of Congress influence. The League fared very badly in the elections. It could not secure a majority in the legislature even in provinces where the Muslims were in a majority. But still the League demanded that the Congress should admit its representatives in all Provincial ministries. The League refused to regard the Muslims in the Congress as representatives of the Muslim Community. The Congress held the view that Congress Muslims represented their community and refused to accept League members in their ministries. This widened the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Jinnah who found

himself left high and dry, when Indian nationalism gathered strength and velocity, assumed a distinctly hostile attitude to Congress. He, as the President of the Muslim League, reiterated his famous 'fourteen points' and took the road to two-nation theory and Pakistan. The Congress in office had no easy time. It had to encounter *hartals*, strikes and satyagraha, when it failed to satisfy the extravagant hopes raised by the election manifestoes; sometimes its policy offended susceptibilities of particular sections.

The Congress ministries were naturally suspicious of Governors and the Imperial Civil Service men. In Bihar and United Provinces there developed a crisis over the release of political prisoners; the Governor could not agree to the general release; the ministries resigned; but the Viceroy intervened and saved the situation. It was decided to examine the cases individually and order release on their merits. On the whole, the Congress ministries succeeded in maintaining law and order. They put through much valuable social and economic legislation.

Congress and States: At Haripura the Congress passed a resolution sympathizing with the States' subjects in their efforts to win popular government. The Congress Working Committee claimed the right to guide the people in the States; the princes forbade outsiders to take part in any civil disobedience in their territories. The Viceroy allayed the fears of the princes by making it clear that it was for the princes to decide the form of government in their States and that the paramount power would refrain from bringing any pressure on them in the matter of constitutional changes. The Congress opposed the federation which included State representatives nominated by the princes. The Muslims too, were against it, because they would be in a permanent minority. The princes did not want to join the federation, for they were unwilling to lose their power and prestige.

The Thakore of Rajkot promised Vallabhbhai Patel to redress the grievances of the people. Patel urged on him to give them a measure of self-government. But the Thakore did not keep his word. So on 2 March 1939 Gandhi announced a fast unto death. Under the leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel the people started *satyagraha* for achieving self-government. The Viceroy interceded and proposed that the matter should be referred to Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of India. Gandhi accepted this. Gwyer's

findings were in favour of Patel, but under the influence of Darbar Sri Virawala, the legal victory turned into a defeat for the Congress. Within the Congress itself the 'left Wing' was gaining strength. Subhas Chandra Bose, its leader, was elected president against Gandhi's nominee. The exigencies of the situation were such that Bose felt compelled to resign. Thereupon he started a new party called the Forward Bloc. This split affected the prestige of the Congress.

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CHATPER XXV

THE PARTITION OF INDIA AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER

The Second World War and Its Sequel

The Second World War broke out in September 1939, when Lord **Linlithgow was** Viceroy of India. This war 'put the whole question of India's political future into a new perspective'. It was Hitler, the Nazi dictator of Germany, that started the war. No one in India had any sympathy for him. Great thinkers and writers like Bertrand Russell and H. G. Wells considered the war as a crisis of civilization, and suggested 'plans of a bold reorganisation of human affairs on just and equitable basis'. Mahatma Gandhi wrote that he broke down at the picture of the possible destruction of the houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey. Jawaharlal Nehru unmistakably declared that 'in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy'. India under the leadership of Gandhi was ready and willing to draw all her resources into a struggle for a new order, but unfortunately there was no helpful response to this gesture from the British Government.

The Viceroy dragged India into the war without explaining to the Indian leaders the war aims and the implications of his action. He was no doubt constitutionally correct; but in view of previous declarations of policy it was impolitic on the part of Lord Linlithgow not to have consulted the popular ministries in the eleven provinces of India before committing the country to war. The British took no such liberty with the Dominions. Eire, very near to Britain, chose to remain neutral. When the Congress committee found that India was denied such a privilege, it refused its cooperation in a war conducted on imperialistic lines. It called upon the British Government to state their war aims, and insisted on knowing

whether the war meant freedom for India. An announcement in the Whitehall that India would be given dominion status soon after the war would have secured the heartiest cooperation of India in Britain's war efforts. But the Viceroy declared that when peace came, His Majesty's Government would be 'very willing to enter into consultations with representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and cooperation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable' to the act of 1935. Gandhi said that this was just the old policy of 'divide and rule'. The Working Committee asked the Congress Governments to resign; and seven provinces passed under Governor's rule. A plan in enlarging the Viceroy's executive Council also failed. This was Jinnah's opportunity. He had been levying wild charges against the Congress Government without accepting the challenge to prove them. At his bidding the Muslims observed 'a day of deliverance' from the Congress 'tyranny' on 22 December.

The modernization of the Indian air force and the navy was undertaken at a cost of Rs. 45 crores of which Rs. 33.5 crores formed free gift from England and rest as a loan free of interest for five years.

August 1940 Statement: The Congress offered cooperation in the war effort if its political demand was accepted. In March 1940 the Muslim League resolved at Lahore that India should be divided into two States, one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims. From 1925 onwards the idea of a two-nation theory had been put forward in different forms, but top leaders among Muslims themselves regarded it as 'a student scheme, chimerical and impracticable'. Jinnah knew that the Viceroy supported him and would not make any constitutional changes without his consent. The Hindu Mahasabha under M. S. Aney condemned the two-nation theory and demanded dominion status and Hindu predominance in the defence forces.

Hoping to enable the Congress to support war activity Linlithgow made a declaration on 8 August 1940. This contained the promise that after the conclusion of hostilities a constitution-making body would be brought into existence in India, in order to frame a new constitution; at the same time he assured diehards both in London and in India that nothing startling would really be done

by making it clear that 'it goes without saying that they (the British Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India, to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life, nor can they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government'. This announcement was clearly an incitement to the communal elements to claim a veto on the country's political progress. The Viceroy's proposal for the addition of Indians to the Executive Council and the setting up of an Advisory Council including representatives of the States, was summarily rejected by the Congress. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha accepted the declaration in principle but raised objections in detail. Each wanted more places and the League asked for guarantees which were not in the power of the Viceroy to give. So nothing came out of the Viceroy's proposals.

Gandhi now resumed the leadership of the Congress. He claimed freedom to oppose the war effort peacefully by speaking against recruitment to the army, work in the munition factories and so on. He chose 1,500 men to carry on the new movement of individual as contrasted with mass civil disobedience. This was a definite change from the position taken up by the Working Committee earlier when they withdrew from the offer of conditional cooperation in the war but declared themselves unwilling to embarrass the government. The government forbade publication of the news relating to the movement of individual civil disobedience. The first man to court arrest was Vinoba Bhave, the future *Bhoodan* leader. Six premiers and fifteen ex-ministers found themselves in jail before December. Nehru was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment for his speeches to the peasants of Uttar Pradesh. Many other leaders were swept into prison at the most critical period in the history of the country.

War Effort: The war effort was seriously impaired. However, the expansion and Indianization of the army proceeded. A conference of the Eastern group was held under the chairmanship of Zafrulla Khan (supply member) and a supply council was set up. The finance bill was rejected by the Assembly, but the Viceroy certified it. The government maintained friendly relations with the press till the crisis of 1942.

Subhas Bose disappeared from his residence while on parole in January 1941. It was reported that he was organizing a provisional Azad Hind Government and an Indian National Army for the liberation of India with Japanese aid.

INTERPRETATION OF ATLANTIC CHARTER: The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration of war aims by the President of U.S.A. and the British Prime Minister on 12 August 1941. U.S.A. had not yet entered the war then. The third clause of the declaration reads: 'They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them'. This statement dealt with the future of the whole world. India considered that this clause applied to her also. But Churchill maintained that it related only to the countries overrun by Hitler. America and China acted as if the Indian view were not wrong. Before the close of the year 1941, the Allies had serious reverses in the war. There were fears of German and Japanese attack on India from either side. The Indian members of the Viceroy's Council made it possible to get the release of Satyagrahis, including Azad and Nehru.

CRIPPS MISSION: Churchill was against enlisting the cooperation of the Congress in any manner. His impression was that American opinion at the time did not favour the Congress. Much to the chagrin of Churchill, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife visited India in February 1942 to discuss the supply routes and defence of Burma. They took the opportunity to induce Indian leaders to join actively in the war efforts. On 8 March the Japanese Army entered Rangoon. It became necessary for the British to break the political deadlock in India. Churchill announced on 11 March, that Sir Cripps, member of War Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons, would go to India for personal consultation with all the parties. Cripps was a friend of Nehru and the Congress. This was enough for Jinnah to suspect Cripps. In fact Jinnah 'was less concerned with Britain's danger than that of his community'.

Cripps arrived at Delhi on 22 March. On 30 March, the draft declaration was published. This envisaged self-government for India soon after the war. The Indian Union would have dominion

status with power to secede from the Commonwealth. A constitution-making body for All-India, including States, would be set up. The constitution-making body had two conditions to fulfil: (1) the Provinces not acquiescing in the new Constitution would be free to have their own Constitution, (2) undertaking to be given to the British Government that the interest of the racial and religious minorities would be duly protected. It was impossible for any Constitution making body to satisfy these two conditions. The British Government's policy was very clear. The problem of minority was to hang permanently as a millstone round the neck of India. The defence portfolio might be held by an Indian but the Commander-in-Chief would have unfettered freedom to pursue the war according to his own expert knowledge of the situation. Although Cripps was greatly in sympathy with India, he could do nothing without Churchill's approval and as Harry Hopkins says: 'Churchill is the war cabinet and no one else matters.' Gandhi described the Cripps' plan as a 'post-dated cheque upon a crashing bank'. The Congress wanted that all the subjects including defence should be handed over to the National Government. The Muslim League was glad that the principle of Pakistan was accepted, but Jinnah insisted on unequivocal recognition of Pakistan as a pre-condition for considering the Cripps proposal. As Cripps was unable to evolve a workable plan, he left India. On the same day, President Roosevelt telegraphed to his representative in London that Cripps should stay longer in India and resolve the deadlock. Churchill was glad that Cripps had left India. C. Rajagopalachari advocated a National Front for the duration of war and the National Government including the Muslim League on generous terms. He was for recognizing Pakistan in a form that could satisfy Muslims. He had therefore temporarily cut himself away from the Congress in order to secure the support of all sections of Indians in the war effort to meet the Japanese challenge. The ban imposed on the Communist party was lifted, for when Hitler attacked Russia, the Communists became supporters of the war effort.

The Claims of the Congress and Muslim League

The Congress' refusal to accommodate fully the Muslim League's claim for the place in the Congress Ministry in the United Provinces made Jinnah hate the Congress and resolve to work for the

creation of a separate 'Homeland' for the Muslims. From 1935 on he worked with a relentless determination to eliminate all Muslim parties other than the League. He succeeded in stirring the passions of Muslims and they accepted his leadership without question. He did not scruple to make use of the opportunity that offered itself to him when the members of the Congress Working Committee were all in jail. 'The Congress had once claimed to speak for the whole of India. The claim was invalid and they had been compelled to abate it. Jinnah now claimed to speak for all the Muslims of India. This claim was also invalid; but unlike Congress he was not compelled to abate it and soon he succeeded for all practical purposes in making it good.' (Penderel Moon).

QUIT INDIA DEMAND: On 10 May Gandhi wrote in his paper: 'The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India' and in June he wrote: 'Leave India in God's hands, or in modern parlance, to anarchy.' Gandhi made it clear that he was not siding with Japan, but was bent on helping China by calling in the aid of United Nations forces to repel any possible Japanese attack on India. The Working Committee met at Wardha and on 14 July reiterated the demand of British abdication and immediate grant of independence. If this was rejected there would be mass civil disobedience under the leadership of Gandhi. The plan was ratified by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on 8 August, and the next day Gandhi was arrested and interned. Members of the Working Committee and some other Congress Leaders were also arrested and interned. The All-India Congress and Provincial Congress Committees were banned by the Central Government. Serious disorders broke out simultaneously in different parts of the country. Communications were attacked particularly in the strategic areas of Bengal, Assam and Bihar. China protested against the arrests to Roosevelt but Churchill managed to satisfy Roosevelt and American opinion was quiescent. Towards the end of August the situation came under control. However, sporadic outbreaks continued to the end of the year. About 900 lives were lost on the Congress side. 30 police and 11 soldiers were also killed. Several tens of thousands were sent to imprisonment or detained without trial. Churchill was satisfied that the British Government had been able to put down a most serious rebellion in India 'in a few months with hardly any loss of life'. Gandhi in

his correspondence with the Viceroy, repudiated the Congress responsibility for the violence of the 1942 movement.

The Government published a Whitepaper on the subject on 13 February 1943. Congressmen hoped that at the proper time they could claim suitable recompense for their sacrifice. Before the movement started Gandhi had himself stated: 'If in spite of precautions rioting does take place it cannot be helped.'

Early in 1943 Gandhi announced a fast of three weeks beginning on 10 February. When the government declined to release him three Indian members (Mody, Sarkar and Aney) resigned their places on the Viceroy's Council. Mahatma was 73 at that time. Everywhere in India there was widespread anxiety. Fortunately he survived the self-imposed ordeal and on 2 March, he broke his fast. In April the defence rule under which Gandhi and nine thousand others were detained was declared invalid by the Federal Court, but a Validating Ordinance was issued by the Viceroy.

On 20 October Lord Wavell succeeded Linlithgow as Viceroy. As Linlithgow had been preoccupied in his game of promoting Hindu-Muslim tension, he was not able to pay sufficient attention to the sufferings of the people from famine in Bengal. Lord Wavell took effective measures to give relief to the sufferers with the assistance of the military on the spot.

The famine and the war brought difficult economic problems to solve. In 1944 leading Indian industrialists and financiers published *A Plan for Economic Development for India*. This came to be called the Bombay Plan. The government wanted to show its concern regarding economic questions. So it appointed Sir Ardeshir Dalal of the Tatas as a new member for planning and development to the Executive Council.

GANDHI AND JINNAH: Wavell showed that he was eager for an advance in the political field. He stressed the natural unity of India, and pointed to the need for cooperation among the parties. He made it clear that the Cripps offer was there for the Indians to accept. Jinnah was now holding a strong position for there were League governments established in Bengal, Sind, Assam and in the N.W.F.P. In Punjab there was a coalition government of the Hindus and the Sikhs. He was egging the Punjab Muslims on to assert their authority and finally succeeded in bringing down the Punjab Government. He was irrevocably committed to Pakistan

and was prepared for any consequence, for he knew that the British Government would do nothing without him. We may ask: 'Did He who made Maulana Abul Kalam Azad make Mohamed Ali Jinnah?' To the Congress cry of 'Quit India' Jinnah matched the League cry of 'Divide and Quit'.

Wavell discussed with Jinnah the compromise formula of Rajagopalachari, but this led to no results. Jinnah insisted that Pakistan should include six entire provinces 'Sind, Punjab, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam'. He was prepared for making adjustment of their frontier. He called these Muslim Homelands and firmly declared that non-Muslims of those areas should have no voice in determining their fate. He did not concede that there could be any matter of common concern to two separate sovereign States. So he demanded that the division should be done before the transfer of power. Indeed there was no chance of the League and the Congress presenting an agreed demand to the British.

Gandhi was released on 6 May 1944. He entered into a long futile discussion with Jinnah on the future disposition of the country. He pleaded in vain with the League leader to accept Rajagopalachari's formula as a basis for negotiations. Jinnah was not prepared at this time for any precise definition of Pakistan. Many competent observers felt that Gandhi's approach to Jinnah was inopportune. Maulana Azad wrote: 'I think Gandhi's approach to Jinnah at this time was a great blunder. It gave a new and added importance to Mr. Jinnah which he later exploited to the full.'[1] The efforts of Sapru and his Liberal colleagues could do nothing to restore harmony in the conflicting politics of India.

The Secretary of State and the Viceroy tried to settle the political dispute. On 14 June 1945 Amery announced that the Viceroy's Executive Council would be reconstituted. Appointments could be made on the basis of 'a balanced representation to the main communities, including equal proportion of Muslims and caste Hindus', but the future of the princely States would remain unchanged. The Congress leaders were released to enable them to participate in the Conference at Simla. This plan was essentially the Cripps' offer. It did not strike the authorities that granting parity of representation to the Congress and the League on a communal basis was unfair, but soon Jinnah raised difficulties and the conference proved a failure. He claimed the monopoly of

[1] *India Wins Freedom*, p. 93.

Muslim representation for himself and the League. He insisted that 'all the Muslim members to the proposed executive council should be chosen by the Muslim League'. At that time the Muslim League had no majority in any of the provinces except in Sind. The Congress as a secular organization still claimed to represent all India and insisted on including Muslim names in its panel. Wavell admitted that the failure of the Simla Conference was due to the League Leaders' unfair attitude. Jinnah now felt confident that he could bring any constitutional movement to a standstill if it did not appeal to him.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE LAST PHASE: At the end of July 1945, the Labour Government came to power in Britain. In India, its advent inspired hopes of putting an end to political tribulations. On 19 September, Wavell announced that steps would be taken to hasten 'realisation of full self-government in India. Elections would be held in ensuing cold weather season for the creation of a Constituent Assembly' which should work out 'a new free self-government constitution for British India or such part of it as was ready to consent to such a constitution'.

The League entered elections as if it were waging a *jehad* (holy war). Muslim masses were incited to overthrow 'tyranny' and the 'Hindu Congress'. Religious fanaticism was stirred up among the Muslims. The league leaders conjured up the vision of Pakistan before the Muslim masses. Non-League candidates were hooted out of public platforms. The president of the Sind Muslim Jamiat accused the Government and the officials of colluding with the League in ensuring its success. Except in the N.W.F.P., where the Congress won the majority, in other provinces where the Muslims were in a majority, the League's victory at the polls was overwhelming. Naturally, Jinnah was very jubilant.

On 5 January 1946 the British Parliamentary delegation came to India. To this delegation Jinnah said that he would not agree to any interim government if the League was not given equal representation with all the other parties. He insisted on the creation of two constituent assemblies as a condition precedent to his agreeing to any temporary arrangement about the government. Elections swept away all Muslim parties other than the League. The Congress got majority in eight provinces.

The trials for treason of the officers of the Indian National Army of Bose were going on at this time. The first batch of trials ended on 30 January 1946. The Commander-in-Chief had to intervene to mitigate the severity of the sentences in view of the strong popular feeling against the trials. There was a revolt of naval ratings in Bombay, Karachi, Vizagapatnam and Calcutta. Among the Royal Indian Air Force too there was open defiance. These risings were due to long-standing discriminations between European and Indian employees. Soon the trouble was got over through the mediation of Patel and Azad.

On the occasion of the visit of the Cabinet Mission to India Attlee, the Prime Minister, declared 'we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority', and made it clear that no obstacle would be placed in the way to independence, if India preferred it. The Congress Working Committee appointed Azad, Nehru and Patel to negotiate on its behalf. Jinnah protested that Indian Muslims were not a minority but a nation. In an interview he told Norman Cliff, foreign editor of the *News Chronicle* (on 31 March 1946), that there was no such country as India and that he was not an Indian.

The Cabinet Mission soon discovered that the League and the Congress could produce no agreed plan. So on 16 May they announced a plan of their own. Pakistan was rejected; a Federal Government for the whole of India including the States would be in charge of foreign affairs, defence and communication. The provinces of British India would form into three groups: (1) The Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, and Baluchistan, (2) Bengal and Assam, (3) the rest; the groups would meet separately to draw up the provincial constitutions and group constitutions, if any; each province would have the right to opt out of the Union after the first elections under the new Constitution; the Union Constitution would be drawn up by a body including 292 members for British India (with small additions for the Chief Commissioner's provinces and Baluchistan, four in all) elected by the proportional representation on a communal basis by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies at the rate of one representative per million inhabitants; the States would have a maximum of 93 representatives, their distribution being left to the decision for a Negotiating Committee; Paramountcy would cease on the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. An interim or provisional government representative

of all parties would be set up. On 16 June the statement on the subject was issued by the Cabinet Commission and the Viceroy said that if either of the major parties proved unwilling to join the government it would be made as representative as possible of those who accepted the plan of 16 May.

The Princes' chamber and the Muslim League accepted the plan but the League continued to make the demand for Pakistan. The Congress agreed to the long-term plan but refused to serve in interim government. Therefore, a caretaker government of officials was set up and the Cabinet Mission left India. Nehru declared that the grouping of provinces might not come about for it was impracticable. The Muslims in the North-Western Province and Sind feared Punjabi domination. Further Nehru was of the view that the constitution making organ should be a sovereign body subject only to reservations in favour of minorities and the treaty with England. Jinnah hoped that Wavell would re-organize his council and invite the League. As the Congress kept out the British authorities thought it unwise to entrust the Government to a minority community. Later when the Congress offered to join the government the Viceroy reconstituted his Council. Jinnah felt this was an insult to the League. So he made the Working Committee of the League withdraw their acceptance of Cabinet Mission plan. At Jinnah's insistence the League resolved that the Muslim Nation would resort to 'Direct Action' to attain Pakistan 'to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination'.

The Partition of India and Independence

LEAGUE DIRECT ACTION: Jinnah forgot his long association with the Congress. It was impossible for him to tolerate any equal. Ever since Gandhi took up the leadership of the Congress, Jinnah had been persistently trying to carve out a kingdom for himself. There was a time when he took pride in being a disciple of Gopala Krishna Gokhale, that prince of moderation. Jinnah who had all along been a devotee of the rule of law exultantly declared: 'This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods.' He fixed 26 August 1946 as the day for the beginning of the 'Battle for Pakistan'. Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, declared 16 August a public holiday. He encouraged hooligans among Muslims to attack the helpless Hindu

population in Calcutta. The mob violence which beggars description continued for three days in Calcutta. There was an orgy of murder, looting and arson. Five thousand lives were lost and twice that number wounded. General Tuker wrote: 'It was unbridled savagery with homicidal maniacs let loose to kill and to maim and burn. The underworld of Calcutta was taking charge of the city.'[2] This resulted in reprisals against Muslims in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which were not less shameful for their savagery. When Suhrawardy was despised by Jinnah after the partition he made a candid admission to Mahatma Gandhi that he was really responsible for the Calcutta cataclysm.

On 2 September 1946 Nehru and his colleagues joined the Viceroy's Executive Council. Before Nehru could settle down in his new position, Jinnah changed his mind and sent his men to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. On 15 October the League team was led by Liaqat Ali Khan. This group entered the government with an inflexible resolve to destroy it. The finance portfolio held by Liaqat Ali Khan greatly assisted him in carrying out the League's obstruction tactics. The part played by the British officials during the years preceding and following India's partition and independence was, to say the least, deplorable. The Governor of Bengal did not exercise his special powers under the Act of 1935 to prevent the murderous activities of the Muslim League Ministry. 'During the next years', writes Penderel Moon, 'this apparent example of supineness was to be copied by others in humbler stations.' Mudie, the Governor of West Punjab after partition, wrote to Jinnah on 5 September 1948 : 'I am telling everyone that I don't care how the Sikhs get across the border; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible.'[3]

Nehru described Mudie and Sir George Abel, Wavell's Private Secretary, as the 'English Mullahs'. During the period of the massacres in the Punjab in 1947, there are clear evidences to show that the British officers refused to render assistance to distressed minorities and asked the petitioners, to go to Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. The Governor of N.W.F.P. did all he could to dislodge the Congress ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib and install the League in its place. Considered from any point of view the partition of

[2] *While Memory Serves*, Lt. General Sir Francis Tuker, p. 160. Cit., Kulkarni, *British Dominion in India and After*, p. 245.

[3] Choudhury, *Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 257.

India seemed to be the only solution for the country's political problem.

ATTLEE'S ANNOUNCEMENT: On 20 February 1947, Attlee made the historic announcement that the responsibility for the Government of India would be transferred to her people by a date not later than June 1948, and that Admiral Mountbatten would assume the Indian Viceroyalty in order to fulfil thegreat task. In his book, *As It Happened*, Attlee states that Wavell had no better solution for the Indian problem than 'a military evacuation plan'. The manner of Wavell's exist was indeed unfortunate. Churchill attacked the Labour Government's proposition, describing Nehru 'as the most bitter enemy of any connection between India and British Commonwealth'.

Mountbatten took charge of Indian administration on 24 March 1947. He won the love, admiration and confidence of Indian leaders by his graces of person and manner. With extraordinary self-confidence he discharged his duties. At a glance he understood that the Indian situation needed quick action. In Punjab a terrible massacre of the minorities was going on. Penderel Moon says that Muslim mobs 'suddenly, as though on a pre-concerted signal, came out in their true colours and with weapons in their hands and, in some places, steel helmets on their heads, indulged in murder, loot and arson on a scale never witnessed before in the Punjab during a hundred years of British Rule'. As Jinnah publicly announced (May 1947) his approval of the murderous 'direct action', N.W.F.P. was also threatened, with similar action in order to dislodge Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry. Finding that Jinnah's ambitions rose with every moment's delay, Mountbatten decided to act. Jinnah would not agree to the partition of Bengal and Punjab. He demanded a corridor right across the heart of India in order to link West Punjab with East Bengal. These demands were turned down as 'fantastic nonsense'. Admonishing Mrs. Casey, wife of the Governor of undivided Bengal, in later days, Jinnah said, 'Don't decry fanatics, if I hadn't been a fanatic there would never have been Pakistan'.[4] Mountbatten visited England in May 1947. On 13 June 1947 the British Premier announced a plan for the partition of India.

[4] *Jinnah : Creator of Pakistan*, Hector Bolitho, p. 167. Cit., Kulkarni, *British Dominion in India and After*, p. 249.

THE PLAN: Members of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal and Punjab would first decide whether, if the province was not partitioned, they would join the existing Constituent Assembly or a separate one for areas deciding not to adhere to this one; then they would sit in separate Hindu and Muslim sections to decide whether or not the province should be partitioned; if either section decided by simple majority in favour of partition, so it would be; if partition was decided on, a boundary commission, set up by the Viceroy, would demarcate the appropriate boundaries; on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. Sind and Baluchistan would decide which Constituent Assembly to join; if the Punjab or a part of it voted for a separate Constituent Assembly, N.W.F.P. would take a corresponding decision by referendum; the dominantly Muslim district of Sylhet would, by referendum, exercise the option to join Assam or East Bengal in the event of a Bengali vote for separation. The policy to the States continued to be same as set forth by the Cabinet Mission. Parliament would undertake legislation to transfer power before the end of 1947 to one or two successor authorities on a Dominion Status basis, but without prejudice to the Constituent Assemblies deciding whether to stay in the Commonwealth or not. The Congress accepted the plan unreservedly.

Gandhi could not help reconcile matters of the partition. The Muslim League gave Jinnah authority to accept the principles of the plan as a compromise. Only the Sikhs were dissatisfied. In the N.W.F.P. the Congress party, called the Redshirts, demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan. This was declared impossible. The Redshirts did not participate in the plebiscite and by a large majority N.W.F.P. voted for Pakistan. Steps were taken to deal with the administrative consequence of Pakistan, including the division of the armed forces. Two boundary commissions were set up for the Punjab and Bengal with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as Chairman of both.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE BILL: A bill providing for the independence of India was introduced in the two Houses of Parliament on 4 July. This was passed without division and obtained the Royal assent on 18 July. Attlee described the Act 'as not the abdication but the fulfilment of Britain's Mission in India, a sign of the strength and stability of the British Commonwealth'.

Jinnah refused to accept the suggestion that the army could be divided after things got themselves settled. The delicate task of dividing the army was entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck. He was to be called the Supreme Commander from the day the two dominions came into existence. It was decided that India's Independence should be declared on 15 August, with the seceding areas assuming similar status on the preceeding day and calling themselves Pakistan.

August 15 is indeed a great day in India's history. On that day, prayers were offered by every patriotic Indian for the fulfilment of the long cherished aspirations of the Indian people. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly Nehru said: 'Long years ago, we had made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but substantially.' It was midnight when he was delivering this oration: 'When the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to new, when an age ends and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed finds utterance.'

Acceding to the wishes of the Indian leaders Mountbatten continued to be the Governor-General of Independent India. Nehru had no objection for his accepting the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan also. But Jinnah made himself the Governor-General of Pakistan and two independent States, India and Pakistan, came into existence. Thus ended the British Raj in India, which covered a period of 190 years from the year of Plassey to 1947, longer than either that of the Mughal Rule or Maratha hegemony in India. The British Raj and its distinctiveness which consisted not in its duration, but in the profound impression it made on the life and outlook of the people of India.

It is too early to make a proper appraisal of all the causes that led to the withdrawal of Britain from India. Assertive nationalism in the country, the mighty event of the Second World War, growing national insistence on Indian Freedom, the advent of Labour power in Britain, may all be mentioned. The birth of Indian National freedom had its own effect on public opinion of the British people. The Indian interest in the trials of the officials of the I.N.A. and the revolt of the Naval ratings in Bombay in February 1946, made the British Government understand that the time had come for them to withdraw from India. Michael Brecher

says: 'Only a realization that power could not be retained except at an excessive cost ensured the outcoming of 1947.' Sir Francis Tuker states from the military point of view: 'Ultimately we found that this garrison commitment was more than the industrial needs of our impoverished country could stand. That was another very strong reason for our leaving India and leaving it quickly.'[5] Nevertheless, the manner in which Britain transferred power to India is worthy of admiration. The British people in fact never grew greater in dignity and decisiveness than at the time when they relinquished their control of India.

[5] *While Memory Serves*, p. 518. Cit., Kulkarni, *British Dominion in India and After*, p. 261.

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CHAPTER XXVI

PROBLEMS OF PARTITION

Refugee Problem

THE question whether the partition of India could in any way have been avoided at the time is difficult to answer with any certainty. However, among the causes that precipitated partition are the following: firstly, in the crucial years 1937–42 the Congress was perhaps mistaken in declining to form a coalition government with the League in those Provinces in which the Congress had a majority. Secondly, the Congress could not understand the deep and widespread fear of the Muslim intelligentsia that they would have to submit themselves permanently to a Hindu majority in an undivided India. Thirdly, at the outbreak of the Second World War the Congress, instead of establishing a working partnership with the League chose to non-cooperate with both the British and the League, and resigned office in all the provinces in which it held power. Fourthly, when the Cabinet Mission of 1946 suggested a way of saving the unity of India, the Congress did not pursue it because of miscalculation, firstly, by Gandhi and then by Nehru. Penderel Moon who considers these four causes says that the fourth one in retrospect 'appears to have been illusory'. The historian may be justified in charging the leaders of the Congress with lack of wisdom and statesmanship, but it is also true that the British Government encouraged the intransigence of the Muslim League till 1942. Thereafter, there were no doubt some British efforts to preserve the unity of India, but these failed because 'by then passions had been too deeply aroused for human reason to control the course of events'.

Here are two among many instances which give us a lurid glimpse of the fanatical hatreds of partition times. Major Ashiq Hussain Qureshi was a wealthy Muslim landowner and a man of some prominence in the Punjab; he had also been a minister in 1944-46.

He was shot dead in Lahore by a Muslim constable for disobedience of a traffic signal. The subinspector who came to the spot exclaimed: 'What a terrible thing you have done! Why, you might as well have killed me! This is Ashiq Hussain.' The constable was taken aback at this and said in astonishment 'Ashiq Hussain! I thought it was a Hindu'.[1] No less a person than Dr. Zakir Hussain, a great nationalist, an eminent educationalist, who later became the President of the Indian Union, narrowly escaped being lynched at Delhi.

In the Punjab from the days of Ranjit Singh the Sikhs, the Muslims and the Hindus had developed a unique type of regional nationalism. But these very people fell upon one another with complete savagery when the Punjab was torn into two like a piece of old cloth. In the Punjab both the Muslims and the Sikhs showed positive lust for blood and consequently the casualties there were much higher. The Muslim League did nothing to allay the apprehensions of the minorities about their future. Jinnah showed an amazing indifference to their fate. Radcliffe finished his unenviable task of making territorial demarcation and announced his award on 17 August 1947. This pleased neither the Muslims nor the Sikhs. When the Sikhs found that they lost the rich colony lands of Lyallpur and Montgomery District which they had so laboriously developed, they were bitterly disappointed. In fact, nearly 40 per cent of the entire Sikh community was rendered poor and homeless owing to the partition of the Punjab and the Muslims mercilessly drove them out to seek refuge in India. Large populations were uprooted from their ancestral homes; their women were abducted and submitted to unspeakable indignities; men, women and children were butchered in cold blood. In one of his prayer meetings Mahatma Gandhi lamented: 'I have heard that a convoy of Hindus and Sikhs fifty-seven miles long is pouring into the Indian Union from West Punjab. It makes my brain reel to think how this can be. Such a happening is unparalleled in the history of the world.'

Gandhi did his best to promote reconciliation between the Hindus and Muslims with his characteristic thoroughness. His presence in Bengal saved a repetition there of the horrors of 1946. Mountbatten acclaimed him as 'the one man boundary force' that saved Bengal from chaos. It was difficult to keep the peace,

[1] Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit*, p. 110.

particularly when the Muslim personnel of the Indian Police Force opted for Pakistan. This depletion of the police force aggravated the problem of law and order especially in Delhi. At his daily prayer meetings in Delhi Gandhi pleaded specially for the Muslim minorities in India. This seemed incongruous, when mob fury in West Pakistan was almost unchecked. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, the League leader, after making a speech in the Constituent Assembly which won the admiration of Nehru suddenly disappeared from India and made his appearance in Pakistan. News of this made matters worse. The behaviour of a certain section of the Muslims in Delhi towards the displaced persons from Pakistan weakened the hands of the Mahatma who strove to pacify the distressed refugees. But with a firm resolve he continued to preach his message of peace, love and tolerance. He went on a fast on 12 January 1948, declaring with perfect candour that he had undertaken it on behalf of the Muslims in India against the Hindus and Sikhs. According to the Indo-Pakistan financial settlement of 1947 India had to pay Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan. As the Government of India feared that if the money was given at that time Pakistan would use it to strengthen her military position against India in the Kashmir dispute, they withheld payment. But Gandhi insisted on immediate payment of the money to Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi's outspoken love and friendliness towards the Muslims in India cost him his life. This fearless and unarmed soldier who was the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the people of India was assassinated (30 January 1948) by a Hindu fanatic. People everywhere in the world mourned his loss and said that it was impossible to see the like of him anywhere in the world again. We cannot better describe Mahatma Gandhi than in G. M. Trevelyan's words of tribute to Garibaldi 'as the incarnate symbol of two passions, not likely soon to die out of the world, the love of country and love of freedom, kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind'.

Gandhi's martyrdom did not however solve the problem of the refugees. By the middle of 1948 about 5½ million non-Muslims had moved into India from West Pakistan. Nearly the same number of Muslims left India for Pakistan. According to the estimate of the Government of India, non-Muslims left behind them property worth Rs. 500 crores in West Pakistan. The Muslim

loss in India is put at Rs. 100 crores. Claims and counter claims of compensation were discussed for long and some kind of settlement was arrived at. But the refugee problem continues to embitter the relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistan claims to be and functions as an Islamic State and West Pakistan has been cleared of the minority communities, and the Hindus of East Pakistan are still under pressure to quit their hearths and homes. To add to the difficulties of India there was the infiltration of about 7,50,000 Pakistani Muslims into India's Eastern Provinces. Public opinion was strong in India that the government should take firm steps to eject the trespassers. It was not without difficulty that the Government of India managed the resettlement of the refugees, which cannot be said to have been satisfactorily completed even now.

Accession of the Princely States

The other problem of amalgamating 562 large and small independent princely States with a democratic self-governing India was equally delicate and difficult. The princes had been guaranteed their sovereignties, subject only to British 'Paramountcy'. The attitude of a majority of princes had been hostile to the Indian National Congress, which had encouraged the agitation of State subjects for home rule. The policy statement of the British Government admitting the right of the States to remain independent advising integration was unhelpful in its ambiguity. Some of the princes proclaimed their determination to preserve their privileges and prerogatives. This was no idle threat for the armed forces of the bigger States had been considerably strengthened on account of the Second World War. The Nawab of Bhopal left Mountbatten in no doubt about his determined hostility to the Congress-dominated India. He was at that time Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and was believed to be intriguing with the Muslim League and the Political Department of the Government of India. But the population of the State was predominantly Hindu and his State was in the heart of Indian territory, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel the Home Minister and V. P. Menon his Secretary were vigilant and prepared to foil his plans.

Mountbatten had stated that paramountcy would lapse on 15 August 1947, that it would be impossible to transfer it to any

other power and that the princes would be free to decide whether to join India or Pakistan or remain independent. Before that date, however, most of the princes were induced to sign the Instrument of Accession by which they agreed to accede to India or Pakistan to whichever country their territory was contiguous. This accession was to bind each prince only in three matters: defence, foreign affairs and communications. It was made clear to the princes that the accession of their States would not commit them to any future form of internal government or their method of choosing representatives to the Federal Legislature. There were some princes who cherished the hope of maintaining their sovereignty even after the departure of the British. Jinnah's statement on the position of the States ran thus: 'Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent Sovereign States on the termination of (British) Paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it is open to them to join the Indian Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or decide to remain independent.' His assertion that the States were sovereign entities was felt by the Congress leaders to be subversive of the very existence of India. Having lost a portion of India to Jinnah they were in no mood to be content with Swaraj for the former British Indian provinces only. There was, therefore, a fierce competition between Pakistani and Indian leaders in securing the accession of princes to their respective dominions. The British rulers were not as keen as Congress leaders that the princes should opt to form the Indian Union and lose their territories and their prerogatives. It was suspected that the British officials were also partial to Pakistan. Corfield, the head of the Political Department of the Government of India, dissuaded the princes from joining the Indian Union and the Secretary of State for India, Lord Listwell, surprisingly enough supported Corfield's policy. Corfield used this to tell the princes that his interpretation of the Indian Independence Bill had the support of the Secretary of State. Corfield 'saw to it that all the incriminating documents about the princes and about the transactions of the Political Department were duly consigned to flames' and those that remained were taken to London to be lodged in the imperial archives. Nehru was furious with the Political Department and Corfield was eventually sent home.

Sardar Patel, who took charge of the States Department in July 1947, sensed the urgent and imperative need of the integration

of the princely States with India. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, who was Dewan of Travancore State, said that his State was an 'independent' entity and would be free to deal with 'any Government in the world'. The Nizam of Hyderabad was neither hesitant nor apologetic about asserting the independence of his State. Patel saw danger to the Indian Union in such a situation and appealed to the partriotic and nationalist sentiments of the princes. He asked them to join the Indian Constituent Assembly and through their representatives participate in framing a Democratic Constitution for free India. He asked them to make over only defence, foreign affairs and communication to the Government of India, pointing out that during the British rule they had exercised little authority in any of the three subjects. His appeal evoked quick response from the rulers of Baroda, Bikaner, Cochin, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala and Rewa, and a united front of separatist princes was virtually broken before it could be formed; Mountbatten also helped by telling the princes that their security lay in quick accession to the right dominion. By 15 August 1947 all the States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh had signed Instruments of Accession and accepted a Standstill Agreement calculated to maintain the *status quo* until their relations with the Indian Union could be permanently fixed. The Maharaja of Baroda was the first ruler to sign the Instrument of Accession and Sardar Patel thereafter carried through the threefold process of assimilation, centralization and unification of the States. Small States were merged with neighbouring provinces and thus 216 States vanished from the country's political map. A certain number of principalities were constituted into centrally administered areas, important among them are Bhopal, Kutch, and Manipur. A third scheme was the formation of a number of Unions of States, each such union government presided over by a Rajpramukh. The United States of Saurashtra embraced as many as 222 States and estates of Kathiawar. The other unions of this kind were Madhya Bharat, the United States of Rajasthan, the Patiala and East Punjab States Union and the United States of Travancore and Cochin. Thus without drawing sword or shedding a drop of blood Sardar Patel absorbed a multitude of princely States into the Indian Union and secured the solidarity of the Indian Union.

When the Constitution of free India came into force in January 1950, the country's territories were administratively divided into

Part A, Part B, and Part C States, the first consisted of former British Indian Provinces with a small number of feudatory principalities, the Union States formed Part B, and the Centrally administered Unions became part C States. This arrangement was by no means ideal though it helped to solve the major part of the problem of princely States. Sardar Patel had more work to do as the States that kept out challenged his courage and statesmanship. It was in grasping the nettle of Junagadh and Hyderabad that Sardar Patel showed his capacity for quick decision and action. The Nawab of Junagadh a man excessively addicted to dogs and wives was playing into the hands of Jinnah on the advice of his Prime Minister Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto. The Nawab opted for Pakistan and adopted coercive methods to make the non-Muslim inhabitants of his State leave their homes in thousands. Jinnah promised to send him large contingents of Pakistani reserve police, but the intrigues of the Nawab and the Muslim League came to nothing because of Patel's swift action. The Nawab was forced to fly to Karachi and Jungadh and its two feudatories were merged into the Indian Union, with the consent of their people ascertained through a referendum (February 1948).

HYDERABAD: The Indian Government treated the Nizam of Hyderabad with great consideration and generosity and Mountbatten himself conducted negotiations with him, but the Nizam would not submit. After a good deal of correspondence he entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Indian Government (29 November 1947). This was to last only for a period of one year. This agreement gave the Nizam an army, a police force and guaranteed that the Indian troops stationed in the State would be withdrawn. When the Indian troops were withdrawn from Hyderabad, the police force and the militarized Razakar marauders under Kasim Razvi took complete control over the civil population. The Standstill Agreement treated the Nizam on a footing of equality with the Government of India, but still the Nizam was not satisfied. He demanded an outlet to the sea and the port of his choice was Goa. The Nizam hoped that in his defiance of the Indian Government he would get the support of the Indian Muslims and Pakistan. Although Jinnah's relations with the Nizam were not altogether happy, he did everything possible to encourage the Nizam to act against the Government of India. On 1 June 1948

Jinnah as the Head of a foreign Government broke all protocol and declared that the Nizam's dominion was an independent State and 'not only the Muslims of Pakistan but the Muslims the world over fully sympathise with Hyderabad in its struggle'.

Patel the Deputy Prime Minister felt he had no time to lose as the situation required military action, and negotiations could not settle the Hyderabad question. On 30 September 1948, Indian troops marched into Hyderabad under Major General Choudhury. The Nizam found that his war-like preparations were of no avail as the Razakars and their Leader Razvi ran away. He realized there was no alternative to submission and within four days of the arrival of the Indian Army, the Hyderabad army surrendered. The Nizam was shorn of his power and his territory became part of the Indian Union.

KASHMIR: In the autumn of 1947 tribesmen from Pakistan territory invaded Kashmir. The Indian case is that they did so with the connivance of Pakistan and it is a fact that the Pakistan Government did nothing to prevent the tribesmen from passing into Kashmir territory. Alarmed at the approach of the invaders towards his capital Srinagar, the Maharaja sent word to New Delhi that he would accede to India. Thereupon Indian troops were flown in to defend Kashmir against both the tribesmen and the Pakistan army which had also entered the State. India took the Kashmir case to the Security Council of the United Nations. The conflicting claims of India and Pakistan have been periodically heard there since without any fruitful outcome. Meanwhile the two dominions fought a war over a year till the U.N. Commission arranged for a cease-fire between them in January 1949. India holds two-thirds of Kashmir and demands the restoration of the rest illegally occupied by Pakistan.

Sardar Patel gave clear proof of his rare qualities on three major issues, namely the partition of India, the assimilation of the princely States and the acceptance of Dominion Status for free India. He was a tower of strength to the Government headed by his comrade Nehru. Patel was a statesman and administrator of the first order and when he died on 15 December 1950 at the age of 75, India lost a man of iron will and clear vision whom she could neither spare nor replace.

States Reorganization

The division of the country's administrative units into A, B, C categories was unsatisfactory and there was besides a fourth category of States described as Class D, consisting of the Andaman and Nicobar islands. It was believed by some that the division of States into four categories virtually negatived the principle of equal rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution. The institution of Rajpramukh was regarded as an anachronism and there was a persistent demand for its abolition. It was argued that the component States of the Union should have a uniform relationship to the Centre. The problem of administrative reorganization was further complicated by the growing demand for formation of States on the principle of linguistic homogeneity. The Congress had long ago approved the principle of linguistic provinces and adopted it in its territorial arrangements. It was a good principle on which to criticize the haphazard nature of the territories of British Indian Provinces. But the practical problems arising from the application of the principle in rearranging the political map of a free India had not been studied. When political pressure for establishing linguistic provinces, mounted, Nehru was afraid that linked with the ethnic and linguistic divisions there would arise fissiparous tendencies, encouraging lingualism and provincialism threatening the unity of the nation. It was difficult for him to understand why people should attach importance to linguistic boundaries at a time when Indian nationality was emerging as a reality. However, the Government of India was compelled by public opinion of States on linguistic lines. In the Telugu area Communists took advantage of the situation and set up the slogan 'Andhra for Telugus' and the Telugu-speaking part of Madras was vociferous in its demand for a separate Andhra State. Potti Sriramalu fasted to death in support of the Telugu demand and Nehru who was inclined to postpone the issue had to yield to public opinion and agree to form an Andhra State. The Marathi-speaking people of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad wanted a separate Maharashtra State. The Gujaratis claimed for themselves the commercial areas of the old Bombay Province as well as Saurashtra and Kutch in the north, while the city of Bombay was claimed by both Marathis and Gujaratis. The idea of the Government of India that Bombay City should be administered from Delhi aroused

resentment. Ultimately, the Government of India partitioned the State of Bombay. A separate State of Gujarat came into existence, with its capital at Ahmedabad; Bombay remained the capital of Maharashtra. The Marathi-speaking areas of Madhya Pradesh and some parts of Hyderabad went to Maharashtrians, Telingana and the Hyderabad State were merged into Andhra State, but the Kannada-speaking areas of Raichur and Gulbarga went to Mysore.

The Sikhs demanded a State for themselves. But the Boundary Commission was not in favour of a separate State for Punjabi speakers as the Punjabis and the Hindi speakers do not differ much in their language or culture. The Commission's proposals regarding merger of Pepsu and West Punjab were accepted by the Government. The backward Himachal Pradesh became a centrally administered territory. The Sikhs were greatly disappointed at the Government of India's rejection of a Punjabi-speaking State which will also be a Sikh majority State and the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh began a fast unto death in August 1961. But on October first he abandoned the fast although the division of the Punjab into Punjab and Haryana took place only in 1966. The ultimate result was the establishment of sixteen States and seven Union territories after a period of reorganization starting in 1953 and ending in 1968.

The unification of India was also incomplete, in another sense, so long as French and Portuguese authority was existent in some territories in India. The French Government ceded de facto Pondicherry, Karikkal, Chandernagore and Mahe to the Indian Union. But the Portuguese argued that Goa was part of the metropolitan territories of Portugal and they could not withdraw like the British or the French. Indian feeling on this subject was very strong and public feeling in Goa favoured merger with India. Nehru lost his patience and the Indian Army entered Goa and met with no opposition. The former Portuguese territory was incorporated into the Indian Union (20 December 1961). While Western people disapproved of this action of India, most Asian and African peoples hailed it as a blow against colonialism.

For the first time in the History of India, the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin has been brought under a single administrative system. Even during the British rule the native States which formed two-fifths of India had been independent,

except for defence and foreign affairs. It is an achievement of which the Government of India can be proud. Among the factors that facilitated the political and administrative unification of India must be mentioned a centrally controlled railway system, highways connecting different parts of the country making communication easy, the system of post, telegraph and telephones, a common legal system and a uniform judicial system, the creation of a single economy for the whole country and more than all a sense of national unity on the part of the princes and the people.

CHAPTER XXVII

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Constitution of India

From 15 August 1947, the Indian Constituent Assembly was the legal sovereign body which was competent to frame a constitution for the country. Indian politicians were well acquainted with the democratic constitutions of the world; and the framers of the Constitution of India drew on many sources. The Government of India Act 1935 served as the frame work; the innovations were the 'directive principles' embodying many Gandhian ideas and modelled on the Constitution of Eire, and the chapter on fundamental rights drawn from the constitutional theory and practice of the U.S.A. The federal structure in the constitution was influenced by the Canadian pattern. But the basic principles of the Indian Constitution are the British principles of parliamentary government and the rule of law.

The Constitution, is a document of three hundred and ninety-five articles and nine schedules, and it embodies the ideals and incorporates the modern political experience of a nation of five hundred million people.

The Constituent Assembly held its first session in December 1946 eight months before India became independent and a Republic. The new Constitution was enacted on 26 November 1949, and it was inaugurated on 26 January 1950. This memorable day in the country's constitutional history is annually celebrated as the Republic Day. The Preamble to the Constitution says:

> 'We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
EQUALITY of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all;
FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation: IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.'

This abstract statement of fundamental political faith has been commended by the noted British political scientist, Sir Ernest Barker who sees in it the most excellent formulation of the philosophy of modern liberal democracy. The chapter on fundamental rights to which some had demurred has proved its usefulness again and again in the rulings of the Supreme Court which has helped our evolution as a free democratic nation. The directive principles have their obvious uses, but above all we have in the Constitution adequate provision for reconciling conflicting interests and claims by legislation and judicial interpretation, safeguarding individual freedom and social development at the same time.

India deliberately chose the British Parliamentary system of Government as opposed to the American Presidential system; there are, however, certain differences between the Indian system and the British. For example, a Minister in the Indian Legislatures can go to either House and take part in the discussion, but his vote is confined to the chamber of which he is a member. The Attorney General in India is a Law Officer appointed by the President of India and he is untrammelled by party strings not being a member of the Cabinet like his counterpart in Britain. In India the Election Commission is an independent body, independent of Parliament and the Executive. But these variations which are due to special needs in India go to strengthen, not dilute, the British principle of parliamentary democracy. It is not possible here to describe in detail the mechanism of the Constitution but the broad features are these: The legislatures in the Centre and in some of the larger States are bicameral. The members are elected on the basis of adult suffrage. Originally a period of ten years was fixed for reservation of some legislature seats to be filled by representatives of the scheduled castes, and the period has since been extended. The President of the Union is elected by an electoral college consisting

of the elected members of Parliament and State legislatures with votes weighted in such a manner as to oblige the successful candidate to gain an absolute majority in the country. The governors of the States are appointed by the President. Indian legislatures are governed more by convention than by law or regulation. Formally all the executive authority is vested in the President, but he is expected to act like the British monarch, not like the American President. By established convention he acts on the advice of his ministers. He is the head of the State while the Prime Minister is head of the Government.

The Central ministers are collectively responsible to the House of the People. They are appointed by the President and hold office during his pleasure, but according to convention they would resign in the event of a defeat in Parliament. Such a contingency has not so far occurred. There is an independent judiciary and the judges of Supreme Court, the High Courts and the lesser courts interpret the law without fear or favour. The fundamental rights are justiceable while the directive principles are not. This has led to some conflict between the Judiciary and the Executive which in India is integrated with the legislature. Nehru regarded the directive principles as the dynamic part of the Constitution. He said: 'There is a certain conflict in the two approaches, not inherently because that was not meant, I am quite sure. But there is that slight difficulty and naturally, when the Courts of the land have to consider these matters they have to lay stress more on the fundamental rights than on the Directive Principles of State policy. The result is that the whole purpose behind the Constitution, which was meant to be a dynamic Constitution leading to a certain goal step by step, is somewhat hampered and hindered by the static element being emphasized a little more than the dynamic element and we have to find out some way of solving it.' The way Nehru found was to amend the Constitution to save the laws struck down by the courts and to facilitate social legislation which would curtail right to property and sanction discrimination of class or caste. The Madras Government to improve the position of the backward classes ordered the reservation of seats for backward communities in certain educational institutions. The Supreme Court held that this order amounted to discrimination and was, therefore, unconstitutional, but the Government of India felt that any action for the uplift of the backward sections of India could not

be against the spirit of the Constitution, though it may offend the latter. Therefore, in June 1951 it got parliament to pass the First Amendment to the Constitution by an addition to article 15 specifically permitting the State to make such provision for the advancement of the backward classes. Again an important protection to private property was embodied in article 31 which laid down that a law for the compulsory acquisition of property must fix the amount of compensation or specify the principles on which the compensation should be calculated. The abolition of the Zamindars and landlords was one of the main planks of the Congress platform. The States, therefore, passed legislation abolishing Zamindaris. This act was challenged on the ground that it infringed the right to property or curtailed the fundamental rights provided in the Constitution. The Patna High Court held that the act concerned was unconstitutional as it involved discrimination between one class and another. The Government of India thereupon had the Constitution amended to make it easy for the government to acquire estates free from limitation imposed by the articles of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights. This amendment did not however put an end to the litigation on the matter. Disputes arose over the question of compensation; the High Court of Bombay interfered with the government of that State in taking over the Sholapur Mills. While the fundamental rights have the force of law, the directive principles are not enforceable by any court. These and other similar cases have led to subsequent amendments to the Indian Constitution numbering 17 by 1964. It is not as if amendments are made by the whims of the Prime Minister or the Parliament. Substantial and real political pressures underlie all amendments and where public opinions over the entire country is clearly divided it has not been possible to pass any amendment as, for example, in regard to the official language of the Union where there is no consensus about giving up Hindi or modifying its role. Interaction of an independent judiciary and a powerful democratic legislature has so far been contained within the framework of the fundamental law which has been elastic enough to permit the orderly growth of parliamentary democracy.

The Constitution ensures a strong Central Government as the Centre has exclusive jurisdiction over such important subjects as declaration of war and peace, citizenship, extradition, currency and coinage, and the recruitment and maintenance of all-India

services. In addition, it exercises large powers of taxation and is financially independent of the States to which it makes grants and issues directives. No State government can, with impunity, challenge the Centre. Extra constitutional development like the establishment of a Planning Commission for the nation as a whole and the Indian National Development Council of the chief ministers of the States to coordinate policies have increased the power of the Central authority. While governmental powers are scheduled in Union, States and concurrent lists, the residuary powers are with the Centre. The State has well-defined autonomous powers over subjects like land revenue, police and education. In essence it is a federal Constitution and though in the first two decades of its operation the unitary features were emphasized, it can and does permit federal autonomy to an extent such autonomy is desired and exercised by the State. In spite of its exogenous origins the Constitution over the years has proved capable of meeting the local and national demands, springing from political sophistication and economic growth.

The Election Commission has testified to the uncommon understanding and shrewdness of the Indian voter who is not much handicapped by his illiteracy. Political parties multiply and flourish and the standard of political intelligence and the degree of political participation of the adult voter are steadily rising. In the elections held in 1951-52, one hundred and seventy-three million voters were enrolled; the second general elections held in January 1957, involved 193.6 million voters of whom 93 million cast their votes in parliamentary constituencies. The magnitude of the third general election held in 1962 was even more impressive, 114 million voters exercised their franchise. 'The degree of political maturity', says the Election Commission 'displayed by the electorate even in many backward areas has indeed astonished many impartial observers and students of politics'. There is no reason to suppose that the constitutional framework will buckle or break under political strains. India is the largest, the most populous democracy in the world and the enfranchized millions have demonstrated they can maintain and operate parliamentary government.

The Adventure of Building a New Nation

Jawaharlal Nehru, who, as the Prime Minister of India, embarked on the adventure of building a new India had before him a task of great magnitude and infinite complexity amidst the turbulence of rising expectations at home and bewildering uncertainties abroad. From the time he joined the 'Union' government in 1946 till his death on 17 May 1964, he was the real ruler of the new India and managed its affairs. No one else in recent history had held the prime ministership of a democratic country for so long or borne such a burden all by himself or sustained it with the continuous and unqualified approval of parliament and the people.

Nehru was born in affluence and he was given an excellent education in Edwardian England. A voracious reader, he kept up with literary and political developments all over the world. He had a wonderful capacity of adjusting himself to the young and the old and his grace of person and manner, his clear and convincing speeches, his sincerity of purpose and his abiding interest in the poor, won for him the love and approval of the Indian people. He had his differences with Gandhi, but Gandhi wrote confidently about him, 'he is pure as crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion, the nation is safe in his hands'. Gandhi nominated him as his political heir and stated, 'when I am gone he will speak my language'. That prediction was not altogether correct, because Nehru did not accept Gandhi's philosophy of life. Nehru was not a saint, but a socialist, a secularist and a statesman who worked for the economic progress of India and social equality among its people through large-scale industrial development. But like Gandhi he too derived his power from his personal charisma more than from any political ideology or economic doctrine.

Gandhi's view was that the Congress had exhausted its purpose on the attainment of independence and that it should convert itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh engaging in non-political social work among the masses. But this plan could hardly be considered when the British had transferred power and Congress politicians had to make a Constitution and put together the first free government of India. Nehru sought to rally all shades of political opinion and took into his Cabinet persons who did not belong to the Congress Party such as R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Dr. John Mathai, Gopalaswamy Iyengar and Dr. Ambedkar, but after regular

general elections produced an overwhelming majority for the party in Parliament it was not possible for Nehru to continue Cabinets of all talents though his personal preference rather than party pressure determined the choice of ministers from the Congress ranks. He was strong enough to resist pressures of many kinds and his most significant contribution in the matter of political principle was the concept of the secular State in India which he maintained against many demands to identify the independent India, separated from Islamic Pakistan, with Hinduism the religion of the great majority of the people.

Administrative rehabilitation presented no small difficulty in the early period of independence. At the time of the transfer of power in 1947, there were about 1,150 officers of the Indian Civil Service. In free India there remained only 450 I.C.S. officers, nearly half of whom were due to retire. Whatever might have been the shortcomings of the members of the 'steel frame' they were used to shouldering responsibility and they played a loyal and constructive role in managing public affairs after independence. The new elective rulers reorganized the old civil service to meet the requirements of the modern welfare State. A new cadre called the Indian Administrative Service was set up. Similar cadres were set up for other services such as the Police and the Railways. The general structure of the civil services was retained and efforts were made to get suitable recruits and to train them to very high standards of efficiency and integrity. The political change of 1947 though bloodless was still a very revolutionary change and the new rulers with no administrative experience at all had to reconcile the conflicting claims and attitudes of an entrenched bureaucracy and the enfranchized people with extravagant expectations. The interplay of party politician, bureaucract and influence pedlar which is common to all democracies is a new experience to India and the governments of the Union and the States are learning their lessons. Many reform committees and commissions have reported and several improvements in organization have been effected. Currently a large and powerful Administrative Reforms Commission is at work reviewing the entire organization of the Government of India. All the while the country has been administered in a way which has ensured the stability of government and peace in the country.

A self-governing India needs a body of men and women, well trained in public affairs for work in the legislative bodies. Gokhale

had perceived the need and organized the Servants of India Society to train young men for public duties and that institution which produced high-minded public men and devoted social workers in the early decades of the century languished on account of its moderate and liberal outlook. A servant of the People Society formed by Lajpat Rai also failed to grow in spite of its revolutionary ardour. The universities too could not produce persons acceptable to the new, vast and illiterate electorate. Traditional landlord leadership was completely wiped out by the abolition of the Zamindary system and the reform of tenures. A new class of political leaders had to grow only by the electoral process in which the Congress started with overwhelming odds in its favour. The growth of political parties and leaders has since been the result of 'living off' from the Congress party thus tending to preserve the Congress 'style' in the political system of the country. It has been a blessing in so far as it has saved the system from disruption.

PLANNING FOR INDIA: The principal pre-occupation of free India's government has been economic planning to achieve prosperity and quality at the same time. India has 14.6 per cent of the entire human population, but it has only 2.4 per cent of the world's land area. The per capita income is nearly the lowest in the world. Floods or droughts frequently bring about acute food shortage amounting to famine. Food, clothing and housing were, and are problems confronting the planners in all the Five-Year Plans starting from the First Plan in 1950. The first Five-Year Plan said: 'In all directions the pace of development will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works, and the cooperation which it evokes. The tasks facing the administration are larger in magnitude and more complex, but also richer in meaning than in earlier days. From the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue, the major emphasis now shifts to the development of human and material resources and the elimination of poverty and want.' This ideal still inspires the Indian Government.

To achieve the targets of the Plan education had to be reformed to fit the schemes of economic development. In spite of much thought and effort, however, the traditional pattern of education, first introduced by the British has proved resistant to basic change. There has been a phenomenal increase in

the school going population and though standards have been relaxed and emoluments have increased the percentage of illiteracy is still too high. Secondary education has been even more difficult to reorganize. The emphasis on Science, Mathematics and Technology for the sake of rapid industrialization has produced imbalances and unemployment of technicians. More universities are overflowing with ill-equipped students with no notion of their talents or avenues for their display. All these questions have been studied by the Indian Education Commission which has produced an enormous and comprehensive report. But education is a field where reform is most difficult and would take more time to become effective than in any other area of public affairs.

In the matter of establishing or expanding industries Nehru's policy, was to start with, based on the principle of mixed economy. The State could set up industries and at the same time allow the private sector to expand the manufacture of goods necessary for the welfare of the country. The flow of foreign capital and know-how into India was encouraged. There is at present a greater share of foreign capital and foreign personnel in the new industries than there had been before independence. The old Government of India has been described as a vast engine of State socialism by a British civilian and the new independent India inherited all the enterprises that had formerly been established and operated by the Government under British rule. They comprise the railways, means of communication, major irrigation installations, several power-plants, military plants, industrial establishments and some of the airlines and ports. So 'nationalization' has not in the Indian context the triumphant or terrifying avertions it possesses in other societies. It was easy to nationalize, i.e. bring unto Government control, the Reserve Bank in 1948 and later the Imperial Bank of India. Now fourteen big banks have been nationalized (20 July 1969).

It must be observed that foreign enterprises in India (including banks) have experienced neither confiscation nor nationalization, the law permits them under certain conditions to carry on their business and remit earnings abroad. The trend, however, is for foreign business to collaborate with local business houses in many areas of trade and manufacture. The State itself has entered into such collaboration agreements in public sector enterprises of all kinds from steel-making to the manufacture

of fertilizers or surgical instruments. The Industrial Policy resolution of the Government of India and the Companies Acts regulate in some detail the entire area of enterprise from initial financing to ultimate pricing and marketing including personnel policies. Apart from owning and operating a large part of business industry itself, the State controls private enterpries so fully that India can be described as more socialist than many socialist States.

Since India is not only a socialist State but also a democratic State some observers have deplored our lack of a good two-party system like that of Britain. We have here a dominant party which till 1967 managed to be in power with great majorities in all the States and the Union. Many parties have appeared all over the country membering more than 20, but none of them had acquired strength enough to form an alternative government. The position changed in 1967 when the Congress majority in the Union Lok Sabha grew thin and in some States non-Congress parties coalesced to form governments and in Madras a local party obtained a big majority and formed the government. The chief obstacle to the emergence of a two-party system is the size and variety of the country and the consequent impossibility of a gentle polarization of right and left in parliamentary terms without the danger of violent conflict or threat of disintegration. The politics of India cannot be appraised in the light of norms developed in Britain over the centuries. The Congress party is the most popular still not only because of its past record but also because it accommodates many real interests and ideals both of the Right and of the Left—a phenomenon which causes no comment in the country though it can be incomprehensible or distasteful to foreigners. There is nothing which any political party can advocate, within the limits of law, which the Congress party is committed to resist or oppose on principle. So rival political parties are obliged to put more emphasis on one or the other item of the Congress programme or promise a speedier or more efficient implementation of some policy which the Congress itself has enunciated. A good example is the Praja Socialist Party which has been getting out of and back again into the Congress. The Communist Party, like the Praja Socialist, is also an all-India party, now split into Russian, Chinese and Middle factions whose differences with the Congress party on domestic policy and on pace and speed and in foreign

policy ever less friendliness to the Western powers. Its atheism is not very sharply opposed to the secularism of the Congress though it may offend the sentiment of the masses while pleasing the rationalist section of educated youth. But its lack of nationalism and its foreign orientation made its electoral victory unlikely in spite of its hold on industrial labourers in some places and the peasantry in some other places. It is in power in Kerala and in Bengal. Another all-India political party that contested the elections for the first time in 1962 is the Swatantra Party, founded, like the other parties, by a veteran Congressman, C. Rajagopalachari who had been Governor-General of India after Mountbatten, a member of Nehru's Cabinet, the Governor of Bengal, and the Chief Minister of Madras. It is a liberal-conservative party that is clearly opposed to communist principles, and to the State socialism of the Congress party. Some dispossessed princes and Zamindars who have not joined the Congress party have joined the Swatantra Party and its membership comprises businessmen who believe in a free competitive enterprise and intellectuals and professionals opposed to regimentation. The founder Rajagopalachari has been a constant and outspoken critic of the Congress for a decade and the party now is the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha and the leader of a coalition government in Orissa.

Other all-India parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh have not been able to make an all-India impact on account of their preoccupation with issues of limited regional approach.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

DOMESTIC POLICY

Economic Progress

In 1947, agriculture, though the most important, was in some ways the least satisfactory branch of the Indian Economy as India had to depend on substantial import of foodstuffs. The deficit was aggravated by a steadily increasing growth of the population. The non-availability of Burma rice accentuated the problem. The cultivator had no capital and the holdings were small which effectively prevented any reform of the traditional practices of a subsistence economy or the introduction of scientific farming.

India was, therefore, in a weak position in respect of food production, but the position with regard to commercial crops like cotton and jute was more satisfactory. During the Second World War there was an industrial transformation of the country in far less time than it would have taken under normal conditions. India's industrial position was not greatly affected by the partition except that a large number of Muslim mechanics migrated to Pakistan. We have already observed that the policy of the Government was to encourage private enterprise and to welcome foreign capital 'with a field that was not unduly restricted'. There was, however, a shift in 1954 in the emphasis of Congress party's policy on the public sector. This new orientation was somewhat disturbing to all businessmen, Indian or British. The Second Five-Year Plan needed money for the implementation and when enough money was not forthcoming from the private sector, it was thought that the public sector alone could be the main source of development.

The Second Five-Year Plan was somewhat ambitious. The feeling in Congress circles was that a certain measure of socialism was necessary as a protection against the threat of Communism. But

the Government of India took a realistic view and openly stated that the policy of the State was to encourage the development of industry in the private sector. However, the controversy over the public and private sectors continued, and Nehru felt constrained to say: 'I want to encourage private enterprise because I think it is desirable to encourage every way that helps a nation's growth and production.' Another view that gained ground was that trade in essential commodities could be done better by the States than by private agencies and that middlemen were parasites who should be eliminated. So the State Trading Corporation was given a monopoly of imported cement, caustic soda, raw silk and of export of iron ore and 50 per cent monopoly of export of manganese ore, etc. The State Trading Corporation initiated for trade with socialist countries without private traders and that has since been expanded and is increasingly used as 'an extra parliamentary source of taxation'.

The concept of planning implies a certain measure of government control. The critic says that the way the Government of India has been exercising control is such that instead of controls being temporary measures they have tended to become permanent factors of Indian economic life. That India has not gone the length of other socialist States by way of confiscation or expropriation is quite clear. That is why British firms have accepted controls and reservation of particular fields of business to India and comparatively high percentage of shares for Indians with good grace. Whatever may have been the purely economical value of national planning its psychological impact has been tremendous; it has engendered a belief in the people that the burden of poverty could be lifted through planning, and has given rise to a new spirit of co-operation between the public and the government. The Second Five-Year Plan shows an all round increase over the First Plan. The figures relating to area of irrigation, foodgrain production, and industry and transportation are very impressive. The index of industrial production shows an increase of 94 per cent, production of steel ingots rose one and a half times. It is in the value of output of machine tools, that there has been a remarkable progress. There is an all round increase in the funds spent on education and welfare. On technical education alone in the Second Five-Year Plan period, a little over two and one-fourth times the amount of the First Plan was spent. The per capita food consumption increased by

17 per cent, while the per capita consumption of cloth increased by 68 per cent.

In the Third Five-Year Plan the progress has been uneven. Rural India is still in the kerosene lamp stage and only 2½ per cent of the towns and villages that have a population less than ten thousand have electric supply. It must be noted that in industries the private sector has shown better progress than the public sector which is generally behind schedule. It is pointed out by critics that overoptimism in respect of period of achievements of plan targets and under-estimation of costs have characterized most of India's planning in the sphere of public enterprise.

The sugar industry continues to be unsatisfactory because of the low yield of cane per acre in some parts of India and poor extraction rates. In respect of money for working out of the Plan India has been securing loans from abroad. It must be recorded, that in 1951-60, external loans and grants to India amounted to rupees two thousand six hundred crores. Over the question of promoting cottage industries, there is a difference of opinion; there are some who urge that the production capacity of large Central industries should be limited where they compete with cottage industries. Road construction is not proceeding as fast as could have been hoped and there is a tendency among State governments to nationalize road transport. Indian shipping has made some progress but coastal shipping has not sufficiently developed, perhaps because private enterprise is not promoted. The foreign exchange position of India continues to be very unsatisfactory. The present position is that India's export earnings are not adequate to supply her current needs of foreign exchange for the maintenance of existing industry. The per capita income according to the Planning Commission has increased by 16 per cent and this is regarded as satisfactory economic progress.

The hope of reviving the villages very largely depends on the success of the Community Development Project and large sums of money are being spent on these projects in successive Five-Year Plans. This community development was initiated as a new experiment in rural planning and rehabilitating the village was to be undertaken by the villagers themselves. Where the scheme has been worked out in a spirit of cooperation and understanding between the villagers and officials of the department there have been tangible benefits, but unfortunately such instances are rare. The

priorities of the plan were right although the predictions were inaccurate. It is not possible to discuss the Plan in detail here; it is enough to say that the agricultural section of the plan was remarkably successful. The Second Five-Year Plan aimed at an increase in the national income by about 25 per cent, rapid industrialization, expansion of opportunities of employment and the reduction of inequalities of income and wealth. It had a bias in favour of industry. It was in this that the role of the private sector had to be carefully considered. Three steel factories were erected, in the public sector and heavy electric machinery and chemical plants were established.

The Second Plan involved an expenditure of 4,800 crores of rupees but only half of this sum could be secured, 'the remainder was left to be covered by deficit finance or external assistance or in some unspecified way'. In spite of all that has been done, unemployment continues to be vexing; the cost of living has been distressingly increasing. Domestic savings have fallen very much below the planners' target. However, there is the satisfaction, that India is far better equipped for the future than she was at the time of transfer of power. The Third Plan has definite socialistic bias to secure rapid economic growth, expansion of employment, equitable, distribution, and reduction of disparities in income and wealth as also prevention of concentration of economic power. Realization of these aims necessitates government control. The finances for the Plan come from new taxation, internal borrowing, and foreign aid. There is already a feeling that the limit of taxable capacity has been reached. The failure to get adequate foreign aid has led to a leftward drift in economic thought, growing belief in controls, and the heavy incidence of personal taxation. The main source of external finance must be loans from the World Bank and from friendly countries. The World Bank has been taking a sympathetic view towards the financial needs of India's Plans, but its complaint is that India does not pay sufficient heed to its advice. The U. K., the U.S.A., W. Germany, Canada, Japan and France are helping India with loans. No less important is the aid which the U.S.S.R. has been giving. Even unfriendly critics agree that the Plan will help to maintain the enthusiasism and determination on which India's development must depend. The Western nations are interested in the success of India's Five-Year Plans because India may demonstrate that the problem of poverty can be successfully

tackled by a country that believes in democratic freedom. Russia is interested in the success of India's Plans because of their socialistic bias and aims. Conservative opinion in India, particularly that of the Swatantra Party, is that it is not right to pursue extravagant schemes of planned economy on money borrowed from foreign countries. Further that party opposes the system of controls and permits as likely to reduce self-reliance and frustrate enterprise. But the general belief is that India is progressing rapidly on account of her Plans.

Land Reform

The tenants and subtenants under landlords and Zamindars worked under oppressive conditions. They had to pay high rents and their tenures were uncertain. It was thought that the system of land holding was not calculated to promote the tiller's initiative or his desire to improve the land. Social justice required an equitable distribution of agricultural holdings and land reform programmes were undertaken in the early 1950's. Laws relating to land reform have varied from State to State; legislation has secured reduction in land rents, assured security of tenure and made it possible for tenants to acquire ownership. The abolition of the Zamindari system with some compensation for the Zamindars and Agricultural Debt Relief Acts have, to some extent, done social justice to the agriculturists. But the land acquired by the imposition of ceilings on holdings was not enough to meet the needs of distribution to the landless who have continued to suffer. To meet their needs Acharya Vinoba Bhave started on a walking tour at 15 miles a day, with the object of collecting 50 million acres, i.e. one-sixth of the cultivable area of land in India. By 1962 he was able to collect 5 million acres much of which was of poor quality, and distribution of this land among the landless labourers presented no small difficulty. The recipients had no money to buy bullocks or agricultural implements. Bhave then started a Gramdan movement; entire villages were gifted to be managed cooperatively. It must be said that Bhave's main aim is the promotion of the spirit of giving and sharing in the people, thereby bringing about a change of heart. Cooperative farming has not made much headway because of the reluctance of farmers to give up their hold on land. The Third Five-Year Plan allotted a large sum of money to be used for

the formation of cooperative farms. It was hoped that farmers would be tempted to join the 'pool' voluntarily to receive the benefits of loans and advances offered. The Swatantra Party opposes Cooperative farming as a crypto communist exercise to Collectivization and the administration has been unable to make any sharp unambiguous statement of the social philosophy behind the scheme of cooperative farming, whether the emphasis is to be on increased production or the abolition of private ownership.

Social Reform

Women have long enjoyed equal rights to education, appointments and enjoyment of political rights. Their right to a share in Hindu ancestral property is assured by the new law which is part of the Hindu Code. A large importation of English matrimonial law into Hindu law was made during the period 1946–55. In spite of the Special Marriage Act of 1954, which validates marriages where the man is over 21 and the woman over 18 and declare their consent to marry each other before the Registrar, Hindu endogamous marriages on the *sastric* concept continue to hold the field. Manu ordains that 'they (husband and wife) shall perform all the duties of life together, side by side, *saha-dharma-chara*, and be faithful to each other unto death and beyond'.

The Gandhian principle of prohibition of liquor has been tried in several States resulting in loss of income for the State without improving the morals or economy of the people. Kulkarni says: 'In all the states where prohibition has been introduced, crime, corruption and gangsterism have increased enormously, while illicit distillation has become a major industry. The monthly income of a man making contraband liquor is as much as Rs. 2,000/-.' There has, therefore, been a reversal of policy in some States and no extension of the principle to States which had never decreed prohibition.

In its solicitude for backward classes and tribes and the underprivileged generally the government has steadily been pursuing a policy which shows a recognition of the responsibilities that devolve on a welfare State. In addition it has embarked on large-scale patronage of arts and culture. Academies to promote art, literature and music have been organized by the Government. Distinctions

and certificates are awarded to persons for meritorious service; national awards in the shape of certificates and money grants are given to men and women distinguished in creative arts, crafts and professions.

CHAPTER XXIX

FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of any country after the Second World War is a very complex and delicate ground for the historian. One peculiar feature of modern war is that hostilities cease without the victors and the vanquished signing peace treaties so that while fighting stops war conditions prevail for a long time. Russia and the Western democracies are yet to conclude a treaty over Germany. Undeclared wars between countries have become common features. The Second World War clearly demonstrated that conflicting political and economic ideologies do not stand in the way of alliances. The Western democracies allied themselves with Communist Russia for the sake of putting down Hitlerism in Europe. After the Second World War Russia strode like a Colossus annexing territories in South-East Europe. The two most powerful countries of the world, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. formed two blocs of their own. They have been vying with each other in the production of nuclear weapons and in space flight, China has demonstrated her capacity for the production of atom bombs. The N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. were formed by the U.S.A. and her allies to contain Communism in Europe and Asia. Yet another menace sprang up in the shape of Communist China which has grown to be an ideological rival of Russia. The rise of nationalism in Afro-Asian countries has resulted in the liquidation of the British, French, Dutch and the Portuguese empires. In the wake of Indian independence, Burma, Indonesia and several other countries of South-East Asia became independent. But independence has lost much of its value because of the inevitable economic dependence of the underdeveloped newly independent countries on the U.S.A. and European countries. The Communist bloc on one side and the American grid on the other have been identifying themselves with freedom movement in the world,

each in its own way. China's ideological differences with Russia and her policy of naked aggression make the problem of Indian foreign policy still more complex.

In the context of the situation described above, the domestic and foreign policies of India can function only in unison and in a complementary way. In matters of diplomacy India was just a beginner. The British never took even the tallest Indian officials into confidence in the matters of shaping their political or economic policies, nor were Indian officials employed in any worthwhile diplomatic missions. But Jawaharlal Nehru had obtained by study and extensive travels a thorough grasp of international affairs and an understanding of the politics of the strong and the problems of the weak nations. He became both the first Prime Minister and the Foreign Affairs Minister of India. While he lived he made the foreign policy of India and since his passing his successors have adhered to it. It was a field where his competence could not be questioned by any colleague and certainly the policy was of Nehru's shaping. In shaping it, he carried his Cabinet with him and reflected the mood of the nation.

India's foreign policy is basically to pursue and secure fundamental national interest abroad by peaceful means. In the context of the Cold War, Nehru believed that joining any bloc meant supporting war. His most important concern was to secure India's freedom and he did not want India to hazard involvement in war. That was the policy of non-alignment and he resented it being called neutralism, for he insisted that India was not indifferent to world development or remain isolated. Nehru claimed for his nonalignment freedom to judge what is right and what is wrong in a situation and express that judgement. Further when Democracy and Communism are in conflict, to prevent that situation developing into war, there must be a third party for mediation and counsel. Nehru firmly believed that India could play that role and work for international peace. Though economically and militarily weak, the new nations represented large groups of people in the world and could play an effective part if they were not lined up in either bloc.

As soon as the U.N. was brought into being India became a member of it as she had been of the League of Nations. She co-operated with the other members in the promotion of international peace. But by 1952 Nehru began to feel that the United Nations

was gradually becoming 'a protector of colonialism'. Nehru was too clear sighted to overestimate India's influence in international affairs but he was determined to employ it with great zeal and perseverance to the promotion of the well-being of weaker nations, especially the new Afro-Asian States.

Relations with U.K.: The first thing which had to be decided was India's relations with U.K., whether India should continue to be a member of the British Commonwealth or not. In December 1948 Nehru announced that the membership of Commonwealth involved no infringement of national sovereignty and he plainly advocated remaining in the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth countries too showed an imaginative flexibility rarely found in political history. They evolved a formula which enabled India to become a republic while remaining in the Commonwealth through the common headship of the king. The acceptance of this formula by the Constituent Assembly was a personal triumph for Nehru. Despite strong pressure then, and again later, to sever the Commonwealth tie, Nehru was able to carry the country with him on this question and this decision must be accounted an achievement of lasting advantage to the nation. In 1949 India had to review her economic relationship with Britain. Contrary to expectations, when Britain devalued the pound, India decided on a corresponding devaluation of the rupee so that the close connection of the economy of Britain and India might be kept up. Thus two important issues, namely Commonwealth membership and the relation between the rupee and sterling, were settled.

Some writers are unable to understand how so soon after the withdrawal of Britain either the Britishers or the Indians could forget the past and speak about one another with mutual regard and friendship. One writer says: 'When I remember how until even ten years ago all those Englishmen who had anything to do with us or our country, as a rule denied every capability and every quality in us, and when I set the interested superciliousness of yesterday against the interested complaisance of today, I blush for the English character, and my shame is not lessened by the manner of the flattery.'[1] But the Indian by nature is not vindictive and the Britisher is a sportsman and hence the basic good feeling between

[1] N. C. Chaudhuri, *Autobiography of An Unknown Indian*, p. 512.

the British and Indians became strong and relations between the two countries became close and cordial. The British Queen's presence on the Republic Day 1961, at New Delhi, side by side with the President of India and the cheering crowds that greeted her during the tour of the country bore striking testimony to the cordiality of Indo-British relations.

There have, however, been several differences between Britain and India; in the matter of the Congo, India thought that the British policy was to support colonialism there. The second shock to India came with the introduction of the bill to regulate migration into the U.K.; well-disposed Indians thought that Britain was turning away from the Commonwealth to Europe. The British Government dissuaded India from invading Goa and expressed its disapproval after the invasion had taken place. The British government may have reflected the feeling of the people of Britain but it did not sound reasonable to Indians. Commentators like Percival Griffiths have pointed out that the sections of the British Press which go beyond reasonable limit in criticizing Nehru do not report British opinion and that 'circumspection will be particularly necessary in future, in view of recent events'. On the Indian side too it is necessary to review relations with Britain in the contemporary context without recourse to old phobias. In the autumn of 1965 two events rendered Nehru's nonalignment subject to severe criticism. When Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, the British Government questioned the right of Egypt and made preparations for war. Nehru was against British action as were the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Public opinion in India supported Nehru, while the British Press was critical. But Nehru who had disapproved Britain's policy over the question of Suez, was silent over the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolt. A section of public opinion even in India was critical of Nehru's double standard in judging the West and Communist Russia. When China took India quite by surprise by her aggression in 1962, Britain came to her aid and showed herself to be a friend in need.

INDIA AND THE U.S.A.: Till the First World War the U.S.A. followed the policy of isolation. India looked up to her for moral support in her struggle for independence. Her active interest in India began only after 1947. The Second World War did not very much enhance the prestige of the Americans in the eyes of the

Indians, perhaps because of their use of atomic bombs in the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The formation of N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. to contain communism somehow left the impression on Indians that it was a covert form of colonialism. In fact her policy towards Communist Russia after the Second World War was something not clearly understood by the Indians nor could the U.S.A. appreciate India's policy of nonalignment and *Panchashila*. Little by little it dawned upon the U.S.A. that nonalignment did not mean any kind of support to Communism.

Early in 1953 Nehru said that the bitter ruin and destruction in Korea should be stopped at any cost. The stand of India's leaders in the Korean war was not at first properly understood. When a ceasefire was at last achieved in Korea (27 July 1953) an Indian became the chairman of the neutral military armistice commission.

India's consistent plea for admission of China into the U.N.O. on the ground that it was not right to treat a country of the size of China, as though it did not exist, and accept Formosa as representing China.

In 1954 India put forth vigorous efforts to strengthen world peace to unite anti-imperialist forces and to build up friendship with Russia and China. The U.S.A. did not like this. The American aid of armaments to Pakistan was viewed as an unfriendly act by India. Further India had reasons to fear that the American officers from the United Nations Commission on Kashmir were partial to Pakistan and so asked for their replacement by some other nationals. Briefly stated America and India could not see eye to eye on the danger of Communist expansion, the colonialism of European nations and the admission of Communist China into the U.N.O. A certain section of the American Press was averse to Nehru. India was one of the countries that wanted France to grant independence to Indo-China.

In June 1954 the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, was invited to visit India. He and Nehru signed a declaration governing the principles on which the relation between India and the Chinese People's Republic should be based (*i*) mutual respect for territorial integrity, (*ii*) nonaggression, (*iii*) non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (*iv*) equality and mutual advantage, (*v*) peaceful coexistence. (*Panchashila*). When eight years later peace was established in Indo-China, an international Commission consisting

of representatives of Canada, India and Poland was appointed to supervise the implementation of the ceasefire agreement in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. India presided over the commission and this was an international recognition of India's services.

In spite of the Indian Government's disagreement with her policy on several international issues, the U.S.A. has been giving massive assistance to India since 1951 to modernize her railroads, to increase her electric power capacity, to strengthen her educational system, to develop her mineral resources, to stimulate industrial growth, and to eliminate malaria. The largest portion of foodgrains imported by India in the years 1951–68 has come from the U.S.A. This food supply has been made under Public Law 480 (Food for Peace) programme which provides for sale of foodgrains on concessional terms and for donations to meet certain needs. Nearly 90 per cent of the rupees realized by sale of P.L. commodities has been loaned or granted back to India to finance development projects. 59.1 per cent, roughly three-fifths of the total foreign aid to India from different countries in the period 1951–68 has come from the U.S.A. There are critics who import some ulterior motives into such large scale aid to India; Chester Bowles refutes such suggestions and says, 'it is designed to help India become an economically self-sufficient and politically viable nation'. The American belief is that a strong India can make its own contribution to world peace and demonstrate that democracy can achieve in building up a society that is both prosperous and free. India is very much agitated over the U.S. military aid to Pakistan whose hostility to India and courtship to China are beyond doubt.

The generous help by way of loans and grants which the U.S.A. has been giving India and her readiness to support India at the time of Chinese attack in 1962 clearly show that the two countries have come to understand each other better. To the U.S.A. Indian democracy is a necessary offset against Chinese Communism.

Relations with Russia: Although Nehru was opposed to violence, he appreciated the Communist aim of social equality, material prosperity and emancipation from traditional superstition. So he cultivated good relations with Russia and China. During Stalin's rule it did not appear that friendly relations between Russia and

India would grow fast, but after his death Khrushchev thought it worthwhile to court the friendship of India. In December 1955 he and Bulganin visited India. They were warmly received. Over the question of Goa and Kashmir the Soviet leaders declared themselves on India's side. This made Americans think that India was oblivious to what Western countries had suffered at the hands of the Russians, particularly after the surrender of Germany and Japan. Russia's policy of expansion in Eastern Europe appears to the West as a menacing kind of neo-imperialism. Russia used force to prevent democratic elections in Poland, Rumania and elsewhere. Russian attempts to impose her will on the countries of Eastern Europe were clear. The Soviet Union talked about peaceful intentions while following her expansionist policies. The Western powers formed a coalition to resist Russian moving and they thought that the Indians did not properly appreciate the situation. But since Indian sympathies had been with Russians since 1917 and also because Russia gave substantial economic aid to India and built steel plant and oil refineries for her, Indian foreign policy was becoming more and more pro-Russian though not necessarily anti-Western, which is the significance of non-alignment. Indian economic planning too modelled after the Russian plans made for increasing close relations with Russia.

Relations with Communist Countries: China lies on India's border. Only Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim separate China and India. Although no Indian territory actually borders Russia, still her proximity to Kashmir is a point for consideration. China and Russia are the two giant powers of the Communist world and India thought it wise to follow a policy of peace and friendship with them in order to avoid heavy defence expenditure Moreover, India could not share the ideological antipathy to Communism of the Western world or the anxiety of the U.S. to crush and contain Communist expansion. India's pre-occupation was elimination of hunger and Nehru believed that Communism should be combated by an intensive programme in India. It was according to Nehru in the national interest not to join either of the blocs, but rather to help to bring about agreement between the contending parties, through peaceful negotiation. Nehru's policy

of nonalignment seemed to serve well enough in the circumstances.

Relations with Afro-Asian Nations: Before independence there was an organization called the Indian Council of World Affairs. One of its aims was to promote inter-Asian understanding and a conference was held for the purpose. This conference was attended by delegates from 25 Eastern countries which included the Soviet Union and Egypt. Two years later another conference was again convened at Delhi. This time it was at the official level, and was attended by representatives of 19 Asian governments. They condemned Dutch military action against Indonesian nationalists, and urged on the Security Council of the U.N. the grant of complete independence to Indonesia within a year. Six years later Nehru was one of the sponsors of an attempt to bring Asian nations into harmony. This resulted in a conference of 29 nations including Communist China at Bandung in April 1953. Nehru found that the possibility of Afro-Asian unity was somewhat remote. The nations at the conference had many contradictory ideas as to what the conference should sponsor. Each wanted its own problem to be taken up. For example, Iraq wanted united action against Israel. At that time Pakistan along with Thailand and Philippines refused to follow Nehru's lead, on friendship with Communist China. Resolutions urging independence for various colonies were passed. *Panchashila* was accepted as the universal principle of foreign policy and Nehru's prestige rose high among nonaligned nations.

India's relations with Ceylon have not been happy. Since her independence in 1948 the policy pursued by the Government of Ceylon was 'Ceylon for Ceylonese'. Into that country Tamilian coolies had migrated to work on plantations at low wages. The largest minority in Ceylon consists of Tamilians numbering about a million. The law of citizenship in Ceylon is such that most of these Tamilians cannot acquire Ceylonese citizenship and since they are not Indians they are rendered 'Stateless'. The liquidation of the British Empire gave rise to problems of Indian settlers not only in Ceylon, but also in Burma; there Indians owned large tracts of land and had built up commercial concerns. Burma pursued a policy of nationalization and confiscation, making it impossible for Indians to continue to live there. There was also

deportation of Indians from Burma, adding to the problem of rehabilitating refugees. Negotiations between India and the Government of Ceylon and the Government of Burma are still going on in respect of Stateless Indians there.

India's relation with Indonesia was cordial till 1950, because India had vigorously championed Indonesia's independence. But Soekarno, the Indonesian Prime Minister, was too ambitious to follow Nehru. Soekarno wished to assume leadership of the South-East Asian people, and while his internal and external troubles mounted, his relation with India deteriorated. In Africa too the comparatively rich and well-educated Indians there have been in trouble because the local peoples wanted them to quit. When China invaded India in 1962, the Afro-Asian Nations did not rally behind her. They applied the Indian policy of nonalignment and urged negotiation between India and China. Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic, far from helping India, jointly pressed India to negotiate for peace. India found that Afro-Asian nations had their own policies which did not include sympathy or friendship for India.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN: Keith Callard begins his history of Pakistan thus: 'Pakistan was created to be the State organization of the Muslim nation of the Indian sub-continent. It does not possess a history of national unity, it has no common language nor uniform culture, and it is neither a geographical nor an economic unit. The force behind its establishment was based very largely on a feeling of insecurity'. Pakistan is the largest Muslim State in the world, created on the sole basis of community of religion. Jinnah himself was surprised at the successful establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan's policy towards India is inspired by suspicion and hatred, a legacy of the partition. West Pakistan has been almost denuded of the Hindus and Sikhs; but in Eastern Pakistan there is a considerable minority of Hindus. The policy of driving Hindu families out of East Bengal has not been so complete as in West Pakistan. In the early years, the division of the essential waters of rivers that have their sources in India to feed the irrigation canals of Pakistan was one of the major problems between India and Pakistan. Pakistan feared that India might use the weapon of cutting off the flow of water into Pakistan to gain her own ends. The disputes lasted nearly thirteen years and through good offices of Eugene

Black, President of the World Bank and David Lilianthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority of the U.S.A., the dispute was settled in September 1960. The Indus Water Treaty as it is called, divides the total waters of the Indus system in the proportion of 80: 20 between Pakistan and India. The goodwill between India and Pakistan created by the Indus Water Treaty was shortlived, because over the question of the treatment of minorities in Pakistan, India and Pakistan have frequently fallen out. Another major point of discord between India and Pakistan is the dispute over Kashmir. We have already indicated the circumstances in which the Maharaja of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession to India. The tribesmen from the North-West and Muslim rebels were unable to meet the organized power of Indian troops and so Pakistani troops moved into the State of Kashmir and when a cease-fire was concluded in January 1949 nearly one-third of Kashmir came under the occupation of Pakistan. This was a simple act of aggression by Pakistan for Kashmir had acceded to India and the presence of Pakistani troops was a violation of Indian soil and India has made it clear that no solution would be possible until Pakistani forces had withdrawn. But Pakistan's proposition is that a majority of the population of Kashmir being Muslims the Instrument of Accession itself is invalid. More than the legality of the matter Pakistan views it as an issue of prestige. It is impossible for her to reconcile herself to the idea that a Muslim majority area should join India. Western nations are unable to understand clearly that as a secular State India cannot allow religion to play a part in the settlement of the issue. However, it is hardly realized by the supporters of Pakistan that India did not go into Kashmir in order to aggrandize the territory, but to save it from destruction and dissolution. Sheikh Abdullah was, according to Nehru, wedded to secularism, and wanted Kashmir to be autonomous; when this was impossible he gave trouble and so was put in prison. When he was released he went abroad and abused the privileges of Indian citizenship by his talks with the Chinese Premier. He was, therefore, compelled to come back to India.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA: Until 1959 India's policy towards China was one of open and warm friendship. She sponsored the claim of Communist China to the Chinese seat in United Nations. Cultural delegations were exchanged between India and China. It was in

1962 that India discovered that China had been planning aggression against India. As early as 1950 Chinese maps included within Chinese border large areas that really belonged to India. But China said that these maps had been prepared hastily and that the Government had not time to look into them. Tibet was regarded as the buffer State between Russia, China and India, and the British government of India had maintained political and trade agents in Tibet. Britain's special privileges included keeping military contingents in the town of Gyantse. Up to 1950 China made no attempt to exercise sovereignty over Tibet and when China wanted to include Tibet as a part of her territory, Indian anxieties were expressed. A treaty was concluded with China in 1954. This recognized the pilgrimage and trading rights of India, but extraterritorial and military rights enjoyed by the British Indian Government were not given her. In 1957 the Indian Government discovered that the Chinese had built a road across the Aksai Chin tip in Lakadh. India's protest went in vain. The Chinese gradually tightened their control over Tibet. A revolution broke out there in 1959 and the Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India. China did not like India giving shelter to Tibetans. But Nehru ruled out all suggestions regarding making war with China; he admitted in Parliament that the Chinese claimed 52,000 square miles of what he regarded as Indian territory. China has an advantage in the mountain terrain to descend into the Indian territory. In the long mountaneous border an aggressor may choose any spot for attack, but the defender finds it difficult to build up defence all along the border. When the Chinese made thrusts in October 1962 with unexpected skill and intensity the Indians were shocked. The Chinese troops had modern weapons and had been trained for mountain warfare. The Indians had neither warm clothes nor up-to-date weapons. In Ladakh the Chinese seized more territories than they had previously done. In the North-Eastern Frontier Agency they came down the mountain slopes in several places. The entire valley of the Brahmaputra river was threatened and Nehru sent out urgent requests to U.S. and U.K. for military aid. Help came from these two countries. Whether it was because of the British and American aid to India, or because China had demonstrated successfully to the Afro-Asian nations her superiority in military strength to India, or because she had occupied just those portions of Indian territory that she

had wanted to, unilaterally she announced a cease-fire. The attempts of Ceylon and other powers to bring about peace between India and China have not so far been successful. India learned a bitter lesson that she should not take too much for granted in her relations with her neighbours. Recent developments of mutual friendship between Pakistan and China are viewed seriously by India. It is too early to say what exactly is the intention of either Pakistan or China in respect of India.

Defence

The Himalayan passes had, for long, been considered as impassable by large numbers. The vulnerability of this natural protection was clearly shown when the Chinese launched their attack in the N.E.F.A. area on 9 September 1962. How obsolete the Indian army had become was also made plain. The Chinese with their superb intelligence service, excellent communications, remarkable coordination within and between all the battle sectors, superior equipment and up-to-date weapons of war were able to break the gallant resistance of the Indian forces. V. K. Krishna Menon's tenure of office as Defence Minister after nearly five years came to an end in 1962, when the utter unpreparedness of the Indian forces came to light. Y. B. Chavan who succeeded him stated in Parliament in September 1963 that 'our troops had no requisite knowledge of the Chinese tactics and ways of war, their weapons, equipment and capabilities'. Indian reverses rivetted the attention of all countries interested in saving Democratic India from Chinese aggression.

It was found that only 20 per cent of the total budget was allotted for defence expenditure in 1955-56. In 1961-62 even this became reduced to 15 per cent. The shock of the Chinese invasion alerted the nation to the fact that well-equipped army, air force and sufficiently strong navy are essential to preserve territorial integrity and meet possible aggression. The lack of air power was a significant feature in the defeat India suffered at the hands of the Chinese.

It was as late as 1918, when the first Indian officer candidate received appointment to Sandhurst. Thereafter each year a few Indian officers secured the King's Commission. In 1932 an Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun. The graduates

of this academy were qualified for the King's Commission. Indianization of the Officer Corps was indeed a very slow process. At the time of independence only 25 per cent of the officers were Indian. Of them only three held the rank of Brigadier. After independence a few British officers stayed on for some time but the majority left India almost immediately. This necessitated the promotion of junior Indian officers. Experience of the Second World War clearly showed that Indian soldiers were well disciplined, capable of facing any danger, and doing their duty to the death, but the Army required modern equipments. The U.S.S.R. was reluctant to deliver the promised M.I.G. fighter planes at the time of Chinese attack. Nehru found that nonviolence was not paying. On 25 October 1962 he said: 'We are getting out of touch with reality in the modern world. We were living in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation, we have been shocked out of it, all of us, whether it is the government or the people.' To live in peace it became necessary to be prepared for war. People became convinced that strong modern well-trained officers, and armed forces are a fundamental pre-condition for India's security as a nation. Hanson Baldwin writing about 'Himalayan warfare' in the *New York Times* (10 November 1962) assessed some of the Indian army's needs thus: 'What the Indians need are large numbers of automatic or semi-automatic rifles with a high volume of fire to replace their standard single-shot, bolt-action, 303 Lee-Enfields. They also require light machine guns, mortars, light mountain artillery, and anti-personnel mines.

'The small arms furnished by the United States by airlift from Germany probably include a considerable number of M-I Garand semi-automatic rifles and perhaps the newer M-14's, Browning automatic rifles, and light machine guns. Mountain artillery is another need. The 75 mm pack howitzer, transportable by mule-back, has long been regarded by artillerymen as one of our most mobile and best pieces for mountain war. A new Italian 105 mm pack howitzer has been highly praised and might be available for India in small numbers. These weapons could be supplemented by light, air-transportable rockets, or "moritzers"—a combination of mortar and a howitzer, useful for high-angle fire, which is essential in mountain fighting.

'Ammunition for all these weapons is another requirement. The supply of the necessary weapons is less of a problem than their

distribution within India and training of the Indian troops to use them.'[2]

Since 1950 India has been manufacturing her own airforce planes at Bangalore and at Kanpur. Vigorous steps have been taken to improve the defence force of the nation. High level military missions from U.K. and U.S.A. and their discussions with the Indian defence staff were of great help in determining the nature and extent of help India requires. Nehru made it clear that India did not want weapons she could herself produce. The Indian ordinance factories were stepped up, Nehru said that the armaments supplied to India would be used exclusively to meet Chinese aggression. And the danger to India from Chinese Communism has made U.S.A. change her mind towards India. At first she thought that 'neutralist' nations like India did not deserve military or economic aid as the other allies of America did. Pakistan got appreciable arms aid because of her membership in the S.E.A.T.O. But still there is a feeling among the higher circles in America that military aid to Pakistan should be favoured as a counterforce to the 'neutralism' of India.

The U.S.A., Russia and China are actual atomic powers in the world. Britain and France can easily manufacture nuclear weapons. Non-atomic countries can never hope to mobilize sufficient military strength to meet aggression; they, therefore, feel compelled to ally themselves with one or other of the countries militarilly strong so that their defence expenditure may be limited and they feel secure in the protection of their allies. It is doubtful even if atomic powers can get success in any future war; such success as they may get can only be temporary. Nonalignment with the idea of promoting peace in the world is not a wrong policy.

[2] Beatrice Pitney Lamb, *India—A World in Transition*, pp. 330-31.

R. B. A. N. M's (Bifurcated)
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EPILOGUE

On 22 May 1964 Prime Minister Nehru was asked in Parliament whether it would not be in the interest of good government and stability of the country if he solved the problem of his successor in his life time. After a long pause Nehru replied: 'My lifetime is not ending so soon'. Five days later he was dead (27 May 1964).

AFTER NEHRU: India's debt to Nehru is incalculable; the land has not had in modern times a more popular and powerful leader than Nehru. It was his unique prestige and personality and his ceaseless labour in the cause of mutual tolerance and his practical wisdom that saved the country from chaos and ruin. It may even be said that he was without a peer in the contemporary world. There is some truth in the criticism that he had no gift for administration; he was too idealistic, too optimistic to distinguish between the possible and the desirable. He took upon himself all the many duties of a large government and would not delegate them to others because of his impatience with sloth and inefficiency. Inevitably Nehru's personality towered over all his colleagues in the party and the Cabinet. His critics list Kashmir, Goa and Tibet among the inadequacies of his foreign policy and sundry shortcomings in his economic policies. These will long be debated by historians, but a 'deathless page of history belongs to Jawaharlal Nehru'.

On the recommendation of the emergency committee of the Cabinet the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan called in G. L. Nanda the Home Minister and swore him as acting Prime Minister. Nanda was to act till the party chose a new leader to be sworn in as Prime Minister. On June 2 the Congress Parliamentary Party unanimously elected Lal Bahadur Shastri as the leader and

on the same day he was invited to form the government, which was sworn in only on the 9th. Though many had been anxious about the succession to Nehru the transition proved to be very smooth. Lal Bahadur had considerable experience as a Cabinet minister and he had earlier endeared himself to the people of India, when conscience-stricken by a train disaster at Ariyalur, he resigned as Railways minister. K. Kamaraj Nadar, a man with little normal education, who was president of the Congress party rose to the occasion and brought about the unanimous election of Lal Bahadur Shastri by the Congressmen in Parliament and this was rightly hailed as a personal triumph for Kamaraj, and evidence of the resources of native leadership for managing parliamentary democracy in India.

Lal Bahadur (born 1904) went to school in Benares, but gave up his English education in 1921 in answer to Gandhiji's boycott call and joined the non-cooperation movement. He went to a nationalist institution and graduated with the indigenous title of *Sastri*. He was very close to Nehru who made him Minister for Railways in consideration of his hard work as Congress Secretary in the election campaign of 1951. Being a quiet and unassuming sort of person he did not draw much public attention. The extent to which his personality was a contrast to that of Nehru seems to have been his credential for the prime ministership, for the public feeling was that the country needed one who was more receptive than dictatorial. For an assessment of Lal Bahadur, probably it is best to rely on his own words. When at the time of his resignation as Minister for Railways, he was persuaded to stay, he said: 'I listen to different points of view. I keep an open mind. I talk to different sets of people. Perhaps due to my being small in size and soft in tongue people are apt to believe that I am not able to be firm with them. Though not physically strong I think I am internally not so weak.'

With high courage Lal Bahadur attempted to solve several unsolved problems which were the legacy of his office. On the domestic front he succeeded in pruning the Congress party of some of its discredited leaders in high places. He accepted the resignation of Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of the Punjab, ordered an enquiry into the affairs of Biju Patnaik, Ex-Chief Minister of Orissa and forced the Chief Minister of Orissa to resign. Lal Bahadur did all he could to restore administrative confidence by

backing his officials. In respect of the official language problem he managed to secure for English an equal footing with Hindi, not, however, before the self-immolation of a few determined opposers of Hindi in Madras. Though the country is still predominantly agricultural, food shortage is endemic; neither the British rulers nor the Congress Government could solve it satisfactorily. In 1959, Nehru had confessed: 'We see hoarding again and there is an attempt to push up price—A government that cannot deal with obvious anti-social elements has surrendered to them and can have no credit for effectiveness.' There was a real scarcity in the last two years of the Nehru era, concealed largely by massive imports; and it continued in the early months of Lal Bahadur's rule. In spite of the bumper crop in 1965, there was severe shortage of food in several parts of the country. The problem was often discussed in Chief Ministers' Conferences but no effective steps emerged from them. The steady increase in population, the vagaries of the monsoon, the parochialism of some Chief Ministers, lack of firm and wise policies at Delhi, and profiteering of traders all combined to make matters worse. And the problem continued to defy satisfactory solution in the period of Lal Bahadur's Premiership.

The Rann of Kutch, a district of Gujarat had been the area of border disputes between India and West Pakistan since 1947. Early in 1965 Pakistan turned the border dispute into a territorial claim and intruded into Indian territory. India's protests were unheeded and so Lal Bahadur felt compelled to order military action in defence. It appeared that India and Pakistan were on the brink of a war, when fortunately Harold Wilson, the Premier of England used his influence with President Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur at the time of the Commonwealth Conference in London (1965) and brought about a cease-fire agreement. The operative parts of the agreement provided a restoration of the military situation obtaining on 1 January 1965. This meant that Indian troops had also to quit from their own territory in the northern reaches of the Rann because they had not been there on January 1. Critics of Lal Bahadur attributed this to his weakness, but it turned out that Pakistan's intrusion into Kutch was only a precursor to a full-scale attack on Kashmir.

In April 1965 Pakistan's aggressive policy met with a serious set-back in Kutch, but she sought to achieve her object by cutting

the Srinagar-Leh road; and cease-fire violations began to increase in number. Pakistan's deliberate plan of seizing Kashmir by force became plain. Infiltration into Kashmir beyond the cease-fire line grew to an alarming extent. When Lal Bahadur found the need for quick decision and prompt action he ordered the army to cross the cease-fire line and capture some important military posts. Pakistan thought that India was weak and flabby with a vacillating leadership and an ill-equipped army which lacked the will to fight. Pakistan had the advantage of being a member of the S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact, so she hoped that her friends might help her against India. The Pakistanis were almost sure that the Muslims in Kashmir and India would rally round them and so victory would be theirs. Lal Bahadur showed himself to be a man with an iron backbone. With the help of the Air Force it was possible for the Indian army to beat Pakistan in the battlefield. Through the intervention of the U.N. a cease-fire was arranged after a bitter war of about 22 days. India's prestige rose high and myths about her weakness were all exploded. There was a Chinese interlude threatening an invasion of India but when it became certain that Pakistan would agree to the cease-fire, China withdrew her ultimatum unilaterally.

Through the good offices of the Soviet Premier Kosygin the Indian and Pakistani heads of government met at Tashkent early in 1966 to find a way of restoring friendly relations between them. When it seemed that something would come out of their conference and Lal Bahadur Shastri was at the height of his power and prestige he died of heart failure (11 January 1966). He demonstrated to the world that there was no dearth of leadership in India and that any practical minded, honest person capable of rising above narrow regionalism could be at the helm of affairs in India. Although nothing tangible came out of the 'Tashkent Declaration' its spirit, the spirit of negotiation instead of war, was welcomed in the subcontinent and relieved world tension.

Nanda, the seniormost minister in the Cabinet, was again sworn in as acting Prime Minister. There was a lot of lobbying and bargaining to settle the second succession to the Premiership of India. Morarji Desai insisted on being a candidate for the leadership of the party, though he knew that powerful groups both at the Centre and in the States were arrayed against him. But he wanted to test their influence in the election by the members of

the Congress party in Parliament. Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, was the choice of Kamaraj and other leaders, and she was elected (355 to 169) leader by the Congress Parliamentary Party, (19 January 1966). On Monday, 24 January 1966, Indira Gandhi presented to the President the list of her Council of Ministers which included Morarji Desai. Lal Bahadur had retained Nehru's Cabinet in tact, but Indira Gandhi changed it. From the start she showed that she could be independent and be a leader in her own right. The difficulty in securing adequate foreign aid rendered it necessary for her to be cautious in implementing projects scheduled in the Fourth Five-Year Plan which was put off. The impending General Elections of 1967 absorbed the attention of the Congress and Congress ministers both at the Centre and in the States.

The Congress suffered notable reverses in the re-elections; the partly lost about eighty seats in Lok Sabha though it still retained a majority there. In fact there was no opposition party that could form an alternative government. It is only in Madras State (statutorily renamed Tamilnadu, November 1968) that the Dravida Munnetra Kazakam, an opposition party, obtained an absolute majority. In a few other States, where the Congress was placed in a minority only coalition governments could be formed, and their stability is doubtful. There was a new generation of about 25 million voters who had not voted before and the Congress had not been in touch with that cohort. Moreover, there was a general feeling that fresh blood must be infused into the government. An analysis of the results of the general election shows that regionalism has played a great part; parties having local bases were preferred to the Congress. A somewhat disturbing trend is the spread of a kind of parochialism which can prove harmful to national unity. In tackling the problems of food shortage, industrial development and a common official language unhealthy conflicts between the States and the Centre had developed and those were reflected in the election of 1967. The four cardinal principles of Nehru's policy were democracy, planning, secularism and nonalignment. These four principles were followed by Lal Bahadur Shastri during his short premiership. That democracy has taken firm root in India is beyond doubt. In respect to planning the implementation of projects depends on financial resources available and if there was some slowness in implementing projects it was because foreign aid

was not forthcoming to the extent to which it had been in the Nehru era. In the days of Indira Gandhi, there has been a review of the working of the projects according to the Plan. The Fourth Plan requires much more money than any of the previous Plans. In order that the benefit of the Plans may reach the masses the industrial and agricultural sectors have to be worked intensively. Owing to lack of adequate finance and expert personnel, there has been some tardiness in finalizing the Fourth Plan. With regard to secularism, some critics entertained the fear that after Nehru there might be a revival in Hinduism, but secularism in the sense of full freedom of religious belief is the only possible policy for a pluralistic society like India. Therefore, there will be no departure from the ideal of secularism. Nonalignment has provoked several criticisms both from friendly and unfriendly people. Nonalignment as Nehru explained does not mean complete neutralism but the liberty to decide to support that contending party which in the opinion of India deserves to be supported. Several bilateral trade and military arrangements are instanced as evidence of deviation from the policy of nonalignment. Lal Bahadur tried his best to promote friendly relations between India and her neighbours. This cannot be construed as indifference to nations far away from India. The emphasis on the promotion of friendly relations with neighbours is essential to a sound foreign policy. When there is a crisis certainly India has to ally herself with those countries that are willing to come to her assistance. It may broadly be stated that the four cardinal principles of Nehru's policy still continue to inspire the government of India, under Indira Gandhi's leadership, though the emphasis on one or the other varies according to circumstance. The historical situation compels the adoption of these principles on governments irrespective of their political complexion or party affiliation.

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CHRONOLOGY

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CHRONOLOGY

Part I : Ancient India

B.C.

3000.	Beginnings of Indus Valley civilization.
2500—1500.	Harappa civilization. Coming of Aryans.
600.	Close of the later Vedic age of the Brahmanas, Upanishads and Sutras.
563— 483.	Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha.
543— 491.	Bimbisara, King of Magadha.
540— 467.	Vardhamana Mahavira.
517— 515.	Skylax's voyage of exploration. Persian conquest of the N.W.
491— 459.	Ajatasatru, King of Magadha.
422— 322.	The Nandas of Magadha. Conquest of Kalinga, and the Deccan.
327— 325.	Campaigns of Alexander in the N.W.
322— 298.	Chandragupta Maurya.
298— 274.	Bindusara.
274— 237.	Asoka.
237— 185.	Successors of Asoka.
220.	Approximate date of the establishment of the Satavahana power in the Deccan and of the Kalinga kingdom.
206.	Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria, comes to Gandhara (under Subhagasena).
200— 58.	Yavana princes of the house of Euthydemus.
184— 72.	The Sunga dynasty.
165.	The Yueh-chi defeated by the Huns.
162— 25.	Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides.
150.	Kharavela of Kalinga.
75—A.D.50.	Saka and Pallava rule in the Punjab.
58— 7.	Initial year of the Vikrama era.

A.D.

1— 300.	Age of the Sangam in the Tamil country. Indian colonization of the East.
40— 64.	Kadphisis I Kushana.
40— 80.	Spread of Saka (Western Satrap) power at the expense of the Satavahanas.
78.	Initial year of the Saka era. Accession of Kanishka.
80— 104.	Gautamiputra Satakarni.
170— 199.	Sri Yajna Satakarni.

175— 193. Gajabahu I of Ceylon. Contemporaries—Chera Senguttuvan, Pandya Nedunjeliyan, and Chola Karikala.
235— 40. Abhira Isvarasena.
280— 340. Pravarasena I Vakataka.
319— 20. Initial year of the Gupta era.
350— 430. Salankayanas, Matharas, Kadambas, W. Gangas.
352— 79. Meghavarna of Ceylon, contemporary of Samudra Gupta. Also Vishnugopa Pallava of Kanchi.
375. Approximate date of the death of Samudra Gupta.
380. Accession of Chandra Gupta II.
395. End of Western Satrap rule.
401— 10. Fa-hien in India.
414— 55. Kumara Gupta I. Contemporary of Kalidasa.
425. Huns settle in Bactria.
437. Temple of Sun erected at Mandasor by a guild of weavers.
450. First Hun attack on Gupta empire.
455— 67. Skanda Gupta.
473. Kumara Gupta II.
500— 550. Decline and fall of Gupta power. Toramana and Mihirakula. Yasodharman of Malwa (A.D. 533-34).
539. Chinese Buddhist mission to Magadha.
543— 44. Pulakesin I Chalukya fortifies Badami.
575— 600. Beginning of Pallava and Pandya rule in the South.
600. Hiuen Tsang born. Persecution of Buddhism by Sasanka. Accession of Mahendravarman I Pallava.
604. Rajyavardhana's war against Hun.
606. Initial year of Harsha era.
606— 12. Conquest of Northern India by Harsha.
609. Accession of Pulakesin Chalukya.
620. Defeat of Harsha by Pulakesin II.
629— 43. Travels of Hiuen Tsang in India.
634. Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II.
641. Harsha's embassy to China.
642. Death of Pulakesin II Chalukya.
643. Great Assemblies at Kanauj and Prayaga held by Harsha.
664. Death of Hiuen Tsang.
671— 95. I-tsing's travels in India and the eastern islands.
700— 28. Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha.
711— 12. Arab conquest of Sind.
730— 40. Yasovarman of Kanauj invades Bengal.
730— 65. Pandya Maravarman Rajasimha I.
740. Lalitaditya of Kashmir overthrows Yasovarman; Chalukya Vikramaditya II invades Kanchi.
742. Rashtrakuta Dantidurga in occupation of Ellora.
750— 60. Beginning of Pala rule in Bengal.
756. Nagabhata I, founder of Gurjara Pratihara dynasty.
760. Pallava Nandivarman II invades the Ganga kingdom and wins battle of Vilande.

765— 815. Pandya Varaguna I.
788— 820. Sankaracharya.
814. Accession of Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I.
840— 90. Mihira Bhoja Pratihara.
844— 66. Pallava Nandivarman III.
850. Approximate date of the Nalanda copper plate of Devapaladeva; rise of Vijayalaya Chola of Tanjore.
916. Rashtrakuta Indra overthrows Mahipala of Kanauj.
949. Battle of Takkolam.
973. Accession of Chalukya Taila II.
974— 95. Munja Paramara of Dhara; Mularaja, founder of Solankis.
978—1030. Mahipala I of Bengal.
985. Accession of Rajaraja I Chola.
1018. Mahmud of Ghazni invades Mathura and Kanauj.
1018— 60. Bhoja of Dhara.
1022. Coronation of Rajaraja Narendra of Vengi.
1023. Invasion of Bengal by Rajendra I Chola.
1052. Iron pillar of Chandra removed from Mathura to Delhi by the Tomaras.
1070. Accession of Kulottunga I Chola.
1076. Accession of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI.
1100. Kalhana, the historian of Kashmir.
1100— 10. Hoysala Ballala I.
1108— 19. Vallalasena of Bengal.
1153— 86. Parakramabahu I of Ceylon. Kalachuris of Kalyani, Bijjala and his sons.
1178. Accession of Kulottunga III Chola. Contemporary poet Kamban.
1191. Shihab-ud-din Muhammad of Ghor defeated at Tarain by Prithvi-raja.
1199. Muslim conquest of Bengal. Accession of Kakatiya Ganapati.
1205. Kulottunga III invades Madura and humiliates the Pandyas.
1216. Maravarman Sundara Pandya's war of revenge against the Cholas.
1220—1300. Telugu poet Tikkana.
1216— 56. Rajaraja III Chola.
1246— 79. Rajendra III Chola.
1251. Accession of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya.
1268—1310. Pandya Maravarman Kulasekhara.
1293. Marco Polo in South India.
1295—1326. Kakatiya Prataparudra II.

Part II : Mediaeval India

A.D.

622. Muhammad goes from Mecca to Medina; commencement of the Hijra era.
632. Muhammad's death; Egypt annexed to the Muslim Empire.
636. Arab expedition to the west coast of India.

711. Arab conquest of Sind.
977. Sabuktigin becomes king of Ghazni.
978— 90. Sabuktigin's conquests in Afghanistan, Kandahar, Kabul and N.W. India.
997. Death of Sabuktigin.
998. Accession of Mahmud to the Ghaznavid throne.
1000. Mahmud's first raid into India.
1001— 2. Mahmud's war with Jaipal.
1008— 9. Submission of Anandapal to Mahmud.
1010. Mahmud's conquest of Ghor.
1013— 16. Mahmud's raids against the Punjab.
1016— 17. Mahmud's plunder of Kanauj and Mathura.
1026. Mahmud's expedition against Somnath.
1030. Death of Mahmud.
1174. Muhammad Ghori became the Governor of Ghazni.
1179. Defeat of Muhammad Ghori at Anhilvara.
1182. Muhammad's conquest of Sind.
1191— 92. Battles of Tarain.
1193. Delhi taken by Kutb-ud-din Aibek.
1194. Muhammad's conquest of Kanauj and Benares.
1196. Muhammad's reduction of Gwalior.
1197. Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar's completion of the conquest of Bihar.
1199. Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar's conquest of Bengal.
1202. Fall of Kalanjar.
1203. Muhammad became sultan of Ghazni.
1204. Muhammad's invasion of Khwarizim.
1206. Murder of Muhammad.
1206— 90. The Slave Kings.
1206— 10. Kutb-ud-din's rule.
1210— 36. Iltutmish.
1236— 40. Raziyat-ud-din.
1238— 64. Narasimha I of Orissa.
1241. Mongol conquest of Lahore.
1245. Mongols defeated by Balban.
1246— 66. Nasir-ud-din.
1253. Banishment of Balban from Nasir-ud-din's court.
1255. Restoration of Balban to his original position.
1258. End of the Khaliphate of Baghdad.
1266— 86. Balban's rule as sultan.
1290—1320. The Khaljis.
1290— 96. Jalal-ud-din.
1292. Mongol invasion of India.
1294. Ala-ud-din's invasion of the Yadava kingdom.
1296—1316. Ala-ud-din.
1303. Ala-ud-din's capture of Chitor and failure against Warangal.
1308. Malik Kafur's invasion of Devagiri.
1320— 88. The Tughlaks.
1325— 51. Muhammad-bin Tughlak.

1327. Reduction of Kampili; Ulugh Khan's expedition against Ma'bar; Muhammad's change of capital.
1333— 34. Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, governor of Ma'bar declares his independence.
1336. Foundation of Vijayanagar.
1344. Annexation of the Hoysala kingdom by Bukka.
1347. Foundation of the Bahmani kingdom.
1351— 88. Firuz Tughlak.
1358— 77. Muhammad I Bahmani.
1398. Timur's invasion of India.
1400— 36. Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shah, ruler of Jaunpur.
1401—1562. Provincial kingdom of Malwa.
1401—1572. Provincial kingdom of Gujarat.
1414— 51. The Sayyids.
1420. Extinction of the Kondavidu kingdom of the Reddis.
1426— 46. Devaraya II of Vijayanagar.
1434—1541-42. Gajapati rule in Orissa.
1451—1526. The Lodis.
1483. Birth of Babur.
1485—1533. Chaitanya, religious reformer. Saluva Narasimha's usurpation in Vijayanagar.
1486—1518. Raja Man Singh Tomar.
1490 ('84?) Foundation of the sultanate of Berar.
1490—1637. Provincial kingdom of Ahmadnagar.
1489-90—1686. Provincial kingdom of Bijapur.
1489—1510. Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur.
1497. Accession of Prataparudra Gajapati in Orissa.
1498. Coming of the Portuguese.
1507— 15. Albuquerque, Portuguese viceroy.
1509— 29. Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar. Rana Sanga of Mewar.
1510. Goa gained by the Portuguese; the Portuguese allowed to erect a fort at Bhatkal.
1511. Malacca seized by Albuquerque.
1512 ('18?)
—1686. The sultanate of Golkonda.
1515. Portuguese expedition to Ormuz.
1518. End of the Bahmani kingdom.
1526. Battle of Panipat.
1526— 30. Babur.
1526— 37. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.
1529— 42. Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagar.
1530— 40. Humayun emperor.
1532— 63. Tulasi Das, poet.
1537— 38. Reduction of Chunar by Humayun.
1538. Fall of Gaur to Sher Khan. Death of Nanak.
1540— 45. Sher Shah Sur.
1540— 55. Humayun in exile.
1542. Birth of Akbar.

1555— 56. Second rule of Humayun.
1556—1605. Akbar.
1556. Second battle of Panipat.
1565— 66. Construction of the Agra fort begun by Akbar.
1567. Reduction of Chitor.
1569. Birth of Salim.
1574. Abul Fazl and Badauni enter the court of Akbar.
1578—1617. Raja Odeyar of Mysore.
1580. First Jesuit Mission to Akbar.
1582. Promulgation of the Din Ilahi.
1585—1614. Venkata II of Vijayanagar.
1589. Death of Todar Mall. Death of Tansen.
1590— 92. Second Jesuit mission to Akbar.
1595. Third Jesuit mission to Akbar.
1594. Addition of Baluchistan to the Mughal Empire.
1596. Akbar master of all North India.
1600. Incorporation of the English East India Company.
1602. Murder of Abul Fazl by Salim.
1605. Death of Akbar. Establishment of factories by the Dutch at Petapoli, Nizampatam and Masulipatam.
1605— 27. Jahangir.
1608— 49. Tukaram, religious reformer.
1608— 81. Ramdas, Guru of Sivaji.
1609— 10. Establishment of Dutch factory at Pulicat.
1611. Jahangir's marriage with Nur Jahan.
English factory established at Masulipatam.
1612. Shah Jahan's marriage with Mumtaz Mahal.
Kamrup annexed to the Mughal empire.
1614. Death of Raja Man Singh.
1615. Visit of Sir Thomas Roe to Jahangir. English factory at Surat.
1617— 37. Chamaraja Odeyar of Mysore.
1623. Rebellion of Shah Jahan. Massacre of Amboyna.
1623— 59. Tirumala Nayaka of Madura.
1627. Birth of Sivaji.
1627— 58. Shah Jahan.
1632— 53. Construction of the Taj Mahal.
1633. English factories at Hariharpur and Balasore.
1636— 44. Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan.
1638. Kandahar taken by Shah Jahan.
1639. Day obtained the grant of Madras for the English East India Company.
1642—75(?) Sriranga III of Vijayanagar.
1644— 58. Construction of the Jami Masjid.
1645. Occupation of Balkh and Badakshan by Murad.
1645— 47. Aurangzeb, viceroy of Gujarat.
1645— 60. Sivappa Nayaka of Keladi.
1646. Death of Nur Jahan.
1650— 51. English factory at Hugli.

1652. Completion of the Muslim conquest of Karnataka.
1653. Dara's failure in Kandahar.
1653— 58. Aurangzeb, viceroy of Deccan.
1657. Aurangzeb's invasion of Bijapur.
Sivaji's first encounter with the Mughals.
1658. Battles of Dharmat and Samugarh.
1658—1707. Aurangzeb.
1659. Battle of Deorai; Coronation of Aurangzeb.
Aurangzeb's Benares farman.
Occupation of Tanjore by Bijapur.
Sivaji's encounter with Afzal Khan.
1663. Sivaji's surprise attack on Shayista Khan.
1664. Sivaji's attack on Surat.
1665. Treaty of Purandar.
Bombay made over to the British East India Company.
1666. Captivity and escape of Sivaji; Death of Shah Jahan.
1674. Sivaji's coronation at Raigarh.
1676— 77. Sivaji's southern expedition.
1678—1728. Sridhar of Maharashtra, poet.
1679. Aurangzeb's wars against the Rajputs.
1680. Death of Sivaji.
1681. Aurangzeb's move to the Deccan.
1685— 87. Aurangzeb's sieges of Bijapur and Golkonda.
1686— 90. Quarrel between Aurangzeb and the British East India Company.
1687. Bombay replaced Surat as headquarters of the British Company in India.
Corporation of Madras established.
1689. Execution of Sambuji.
1689—1706. Rani Mangammal of Madura.
1707. Death of Aurangzeb.
1708. Murder of Govind Singh.
1708— 9. "The United Company of the Merchants" of England trading in the East Indies came into existence.
1720— 35. Lenoir, Governor of Pondicherry.
1735— 42. Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry.
1739. Peacock Throne carried away by Nadir Shah.

Part III : Modern India

A.D.

1707. Death of Aurangzeb.
1707— 9. Civil War between the sons of Aurangzeb.
1708. Coronation of Sahu.
Death of Guru Govind Singh.
1709— 10. Composition of the Sivatattvaratnakara.
1710. Rebellion of Banda.

1711. Regaining of Sirhind by Muslims.
Disturbance in Lahore.
1712. War between the English at Fort St. David and the Raja of Jinji.
Death of Bahadur Shah.
Death of Asim-us-Shan.
Farrukh-Siyar proclaimed himself emperor.
1712— 13. War of Succession.
1713. Battle of Agra.
Misunderstanding between Farrukh-Siyar and the Sayyid brothers.
Balaji Visvanath made Peshwa.
1714. Imprisonment of Tarabai.
Surrender of Ajit Singh to Husain Ali.
Peace concluded between the Chhatrapati and the Sarkhel.
1715. Sawai Jay Singh defeats Khanderao Dabhade and Kanhoji Bhosle.
Husain Ali made Viceroy of the Deccan.
Surman's Embassy to Delhi.
Return of Nizam-ul-Mulk to court.
Surrender of the Sikhs to Abdus-Samad Khan.
1716. Defeat of Husain Ali by Khanderao Dabhade.
1717. The Madras villages taken possession of by the British.
1720. Death of Balajirao Visvanath; Bajirao I Peshwa.
1721. Bajirao's defeat of the English at Kolaba.
1722. Nizam-ul-Mulk made Vizier.
Thun occupied by Jay Singh.
1723. Reorganization of the French company.
1723— 24. Withdrawal of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan.
1724. Battle of Shakerkhedla. Abhay Singh recognized Rana of Jodhpur.
1725. The Nizam confirmed in the Viceroyalty of the Deccan.
1726. Commencement of hostilities between Sambhuji and Sahu.
1729. Death of Kanhoji Angre.
1730. Gujarat secured by Chimnaji Appa.
1733. Death of Sekhoji Angria.
1735— 41. Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry.
1739. Nadir Shah's occupation of Delhi.
Death of Shuja-ud-Daula.
Commercial treaty between the English and the Marathas.
Chanda Saheb's capture of Karaikal.
1740. Alivardi Khan became Nawab of Bengal.
Death of Bajirao; Balaji Rao became Peshwa.
1740— 41. Maratha invasion of the Karnatak.
1741. Surrender of Trichinopoly to Raghuji, Chanda Saheb taken prisoner.
1742— 51. Marathas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
1743. Anwar-ud-din appointed Nawab of Karnatak.
Trichinopoly taken by Nizam-ul-Mulk from Murarirao.
1745. Appearance of an English fleet on the Coromandel Coast.
Death of Ranoji Sindia.

1746. Chauth for Bengal and Bihar granted by the Emperor to the Marathas.
Capitulation of Madras to the French.
1748. Escape of Chanda Saheb from the Marathas.
Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasion of India.
Death of Nizam-ul-Mulk.
1749. Death of Sahu.
Ahmad Shah Abdali's second invasion of India.
1750. Installation of Ramaraja.
Bussy's capture of Jinji.
1751. Clive's occupation and defence of Arcot.
Third invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
1752. Chanda Saheb beheaded.
Tarabai made peace with the Peshwa.
1753. Cession of the 'Northern Circars' to Bussy.
Ahmedabad captured by Raghunatharao.
1754 Godeheu sent to India to supersede Dupleix.
1755. Haidar appointed Faujdar of Dindigul.
Death of Raghuji Bhosle.
1756. Death of Alivardi Khan.
Accession of Siraj-ud-Daula.
Fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
1757. Battle of Palasi; Siraj-ud-Daula was killed and Mir Jafar became Nawab.
1758. Count de Lally came to India.
Clive made Governor of Bengal.
Recall of Bussy from Hyderabad.
1759. The Dutch defeated by Clive.
1760. Battle of Wandiwash.
Deposition of Mir Jafar; Mir Kasim made Nawab of Bengal.
Shah Alam II proclaimed emperor in Delhi.
1761. Surrender of Lally at Pondicherry.
Death of Tarabai.
1763. Deposition of Mir Kasim; Mir Jafar made Nawab once again.
Farrukhanagar taken by Jawahir Singh.
1765. Northern Circars passed under the English.
Oudh at the mercy of the English.
Mir Jafar's death.
The Diwani of Bengal conferred on the British.
1767. Commencement of war by the British against Haidar Ali.
War between Jawahir Singh Jat and Madhosingh.
Death of Madhosingh of Jaipur.
1769— 70. Famine in Bengal.
1770. March of Ramachandra Ganesh and Mahadji on Farrukhabad.
1770— 71. Maratha invasion of Mysore.
1771. Sindhia took possession of Delhi.
1772— 74. Hastings, Governor of Bengal.
1773. Deposition of the Raja of Tanjore.

1773. Maratha invasion of Rohilkhand.
Regulating Act.
1774. Birth of Madhavarao II Narayan to Gangabai widow of Narayanarao and his investment with the Peshwaship.
Clive put an end to his own life.
1775. Raja Nandakumar brought charges of corruption against Hastings.
Birth of Bajirao II.
1776. Treaty of Purandar.
1777. Death of Ramaraja.
1778— 79. English laid hands on French establishments.
Quarrel between the Supreme Court and the Council.
1770. Annual settlement of Land Revenue in Bengal.
Surrender of Abdul Ahad Khan to Najaf Khan.
1780— 84. The Second Mysore War.
1782. English captured Trincomali; but lost it to the French.
Treaty of Salbye.
Death of Haidar.
1783. End of Raghunatharao.
1784. Pitt's India Act.
Treaty of Mangalore.
1784— 85. Tipu against the Marathas.
1785. Warren Hastings left India.
1786. Legislation for the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.
1788— 95. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1790. Tripartite alliance between the English, the Nizam and the Peshwa.
1790— 92. Third Mysore War.
1792. Reform of the police system.
Foundation of a Sanskrit College at Benares.
1793. Permanent Settlement in Bengal.
Creation of four provincial courts of appeals.
1794— 98. Tipu sent envoys to Arabia, Constantinople, Kabul and Mauritius.
1795. Nizam defeated by the Marathas at Kharda.
Death of Ahalyabai.
Death of the Peshwa Madhavarao II.
1796. Bajirao invested as Peshwa.
1797. Sir John Shore's intercession in Oudh.
Arrest of Nana Phadnis.
1798. Nizam's 'subsidiary' alliance with the English.
Wellesley demanded the surrender of Tipu.
1799. Coronation of Jaswantrao Holkar.
Ranjit Singh made himself master of Lahore.
Fourth Mysore war; Tipu killed.
Sarfoji of Tanjore signed a subsidiary treaty with the British
1800. Death of Nana Phadnis.
1802. Peace of Amiens.
Treaty of Bassein.

1803. Treaty of alliance between the English and Ranjit Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur.
Restoration of Bajirao II.
Wellesley's success at Assaye and Argaon.
Treaties of Deogaon and Sarji Anjangaon.
1804. Gwalior surrendered to the English by Ambaji Ingle.
Treaty of Burhanpur between the English and Daulatrao Sindia.
1804— 5. War between the English and Holkar.
1805. Recall of Wellesley.
1805— 7. Sir George Barlow.
1806. Death of Shah Alam II.
Vellore Mutiny.
1809. Treaty of Amritsar.
1813. Charter Act.
1814— 16. Nepal war.
1815. Murder of Gangadhar Sastri.
1816. Emergence of the first newspaper.
Death of Raghuji Bhosle.
1817— 18. Annihilation of the Pindaris.
Third Maratha war.
1818. Death of Warren Hastings.
Surrender of Bajirao II.
1821. Resignation of Lord Hastings.
Starting of the Sambad Kaumudi by Ram Mohan.
1823. Issue of a press ordinance.
Lord Amherst became Governor-General.
1824. English occupation of Rangoon.
1826. Treaty of Yandaboo.
1828. Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General.
The Brahma Sabha founded by Raja Ram Mohan Ray.
1829. Bentinck's abolition of Sati in Bengal.
1830— 37. Suppression of Thuggee.
1833. Charter Act.
Appointment of a legal member to the Executive Council.
Ranjit Singh's occupation of Peshawar.
1834. Annexation of Coorg.
1835. Introduction of a new silver coinage in British India.
Decision on the educational policy of the government.
N. W. Province created.
1837. Auckland's treaty with the Nawab of Oudh.
Death of Akbar II and accession of Bahadur Shah II.
Burnes sent to Kabul on a 'commercial mission'.
1838. Tripartite treaty between Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and the English.
Siege of Herat raised by the Shah.
1839. Deposition of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara.
Death of Ranjit Singh.
English imposition of a subsidiary treaty on the Amirs of Sind.

1841. Macnaughten's assassination.
1842. English retreat from Afghanistan.
Larger centres of population permitted to have municipalities.
Surat 'lapsed' to the Company.
1843. Annexation of Sind.
Prohibition of slavery.
1845. The Brahma Samaj founded by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore.
1845— 46. The First Sikh war and Treaty of Lahore.
1848— 49. Second Sikh war and annexation of the Punjab.
1849. Jaitpur and Sambalpur 'lapsed' to the Company.
1852— 53. Second Burmese war.
1853. Charter Act.
Jhansi 'lapsed' to the Company.
1854. Education despatch.
1855. End of Tanjore Rajaship.
The Carnatic taken over by the Company.
1856. Act for the protection of the civil rights of converts from Hinduism to Christianity.
Act permitting the remarriage of widows.
Act making all new army recruits liable for general service across the seas.
Annexation of Oudh.
1857. Incorporation of the First Indian University.
Treaty with Dost Muhammad.
1857— 58. The Sepoy war.
1858. End of the Company's rule.
The Queen's Proclamation.
1860— 61. Famine in N.W. Province and Rajputana.
1861. High Courts Act.
Indian Councils Act.
1861—1941 Rabindranath Tagore.
1862. Death of Bahadur Shah, the emperor.
1869. Opening of the Suez Canal.
1873— 74. Famine in Bihar and Bengal.
1874. Assam placed under a High Commissioner.
1875. Deposition of Malharrao Gaikwar.
The Arya Samaj founded by Dayananda Saraswati.
1876. Resignation of Northbrook.
1876— 78. The Great Deccan Famine.
1877. Foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.
The Queen became the Empress of India.
1878. Lytton's Statutory Civil Service came into existence.
Training school in Forestry established at Dehra Dun.
Vernacular Press Act of Lytton.
1878— 81. Second Afghan War.
1883. Ilbert Bill.
1883— 84. Ripon's resolution on Local Government.

1885. First meeting of the Indian National Congress.
1885— 86. The Third Burmese war.
1887. The Punjab Tenancy Act.
1892. Indian Councils Act.
The son of the Khan of Kalat accepted as the ruler of the State.
1903. Hydro-electric works established in Mysore.
1904. Universities reform.
1905. Changes in the police administration.
Establishment of the Railway Board.
Kitchener-Curzon controversy and the latter's resignation.
1906. Foundation of the Muslim League.
1907. Surat Congress.
Tata Iron and Steel Company founded.
1909. Indian Councils Act.
1915. Defence of India Act.
1916. The Congress-League Scheme put forth.
1917. Montagu's announcement.
1919. Martial Law in the Punjab.
Starting of the Khilafat agitation.
The Government of India Act.
Third Afghan War.
1921. Central Indian Legislature opened by the Duke of Connaught.
1924. Abolition of the Khilafat.
1928. The Simon Commission's visit to India.
1929. The Butler Committee's Report on the Indian States.
Sarada Act.
1930. Publication of the Simon Commission Report.
Salt Satyagraha.
1930— 31. First Round Table Conference.
Riots by the Waziris, Mohmands and Afridis.
1931. Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
Second Round Table Conference.
1932. Third Round Table Conference.
1933. Assassination of Nadir Shah.
White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms.
1935. Government of India Act.
Establishment of the Reserve Bank.
Industrial Legislation.
1935— 36. End of the political connection of Burma with India.
1937. Inauguration of responsible government in the provinces.
1939. Resignation of the Congress Ministries.
1941. Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose.
1942. Cripps Mission to India.
'Quit India' demand.
1945. Death of Subhas Chandra Bose.
1946. The Cabinet Mission and the formation of an Interim Government.
The Constituent Assembly commences work.
1947. The Partition of India and Indian Independence Act.

1947— 48. Lord Louis Mountbatten—Governor-General of the Indian Union.
1948. Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.
1948— 49. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General.
1950. Coming into force of the New Constitution of India.
Death of Vallabhbhai Patel.

Presidents of India

1950— 62. Rajendra Prasad.
1962— 67. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.
1967— 69. Dr. Zakir Hussain.
1969. V. V. Giri. (Elected President—1970).

Prime Ministers of India

15 August 1947–
27 May 1964. Jawaharlal Nehru.

27 May 1964–
9 June 1964. Gulzarilal Nanda (Caretaker Government).

9 June 1964–
11 January 1966. Lal Bahadur Sastri.

11 January 1966–
24 January 1966. Gulzarilal Nanda (Caretaker Government).

24 January 1966. Indira Gandhi.

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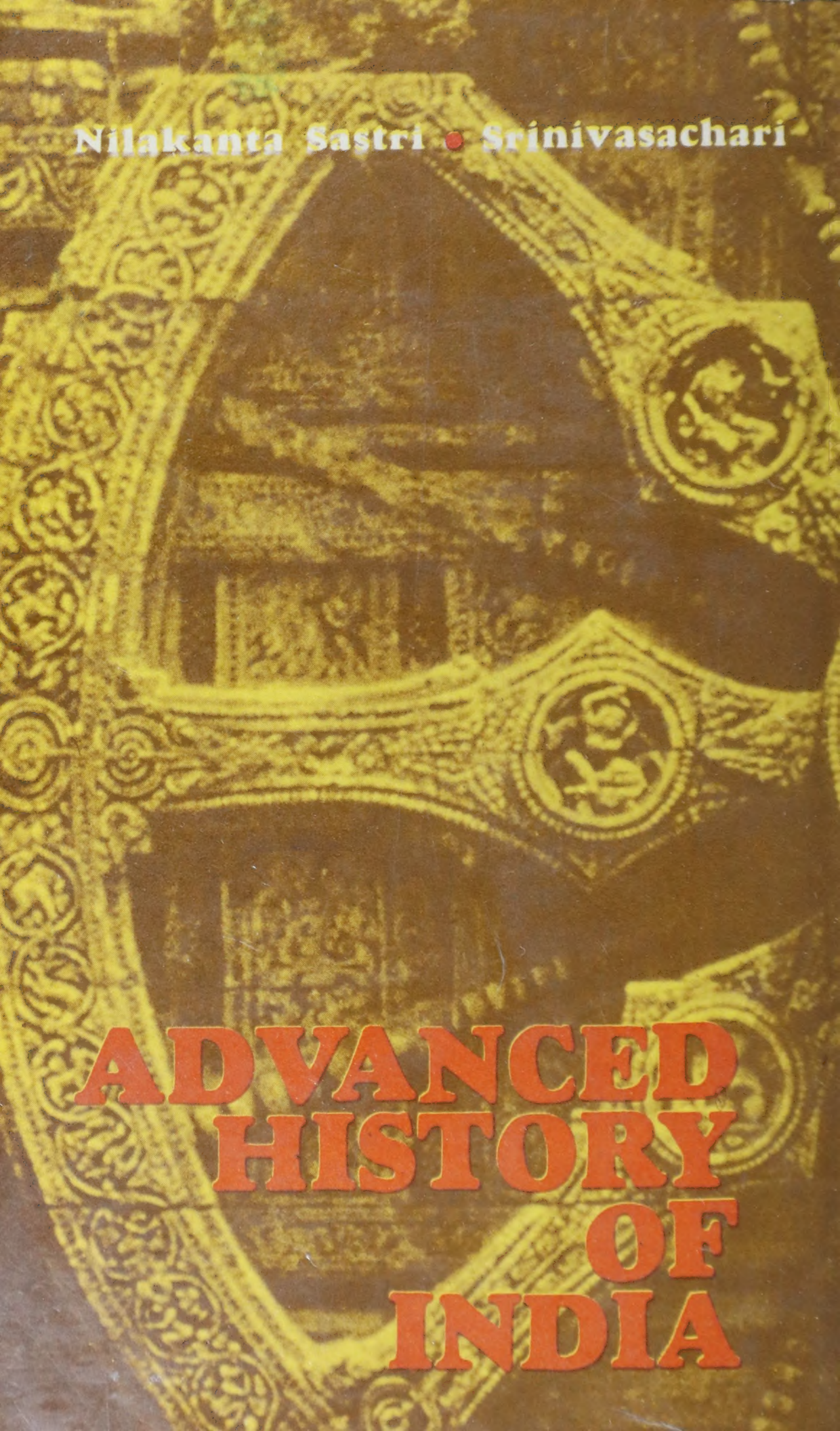

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